

SUPPLEMENTS TO
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE



The Apocalypse of Paul
(*Visio Pauli*)
in Sahidic Coptic

Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary



LAUTARO ROIG LANZILLOTTA
AND JACQUES VAN DER VLIET

BRILL

The Apocalypse of Paul (*Visio Pauli*) in Sahidic Coptic

Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE AND LANGUAGE

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Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary

By

Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta
Jacques van der Vliet

With an appendix by

Jos van Lent



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Preface

This book is, in a way, a by-product of the Dutch Gnosticism Seminar, animated since 1999 by Abraham P. Bos and Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, where we met in 2000 or 2001. Having cooperated previously on Roig Lanzillotta's 2007 article on the Coptic text of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which is at the origin of the present publication, we decided in 2015 to finish the job and republish the Sahidic manuscript from the British Library. The tangible outcome of our collaboration is now in the hands of the reader.

In the course of our work, we enjoyed the help and friendship of many colleagues worldwide. We are greatly indebted to the staff of the Oriental reading room of the British Library for facilitating Roig Lanzillotta's autoptic study of the London manuscript in 2000. The text of the manuscript was retyped from the Library's images by Arco den Heijer in 2016, with the financial support of the Groninger Universiteitsfonds (GUF). His very accurate transcript laid the foundation for the present edition. Antti Marjanen (Helsinki) and Alin Suci (Helsinki / Göttingen) generously shared their work on a Sahidic manuscript fragment from a Finnish private collection. Vincent Walter (Berlin) granted us the *primeur* of his discovery of a Fayoumic version in the Leipzig University Library. We thank Bernhard Palme, director of the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and his staff, in particular Guus van Loon, for kindly providing new photos of the Vienna leaf from the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (re-edited in Appendix 1). Jos van Lent (Rome) graciously contributed a re-edition of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (Appendix 2) and made us profit from his unrivalled knowledge of the Coptic literary heritage as preserved in Arabic. Egyptian publications were checked for us by Ibrahim Saweros (Sohag University). Renate Dekker accepted the arduous task of preparing the indices, aided by a subvention of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of the University of Groningen. At the final stages of writing, during the somewhat difficult corona-period, the assistance of the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO) at Leiden and its tireless staff proved invaluable.

Over the past years we were able to present parts of our research on the *Apocalypse of Paul* during several public lectures, seminars and conferences. We are grateful to our colleagues all over the world for their interest and their kind invitations and to our respective audiences for their critical acumen. Sharing our work crucially helped in bringing it to fruition. We likewise extend our warmest thanks to Jan Bremmer (Groningen / Regensburg), Joost Hagen (Leipzig) and Alessandro Mengozzi (Turin) for their stimulating lectures, delivered during a symposium on "The textual transmission of the Apocalypse of

Paul in Egypt and beyond,” organized by the Institute of Eastern Christian Studies and Radboud University in Nijmegen on 24 January 2020.

Finally, we thank Brill’s anonymous reviewer, the editors of the series and the staff of Brill, in particular Louise Schouten and Marjolein van Zuylen, for their vital contributions to the printed result of our work.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for the books of the Bible adhere to the standard of the *Chicago Manual of Style*; for classical authors, those of Liddell, Scott and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, are followed. Other abbreviations are explained below.

References to the Old Testament follow the chapters and verses of the Septuagint Bible (or any of its Coptic versions).

<i>BKU</i>	<i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Koptische Urkunden</i> , vol. 1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895–1904.
<i>CANT</i>	M. Geerard, <i>Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
<i>CAVT</i>	J.-C. Haelewyck, <i>Clavis apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
<i>CPG</i>	M. Geerard and J. Noret, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols. with <i>Supplementum</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2003.
<i>NHC</i>	Nag Hammadi codices, for which see <i>The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices</i> , 10 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1972–1977.
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne. Series graeca. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–1886.
<i>PGM</i>	K. Preisendanz, <i>Papyri graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , 2nd ed. by A. Henrichs, 2 vols. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973–1974.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne. Series latina. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1844–1890.
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	B.P. Grenfell et al., ed. <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898–.
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i>	R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> , 2 vols. Papyrologica Coloniensia 16. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990–1992.

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Introduction

1 Previous Scholarship

The *Apocalypse of Paul* or, with its Latin title, the *Visio Pauli* (CANT 325) has a rich history in modern scholarship. From the nineteenth century onwards, a wealth of studies saw the light that cover virtually all aspects of the text, its transmission and its reception in the most diverse linguistic and cultural settings. This literature can be discussed here only very selectively.¹ The following overview highlights the most important stages in the study of the complicated textual history of the *Apocalypse* and focuses on contributions that have a direct bearing on the Coptic text and its status.

Modern interest in the *Apocalypse of Paul* awoke in the middle of the nineteenth century with Constantin Tischendorf, who in 1851 studied the Greek version of the *Apocalypse* on the basis of a manuscript discovered in Italy.² On the authority of the prologue of this version, which relates the miraculous discovery of the autograph manuscript in Paul's house in Tarsus in the reign of Theodosius I, he dated the text to between 388 and 395, the date of Theodosius' death. Some years later, also the (East) Syriac version became known. The missionary Justin Perkins published his English translation of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in 1864, based on a late eighteenth-century paper codex from Urmia, in northwestern Iran.³ Reprinted two years later in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Perkins' translation was integrated into the apparatus of the Greek text published in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses apocryphae* of 1866.⁴ In this work, Tischendorf edited the Greek version of the *Apocalypse* on the basis of two manuscripts, namely Monacensis gr. 276 (13th cent.) and Ambrosianus gr. 895 (olim C 255 inf.; 15th cent.), giving the research on the *Apocalypse* its first major impulse. In his view, the original version was written in Greek in Jerusalem.

1 See the extensive bibliography in Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 41–58 (up to 1997) as well as Bremmer, “Bibliography” (up to 2007); some more recent titles: Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 445.

2 Tischendorf, [Review of F. Lücke, *Versuch*].

3 Perkins, “Revelation of the Blessed Apostle Paul.” For the manuscript used by Perkins, see Fiori, “Les deux versions,” 134, n. 24, and 150, no. 17 (dated 1795). A German translation of a similar text, from Vaticanus syriacus 180, was published in 1871, in Zingerle, “Apocalypse des Apostels Paulus.”

4 Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, 34–69; an English translation appeared already in 1870 (Walker, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 477–492).

From the 1850s onwards, Russian folklorists started to take an interest in the Slavonic versions of the *Apocalypse*.⁵ The most important publication is the one by Nikolaj Savvič Tichonravov, who in 1863 edited a complete text after a fifteenth-century manuscript from Novgorod. It omits the prologue found in the Greek and offers a good, though somewhat abridged version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* chapters 3–51, which must ultimately derive from a Greek archetype.⁶

The Latin version of the *Apocalypse* began to show up gradually in the following decades. First, by the efforts of Herman Brandes, who attempted to reconstruct the contents of the original *Apocalypse of Paul* on the basis of Greek, Latin and Syriac witnesses.⁷ Then, thanks to Montague Rhodes James, who, at the end of the nineteenth century, added the testimony of the long Latin version of the Paris parchment manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 1631, ff. 2vb–25vb; 9th cent.) to the Latin redactions studied and presented by Brandes.⁸

The year 1904 saw the publication of four different Armenian texts of the *Apocalypse* by K'erovbé Ćrak'ian from different manuscripts at the library of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice: 1002 (Arm. 1. v), 985 (Arm. 2. v), 1541 (Arm. 3. v) and 305 (Arm. 4. v).⁹ An Ethiopic (Ge'ez) *Apocalypse of Mary*, which for its substance relies heavily on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, was published by Marius Chaîne in 1909.¹⁰

The modern history of the Coptic text begins with Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, who in 1915 published the first edition of the Sahidic version, along with an English translation, in his *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*.¹¹ Budge's "dialect of Upper Egypt" is nowadays called Sahidic, which during the first millennium was the most important variety of literary Coptic. Undoubtedly due to the war time, reviews of Budge's edition were few. Only the one published by James, under the title "Some Coptic Apocrypha," paid serious attention to the *Apocalypse*.¹² Walter E. Crum's bibliography of recent publica-

5 For these early publications, see Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 4–7.

6 Tichonravov, *Pamjatniki*, vol. II, 40–58. Supplementary readings from other Slavonic texts were provided in 1894 by Polívka, "Visio Pauli."

7 Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*.

8 James, *Apocrypha anecdota*. For the date of the Paris manuscript, see Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 23, with their note 5 (at 37).

9 Ćrak'ian, *Ankanon girk' Arak'elakank'* [Uncanonical Books on the Apostles].

10 Chaîne, *Apocrypha*, in two volumes, Ethiopic text, 51–80, and Latin translation, 43–68.

11 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lix–lxi (description of the manuscript); clxii–clxxiii (summary); 534–574 (Coptic text); 1043–1084 (English translation).

12 James, "Some Coptic Apocrypha," 165–166.

tions on Christian Egypt, from 1917, included a few casual remarks on the text, which he considered “largely amplified” and “nearest to the Latin,”¹³ but his 1919 review of Budge’s volume did not even mention it.¹⁴

The edition by Budge relied on a single manuscript in the British Library (at the time, British Museum), Or. 7023. The nature of the edition and the apparent haste with which Budge produced this and four other hefty volumes of Coptic texts for the British Museum within a very short time had a bearing on the quality of his work.¹⁵ Budge’s translation is at times erratic and his edition is marred by important errors of appreciation regarding the character, quality and, especially, the number and extent of the internal lacunae of the text. To begin with, Budge did not realize that another British Library manuscript, Or. 6806A, was originally part of codex Or. 7023; he misunderstood the signature of the quires, considering codex Or. 7023 the second of a series;¹⁶ finally, he did not notice a binding error in the manuscript, as a result of which the modern folio numeration does not tally with the original pagination.¹⁷ The serious defects of the *editio princeps* are partly accountable for the low opinion that a majority of twentieth-century scholars held of the Coptic version.

An important turning point in the study of the *Apocalypse* was the publication of Montague Rhodes James’ *Apocryphal New Testament* in 1924. As Robert P. Casey stated in the 1930’s, at that time James’ English translation was “the best substitute we have for a critical text.”¹⁸ In point of fact, James’ *Apocryphal New Testament* for the first time allowed a comparative study of the *Apocalypse of Paul* based on the known versions.¹⁹ Regarding the primitive *Apocalypse*, James agreed with Tischendorf on the hypothesis of a Greek original. However, this Greek original was not the text published by Tischendorf, which was rather a second edition, probably to be dated to 388, of the lost original.²⁰

James’ rather summary analysis of the text had an enormous impact on the evaluation of the Coptic text. In his view, the climax of the *Apocalypse of Paul* was reached in chapter 44 with the concession of a day of respite for the sinners in hell. Everything that followed, from chapter 45 onwards, was according

13 Crum, “Bibliography,” 48.

14 Nor did a brief notice by the same in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 27 January 1916.

15 For the merits of the extremely prolific Budge (1857–1934), see Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 76–77, with further literature.

16 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lix.

17 For more details, see our discussion of the manuscript in chapter 1, section 2.

18 Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 2.

19 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 525–555.

20 James, *Testament of Abraham*, 20–21.

to James an “otiose appendix,” added later on to the original text.²¹ As a result, the Coptic version of the text, which contains the longest known ending of the *Apocalypse*, earned the reputation of an inferior and expanding version. In James’ words, its long ending was “to a great extent ... a pasticcio from other Coptic apocrypha.”²² Of the Eastern versions, Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic, the Syriac was according to James clearly the best.²³ Together with the defects of Budge’s edition, James’ peremptory comments greatly influenced the views of later students of the *Apocalypse*.

James’ negative opinion of the Coptic version would set the tone for the research of the coming decades. His view regarding the superiority of the Syriac text was echoed some years later by Carl H. Kraeling, who claimed that the *Apocalypse of Paul* was the result of Syro-Persian Hellenistic syncretism. Parallels from Zoroastrian and Mandaean literature would show that the apocalypse was written in Antioch or the Syrian littoral around the middle of the third century.²⁴ The importance of the Syriac text was further enhanced by the publications of Giuseppe Ricciotti, who published, first, an Italian translation of the Syriac text in codices Vaticanus syriacus 180 (Codex A) and Borgianus syriacus 39 (Codex B)²⁵ and, a year later, his edition of the text along with a Latin translation.²⁶

All these interesting developments paved the way for Robert P. Casey’s study of 1933, which was based on a wide spectrum of testimonies that added to the Greek, Latin, Syriac and Coptic witnesses the insights provided by the Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Slavonic versions.²⁷ Regarding the Greek original, Casey developed James’ hypothesis that placed its composition between 240 and 250. In support of his early dating he cites Origen’s alleged knowledge of the *Apocalypse* and the fact that all heresies mentioned in the *Apocalypse* seemed to represent early controversies.²⁸ Differently than his predecessors,

21 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 555.

22 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 555. Note that in his 1916 review of Budge’s edition, “Some Coptic Apocrypha,” 165–166, James was far more nuanced. He declared to be convinced that in the last chapters of the Coptic somehow “the original conclusion is embodied,” which he called “a point of some interest” (at 166).

23 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 525.

24 Kraeling, “Apocalypse of Paul.”

25 Ricciotti, *Apocalisse di Paolo siriana* 1, 35–82.

26 Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli.” For a review of scholarship on this East Syriac version, see Fiori, “Les deux versions,” 134–136; Ricciotti’s manuscripts are nos. 6 (B) and 19 (A) in Fiori’s list at 148–152.

27 Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 1–5.

28 Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 26–28. The alleged references in Origen are a quote in the thirteenth-century Syriac author Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon* 7.9, and a passage in Origen’s

Casey places the composition of the text in Egypt and considers that it was probably written by a monk.²⁹

A milestone in the study of the text, Casey's article for the first time emphasizes the importance of the Coptic testimony for our knowledge of the original *Apocalypse of Paul*. As he pointed out, despite being incomplete due to the loss of some folios, combined with the long Latin version L¹, the Coptic text might help us reconstruct the ground line of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.³⁰ Casey differed considerably from James in the evaluation of the end of the *Apocalypse*. Far from being a secondary expansion, the final chapters belonged to the original plan of the text. This is especially the case with the Coptic ending on the Mount of Olives.

Based on the evidence of the earlier *Apocalypse of Peter*, Casey maintained that the Coptic version might preserve the original setting of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which was later transformed in other branches of the textual transmission. Regarding the end of the text, Casey affirmed that James' view was hardly tenable, since even if some versions eliminate everything after the granting of respite (chapter 44), most of the witnesses, including the Greek, the Syriac and the long Latin (L¹), continue up to chapter 51. His hypothesis is especially interesting for the lost beginning of the text in the Coptic version. On the basis of its peculiar ending on the Mount of Olives, where the apostles charge Mark and Timothy with the recording of Paul's vision, he argued that the Coptic did not include the prologue situated at Tarsus, found in the Greek and Latin versions, but that it commenced with "the scene of the revelation on the Mount of Olives at a gathering of the apostles."³¹ Consequently, from all the existing versions it is the Coptic text that preserves the *Apocalypse* in its original tenor. However, by the middle of the fifth century, the other versions had started to replace the primitive beginning of the text with the Tarsus prologue and eliminate the end of the text.³²

Also in the 1930s, starting from his dissertation on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Theodore Silverstein gave the research on the *Apocalypse* an important impulse.³³ To begin with, his study of the Latin textual transmission established a

Homilies on Psalm 36, 5-7, on the destiny of the souls of the sinners; on real and presumed ancient witnesses, see below, chapter 4, section 1.

29 Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 31.

30 Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 5.

31 Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 24-26.

32 Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 32.

33 Silverstein, *Studies*, and, among many other publications by the same, "The Source of a Provençal Version"; "Did Dante Know the Vision of St. Paul?"; "The Date of the 'Apocalypse of Paul'"; "The Graz and Zürich Apocalypse of Saint Paul"; "Visiones et revelaciones sancti Pauli."

stemma codicum of the text and differentiated between the short and the long Latin versions.³⁴ He not only managed to isolate eight different Latin redactions (I–VIII) in the already known Latin texts, but also added new ones (IX, X, Br and XI).³⁵ Most importantly for the evaluation of the Coptic version, Silverstein related it to the Greek original that belonged to “the first stage in the history of the apocalypse,” namely the pre-Tarsus original known—in his view—to Origen³⁶ and Augustine³⁷ and dated to the middle of the third century. This Greek original was longer than James was inclined to admit. James’ hypothesis of a shorter original, ending with chapter 44, can be ruled out since the source of all Latin redactions, including the manuscript from St Gall, which Silverstein called λ, derives from the same archetype as the Paris manuscript.³⁸ He further asserted that the long Latin version (L¹) clearly belonged to the second stage in the text’s history, to wit the Tarsus version known to Sozomen in the middle of the fifth century,³⁹ which was edited in the 420s, postdating Augustine’s testimony.

The contributions by Casey and Silverstein helped clarify the textual transmission of the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the numerous versions that scholarship had made available. This is especially true for the status of the Coptic version of the text. Thanks to the hypothesis of a lost Greek original, launched by James and developed further by Casey and Silverstein, by the middle of the twentieth century a clearer picture of the text’s transmission was obtained, which allowed a better understanding of the *Apocalypse*’s textual situation. Of all known versions, only the Coptic and the Slavonic were considered to stem from the lost Greek original.⁴⁰ All other versions, from the Latin to the Syriac through the Armenian and Arabic ones,⁴¹ were deemed to stem from the second, fifth-century Greek Tarsus edition.

In the meantime, modern translations of the *Apocalypse* began to make the text available for a wider public and spread the results of the research into its textual transmission beyond the close circle of specialists. The second volume of the sixth edition of Edgar Hennecke’s *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*

34 Silverstein, *Visio sancti Pauli*.

35 Silverstein, “Vision of Saint Paul.”

36 Silverstein, *Visio sancti Pauli*, 3, 93 and note 13; cf. Ricciotti, *Apocalisse di Paolo siriaca* 1, 25; Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 26–27. For the alleged testimony of Origen, see above n. 28.

37 *Tract. in Ioan.* 98.8 (PL 35, 1885).

38 Silverstein, *Visio sancti Pauli*, 38, 59, 108–109 and note 80.

39 Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 7.19 (PG 67, 1477–1480); see below chapter 4, section 1.

40 Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 4; also Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 57–58.

41 On the Armenian version, see Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 4–5; also Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 56.

included a German translation by Hugo Duensing, who stressed with Casey that the Coptic version is the most important beside the long Latin text.⁴² Also in line with Casey, Duensing considered the possibility that the Coptic retained the original ending of the story and noted the similarities with the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In his revision and re-edition of Duensing's German translation, Aurelio de Santos Otero holds the same position regarding both the character and composition of the Greek original and the Coptic text.⁴³

Mario Erbetta's *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento* not only includes a translation of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in its third volume, it also presents the editor's evaluation of the different versions of the work. In general lines, he follows James. Thus, he states that the Syriac is the best among the Eastern versions and surmises that the Coptic version is both inferior to the Syriac and very transformed.⁴⁴ Following Silverstein, however, and somewhat contradictorily, he argues that the composition of the Coptic version should be placed between the Greek original, dating from the third century, and the first Greek revision, dating from the first half of the fifth century.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, the Coptic text itself had received very little attention from students of Coptic since Budge.⁴⁶ An exception must be made for Jan Zandee, who used Budge's text in the last chapter of his 1960 monograph, on the representation of death and the underworld in Ancient Egypt. In addition to reviewing the Coptic terminology of hell, Zandee critically discussed theories about presumed Ancient Egyptian "survivals" in his Coptic sources, including the *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁴⁷ Similarly, Violet MacDermot included long excerpts from the Sahidic version, translated from Budge's edition, in her 1971 study of late-antique visionary experiences. The supplement volume of her book collects the pertinent Coptic terminology.⁴⁸

42 Duensing, "Apokalypse des Paulus," 537: "Als wichtigster Zeuge neben dem Lateiner ist der bei Kap. 15 einsetzende und zum Teil erweiterte koptische Text zu nennen."

43 Things do not change much in the new (1992) edition of the introduction and English translation of the text by H. Duensing and A. de Santos Otero, "Apocalypse of Paul." The introduction, at 713, wrongly places the beginning of the Coptic text in chapter 15 of the Latin version. Differently, the translation ("Apocalypse of Paul," 721 and 744, n. 28) wrongly places the description of the powers of darkness (the current beginning of the Coptic) in chapter 14 (of L¹).

44 Erbetta, "Apocalissi di Paolo," 356: "... il copto inoltre con un tenore peraltro inferiore al sirio Il copto inoltre è molto trasformato."

45 Erbetta, "Apocalissi di Paolo," 356, n. 4, following Silverstein, "The Date," 347.

46 Walter E. Crum had used the text for his monumental thesaurus, completed in 1939 (*Dictionary*).

47 Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 303–341.

48 MacDermot, *Cult of the Seer*.

In 1980, Louis Leloir published the French translation of the four Armenian versions of the *Apocalypse* that had been published in 1904.⁴⁹ As for the Coptic version, his introduction reflects the already mentioned negative influence of Budge's edition. Leloir repeats the erroneous references to non-existent lacunas given in Budge's *editio princeps*.⁵⁰ On another note, he interestingly emphasizes the close similarities between a passage from the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which—in his view—shows the dependence of the *Apocalypse* on monastic milieus.⁵¹

James Keith Elliott's introduction to the new English translation, in his *The Apocryphal New Testament*,⁵² in general follows the consensus regarding the superiority of the Latin testimony, the paraphrasing nature of Tischendorf's Greek version and the idea of a lost Greek original. Concerning the Coptic text, he echoes the prevalent negative view on the text published by Budge, which he describes as incomplete and "with frequent expansions of the original."⁵³

Besides modern translations also studies of a more general nature devoted short notes to the *Apocalypse of Paul*. This is the case of Adela Yarbro Collins, who included the *Apocalypse of Paul* in her study of the genre of early Christian apocalypses from the first to the third centuries.⁵⁴ Classed among the "Other-worldly Journeys with Cosmic and/or Political Eschatology" (her type 11b), the *Apocalypse of Paul* is presented together with the *Ascension of Isaiah* 6–11, the *Apocalypse of Esdras* and the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary*. Her short introduction in general follows the *communis opinio*, presenting the long Latin text as the most authoritative version and considering the possibility that this version with the Tarsus prologue is a remake of an older one probably composed in the third century.

Martha Himmelfarb assigns an important place to the *Apocalypse of Paul* in her by now classic study of apocalyptic descriptions of the afterlife, *Tours of Hell*.⁵⁵ Himmelfarb in general tends to agree with Casey's evaluation of the date and character of the text. In her view, the monastic tendencies of the *Apocalypse* are the only obstacle to Casey's early dating of the Greek original. However, a comparison of the *Apocalypse* with other Egyptian monastic texts with their clear profusion of nuns and monks shows that Casey was plausibly

49 Leloir, "Apocalypse de Paul"; reprinted in 1986 in Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 87–172.

50 Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 97, n. 26.

51 Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 87–93; see below, chapter 3, section 2.

52 "The Apocalypse of Paul," in Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 616–644.

53 Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 618.

54 Collins, "The Early Christian Apocalypses," 65 and 85–86.

55 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 16; see also ead., "The Experience of the Visionary." In the 1993 sequel, Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* plays a less prominent role.

right when he assumed that the *Apocalypse* was “the product of a pious ascetic of the period before the rise of institutionalized monasticism.”⁵⁶ Although she pays no special attention to the Coptic version, Himmelfarb’s seminal study is still today important for her discussion of the genre of the text, partly a “demonstrative tour of hell” under the guidance of an angel, and its intertextuality, by situating the text in a “family” of similar earlier and later apocalypses.

The last decade of the twentieth century saw several new approaches to the *Apocalypse*, which revisited all previous theories on its structure, origin and character. To begin with, Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl offered a fresh approach and a completely new understanding of the text. In his view, the text’s narrative structure allows one to isolate a very ancient textual core, Paul’s *katabasis*, which included chapters 11–18 and 21–44 only. This ancient textual core provided the basis for the first Greek edition envisaged by Casey and Silverstein, which included chapters 3–51 and perhaps the end of the text as preserved by the Coptic version.⁵⁷ Regarding Paul’s final return to the Mount of Olives, however, Rosenstiehl is rather reluctant. Given its “conventional character,” he considers it less plausible that it may have belonged to the original *Apocalypse*. At any rate, this longer Greek text was later on reduced and adapted in order to produce the second edition of the text.⁵⁸

Also different is the approach taken by Pierluigi Piovanelli in a number of studies from 1993 onwards, which challenged the consensus reached by previous scholarship regarding the origin and textual transmission of the *Apocalypse*.⁵⁹ Against the grain of twentieth-century scholarship, Piovanelli claims that Casey’s theory of a third-century Greek original on the basis of Origen’s alleged references to the *Apocalypse of Paul* should be dismissed. The quote transmitted by Barhebraeus (*Nomocanon* 7.9) that seems to mention our text could well have been interpolated or transformed in the ten centuries separating the medieval author from Origen himself and the passage in Origen’s *Homilies on Psalms* does not necessarily refer to the *Apocalypse*.⁶⁰ More important, however, is his rejection of the second argument in support of a third century

56 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 18–19.

57 Rosenstiehl, “L’itinéraire de Paul”; see also id., “Tartarouchos-Temelouchos.”

58 Rosenstiehl, “L’itinéraire de Paul,” 199, n. 13.

59 Piovanelli, “Le texte originel”; id., “Les origines de l’*Apocalypse de Paul*,” both of 1993; id., “La découverte miraculeuse,” of 1998; an English version of the latter, “Miraculous Discovery,” was published in 2000 and again in 2007. See also id., “La Prière et apocalypse de Paul,” on the medieval Greek abridgement, published by Bouvier and Bovon, “*Prière et Apocalypse de Paul*.” Most of these studies were reprinted in 2016 in id., *Apocryphités*.

60 Piovanelli, “Les origines de l’*Apocalypse de Paul*,” 45–48. For these alleged testimonies, see above, n. 28.

Greek original, viz. the witness of the Coptic version. Piovanelli thinks that the latter testimony was clearly overrated by Casey and Silverstein. In his view, the Coptic ending is excessive, redundant and probably secondary. And if the Coptic ending is not primitive, there is no need to postulate a lost Greek original, since in chapters 16–51, with the exception of minor differences, there are no major disagreements between the Coptic, the long Latin and the rest of the tradition. Once the hypothesis of a lost Greek original is disposed of, references by Prudentius, Augustine and Sozomen would place our text around the end of the fourth and the early years of the fifth century. And, in fact, the testimony of the Syriac, the Arabic and the Spanish versions, the latter unknown to Silverstein,⁶¹ seems to support the reading of Tischendorf's Greek version and its prologue, allowing us to place the text in the time of Theodosius I. Hence, according to Piovanelli, all the evidence seems to point to the period between 395, the year of Theodosius' death, and 416, when Augustine supposedly referred to the text, as a likely time of composition.⁶²

Claude Carozzi's study of 1994 went back to the line of research opened by Casey and Silverstein. In addition to an interesting study of many aspects of the content of the text, his book includes new editions of the long Latin version (L¹, based on the manuscripts from Paris and St Gall) and an abridged reworking thereof (L²), on the basis of manuscripts from Graz, Zürich and Vienna.⁶³ Regarding the composition of the text, he assumes that it was written in Greek before the end of the second century.⁶⁴ Carozzi cites two arguments in support of his early dating. Firstly, the *Apocalypse of Paul* would tally with the eschatology of Irenaeus' predecessors, the early presbyters in Asia Minor.⁶⁵ Secondly, the mention of "ceux qui rompent le jeûne avant qu'il ait été célébré par eux" (in chapter 39, 3)⁶⁶ would refer to the Quartodecimans and the Easter controversy of the mid-second century.⁶⁷

61 Printed in Sevilla in 1494 and reprinted in Toledo in 1525; see Piovanelli, "Les origines de l'*Apocalypse de Paul*," 28–29.

62 Piovanelli, "Les origines de l'*Apocalypse de Paul*," 50–52.

63 Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 179–265: critical edition of Paris and St Gall, with a French translation; 267–299: synoptic edition of Graz, Zurich and Vienna.

64 Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 5: "fut sans doute composée, sous sa forme originale, en grec, avant la fin du 11^e siècle."

65 Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 49–50.

66 This is Carozzi's rendering of Budge's erroneous translation of the Coptic (Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 128; cf. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1063: "they who broke [their] fast before it had been kept by them"); we translate: "they who broke the fasts before the time had come."

67 Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 127–129.

Also in the 1990s, in 1997, Theodore Silverstein and Anthony Hilhorst published their monumental synoptic edition of the Latin witnesses, together with an important study.⁶⁸ They place the composition of the Greek original in Egypt and consider that this “first edition” of the text might have been composed in the third century or earlier. Support for this early date comes in their view from the “doctrines for which non-believers are punished,” which “involve only the most basic tenets of the new faith: denial of the resurrection, of the virgin birth and that Christ is the son of God.”⁶⁹ Even if their edition, as it focuses on the Western tradition and the Latin versions, does not pay particular attention to the Coptic text as such, Silverstein and Hilhorst seem to recognize the value of its testimony, since they regularly use the Coptic in support of readings provided by one or the other Latin witness.

An important article by Alessandro Bausi, published in 1999, for the first time paid serious attention to the rich manuscript tradition in Arabic.⁷⁰ He counted no less than 36 manuscripts and provisionally distinguished three recensions (the third rather doubtfully).⁷¹ Bausi provided a synoptic analysis of his first two recensions (Ar. 1 and Ar. 2), which differ in various respects, yet both end in chapter 51.⁷² For the first, studied on the basis of a manuscript from Iraq, he suspected a Syriac *Vorlage*; for the second, represented by a manuscript from Egypt, he posits, with due hesitation, a relationship with the medieval Greek and / or Coptic versions. Yet this second Arabic recension incorporates a tradition about Seth and the Oil of Mercy, foreign to both other versions.⁷³

In 2001, Kirsti Barrett Copeland defended her doctoral dissertation at Princeton University, which for the first time since Budge's edition paid ample attention to the Coptic text.⁷⁴ Besides providing a wide thematic analysis of the *Apocalypse*, the dissertation discusses the manuscript tradition and the history of research in its first chapter and includes as appendices a transcription of Coptic manuscript British Library Or. 7023, together with an English

68 Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 65–167: synoptic edition of Paris, St Gall, Escorial and the previously unedited Arnhem manuscript; 169–207: synoptic edition of Graz, Zürich, and Vienna.

69 Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 11.

70 Bausi, “First Evaluation”; Bausi also produced a preliminary edition for the Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC), in 1992, which remained unpublished.

71 Bausi, “First Evaluation,” 160–164: list of manuscripts; 137–138: the three recensions.

72 Bausi, “First Evaluation,” 139–152.

73 Bausi, “First Evaluation,” 152–153; on the Oil of Mercy: 150–151.

74 Copeland, *Mapping*.

translation.⁷⁵ Copeland is the first to deal systematically with the monastic reception of the text and plausibly argues for a link with Pachomian milieu.⁷⁶

In the wake of Piovanelli, Copeland rejects Casey's conclusions on the textual transmission of the text. Beginning with Origen's alleged references to the *Apocalypse*, she devotes quite some space to dismantling Casey's careful reconstruction of the text's history and the hypothesis concerning a pre-Tarsus original and a second edition including the Tarsus prologue.⁷⁷ In her view, Piovanelli was correct in restoring the prologue to the *Apocalypse* and dating its composition to the end of the fourth century.⁷⁸ The same goes for Casey's view of the Coptic ending on the Mount of Olives, which Copeland, without arguing why, considers a later addition.⁷⁹ Casey's argument that such an ending implies that also the beginning was situated at a gathering of the apostles in the same place, is rejected simply on the grounds that "Casey's suggestion is irrelevant for a text that tolerates so much internal inconsistency."⁸⁰

When dealing with the value of the Coptic text (C1 in her nomenclature), Copeland does agree with previous scholarship, however, in regarding it as an important witness beside the long Latin version from the Paris manuscript. To the Coptic testimonies, she adds C2, a single leaf of an *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (K 9653, Papyrussammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna), which had been edited by Enzo Lucchesi in 1997 (our manuscript AA).⁸¹ The text covers the end of chapter 47 to the middle of chapter 49 of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and represents a version of the *Apocalypse* in which Athanasius replaces Paul as its protagonist.⁸²

The Coptic text of British Library Or. 7023 was also the main focus of an article by Lautaro Roig Lanzillotta, included in the collective volume on the *Apocalypse of Paul* published by Jan Bremmer and István Czachesz in 2007.⁸³ Roig Lanzillotta claims that the Coptic version had not received the attention

75 Copeland, *Mapping*, 10–50: on the preface, manuscripts, date and provenance; 185–187: description of Coptic manuscript Or. 7023; 188–248: English translation; 249–309: transcription of the Coptic manuscript. Her text and translation rectify the order of the Coptic pages and are of high quality, but remained unpublished.

76 Copeland, *Mapping*, 170–178.

77 Copeland, *Mapping*, 29–40.

78 Copeland, *Mapping*, 6 and 40.

79 Copeland, *Mapping*, 6.

80 Copeland, *Mapping*, 17.

81 Copeland, *Mapping*, 17–18.

82 Lucchesi, "(Pseudo-)Apocalypse"; the leaf is re-edited in our Appendix 1. For the status of this version, see below, chapters 1, section 5 and 4, section 2.

83 Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*."

that it deserves and his article on the *Apocalypse* intends to amend this situation. After a codicological description of the manuscript and a brief description of Budge's edition,⁸⁴ Roig Lanzillotta offers a preliminary comparative analysis of the Coptic version with the rest of the textual transmission with a view to demonstrating that far from being an expanding version of the *Apocalypse*, the Coptic version is often enough a better witness to the tenor of the original text.⁸⁵ This comparative analysis allows the conclusion that the Coptic is together with L¹ the most important witness to the text and, moreover, frequently translates its original more carefully than the source of L¹. The Coptic not only helps us in understanding sections that are confusing in the Latin, it also allows us to perceive more clearly the artistic intentions of the writer. Its meticulous descriptions, the accurate tenor of its geographical indications, and the balanced contrast between east and west reveal a clear plan that intended to place righteous and sinners at opposite sides of the cosmos.⁸⁶ The Coptic version's careful and balanced disposition of the narrative around the destiny of the sinners shows that Copeland's view on the "internal inconsistency" of the text can be disproved. Its obvious irregularities are rather the result of the accidents of transmission, to which the text has also been exposed. Roig Lanzillotta's study paved the way for a better understanding of the Coptic version on its own terms and directly inspired the present re-edition of the text.

Lenka Jiroušková's study of the Latin, German and Old Czech versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, published in 2006, introduces an important turn in the research on the *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁸⁷ Up to the beginnings of the 21st century, most studies focused on researching the history of the text, primarily following the classical model of genealogical or "stemmatic" analysis. Main goal of these studies was the establishment of a *stemma codicum* that would illuminate the evolution of the textual transmission from its postulated pre-Tarsus Greek original up to the vernacular versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, through the Tarsus edition and its transformation in the different ancient languages. Jiroušková's book changes the approach, claiming the notion of an "open text" as a better methodology for the analysis of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, a text whose open character seems to have predestined it to an almost limitless number of textual transformations. Jiroušková's intention is to analyze these textual variations, paying less attention to their deviations from a presumed original than to

84 Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*," 158–166; see also id., "The Coptic Ms. Or. 7023."

85 Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*," 175–189.

86 Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*," 189–193.

87 Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*.

the creative re-elaborations of texts composed to suit the needs of the changing contexts in which they were formulated.⁸⁸ In so doing, however, Jiroušková also pays attention to the constant elements that remain unchanged and which allow us to recognize the *Apocalypse of Paul* despite its important metamorphoses. It is precisely the analysis of the structure, coherence and identity of the text that should lay the basis for the understanding of the relationship between text and context.

Of a similar methodological importance is the book by Jane Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, of 2007, which describes the transformations of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in two medieval Greek compositions, the *Apocalypse of Mary* (or, *the Theotokos*) and the *Apocalypse of Anastasia*.⁸⁹ In its study of the cultural and social settings of these popular Middle-Byzantine works, it—so to say—retrospectively reflects upon the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself as a cultural artifact and goes far beyond the limits of traditional textual criticism.

Important text-critical contributions saw the light in 2012 and 2013. In the former year, Thomas J. Kraus for the first time edited two Greek fragments from the Bodleian Library in Oxford (van Haelst 620) that for almost a century were reputed to be early witnesses to the Greek text of the *Apocalypse*.⁹⁰ Also in 2012, Antti Marjanen and Alin Suciu presented a report (unpublished) about two fragments of a second Sahidic Coptic witness, identified by them (our manuscript 1C).⁹¹

In 2013, Nikolaos Trunte published a thorough study of the transmission of the *Apocalypse* in the world of the Slavonic Orthodoxy.⁹² His discussion of the provenance and date of the text adheres to the views of Casey, in postulating an early pre-Tarsus edition, of which the Coptic would be a witness.⁹³ He includes an interesting discussion of the Coptic, after Budge's edition, asserting the primitive character of the depiction of the powers of darkness in chapter 16, 2, on the basis of its Ancient Egyptian elements.⁹⁴ The long Slavonic version, as reconstructed by Trunte, must have been translated from the Greek at the latest in the early fourteenth century, in a linguistically Bulgarian milieu. The oldest Slavonic version does not derive from the Greek abridgment published by Tis-

88 Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 20–22.

89 In particular, Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 76–109.

90 Kraus, “Fragmente,” 47–52; see below, chapter 1, section 6.

91 Marjanen and Suciu, “Two New Fragments”; see below, chapter 1, section 5.

92 Trunte, *Reiseführer*.

93 Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 8–15.

94 Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 45–54.

chendorf, however, but from an earlier redaction, and shows textual affinities with the Latin of the Arnhem manuscript, the Syriac and the Coptic.⁹⁵

In a 2017 monograph, Alin Suciu briefly discusses the relationship of the *Apocalypse of Paul* with the Coptic genre of what he calls “apostolic memoirs.”⁹⁶ His discussion has the merit of linking the text to a wider genre of Egyptian revelatory literature, yet his judgment of the Coptic version uncritically relies on that of James.⁹⁷

Jacques van der Vliet’s valedictory address of January 2020 discusses three different Coptic texts focusing on Paul, the *Acts of Andrew and Paul* (CANT 239), the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* from Nag Hammadi (NHC V, 2) and the present *Apocalypse of Paul*, seen as three different late-antique approaches to the Apostle Paul, in which the person and status of Paul occupy a central place.⁹⁸ Against the view, first expressed by James and later echoed by Piovanelli and Copeland, which considered the Coptic ending of the *Apocalypse* a futile expansion and repetition of Paul’s earlier visits to the third heaven and to Paradise, Van der Vliet underscores the crucial importance of the long ending for understanding the *Apocalypse’s* purpose. If Paul’s excursions in the first part mainly aim at stating the themes of punishment and reward, central to the *Apocalypse*, in the second part they serve to highlight Paul’s apostolic stature.⁹⁹ The righteous of the Old Testament whom Paul encounters in Paradise in a long parade (chapters 46–54) are not just happy to welcome him, but consistently praise his person and evangelizing activity in a style that recalls Jesus’ words as cited in Acts 26. The gradual crescendo of Paul’s praise reaches its peak in chapter 55, with the angel’s promise to show Paul “his place” in the Third Heaven, and culminates in chapter 56, where Paul finally sees his crown and still empty throne, continuously praised by the angels Uriel and Suriel. This praise theme, so central to the last part of the *Apocalypse*, is taken up again in the end, in chapter 62, now by the holy martyrs. On the basis of the message and contents of the *Apocalypse*, therefore, Van der Vliet is able to provide new support for the hypothesis, advanced by Casey exclusively on structural grounds, that the long Coptic ending was an integral part of the original narrative.

Renewed interest in the Syriac versions is shown in a study by Emiliano Fiori that appeared in the 2020 issue of the periodical *Apocrypha*.¹⁰⁰ He dis-

95 Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 233–239.

96 On this terminology, see our chapter 2, section 2.

97 Suciu, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 112–114.

98 Van der Vliet, *Paulus als ruimtereiziger*.

99 Van der Vliet, *Paulus als ruimtereiziger*, 11.

100 Fiori, “Les deux versions.”

tinguishes two versions, a West and an East Syriac version, of which only the latter has been published and studied.¹⁰¹ His article pays particular attention to the neglected West Syriac text and its affinity with Bausi's Arabic recension. Fiori finally lists the known manuscripts of both Syriac versions, none of which predates the fifteenth century.¹⁰² In the same issue of *Apocrypha*, Paolo La Spisa published an early Arabic version from a presumably ninth-century manuscript from Mount Sinai.¹⁰³ It may represent a fourth Arabic recension, translated from the Greek in Palestine. The text does not have the Tarsus prologue and starts at chapter 10 only. Regrettably the manuscript breaks off in chapter 28. Its precise place in the transmission of the text remains to be determined.

Finally, Jan Bremmer's article on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, written for a collective volume on New Testament apocrypha published in 2022, is witness to a clear turn in the appreciation of the Coptic version.¹⁰⁴ Already in 2009, Bremmer had convincingly argued, on the basis of text-internal criteria, that the *Apocalypse* cannot have been written before the middle of the fourth century.¹⁰⁵ This late date agrees with its place in the evolution of the apocalyptic genre and the development of mainstream Christian institutions and debates as reflected in the text.¹⁰⁶ In the 2022 article, following a restatement of his earlier views, he bases his presentation of the text on the combined evidence of the Latin and the Coptic, assuming that "when the Latin and Coptic texts agree, we come close to the lost Greek original."¹⁰⁷ Even though he finally rejects the primitive character of the Coptic epilogue, set on the Mount of Olives,¹⁰⁸ Bremmer concludes that, on the one hand, "at a relatively early stage, the manuscript of the Apocalypse of Paul had lost the last pages," accounting for the absence of a proper conclusion of the text in the Latin and other versions, and that, on the other hand, "a complete copy must have survived in Egypt," accounting for the full form of the Coptic.¹⁰⁹

101 Our remarks above concern this East Syriac version.

102 Fiori, "Les deux versions," 148–153.

103 La Spisa, "Recensiona araba antica."

104 Bremmer, "Apocalypse of Paul."

105 Bremmer, "Christian Hell," reprinted in 2017.

106 Similar conclusions are reached by David Frankfurter in a valuable overview of the apocalyptic tradition of late-antique Egypt, "Christian Eschatology," 548.

107 Bremmer, "Apocalypse of Paul," 428.

108 Mainly on the authority of Suciū, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 113–114, who echoes James' negative judgment.

109 Bremmer, "Apocalypse of Paul," 440.

2 The Present Publication

The present book is first of all a critical re-edition of the Sahidic Coptic text of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It aims at replacing Budge's long obsolete *editio princeps* with a text and a translation that are both reliable and accessible. A further aim consists in a reassessment of the text as transmitted in Sahidic. The book seeks to give the Sahidic version its proper place within the scholarly debate on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, its origins, history and afterlife, not to mention the broader study of early-Christian literature. Therefore, the Coptic text and its translation are preceded by a number of introductory chapters and followed by a rather dense commentary.

A first chapter describes the Coptic manuscript tradition, which principally consists of a single witness, the tenth-century Sahidic codex used by Budge, now in the British Library. The codex has been wrongly rebound in modern times and described very incorrectly by Budge. A new analysis of the manuscript seeks to remedy these deficiencies. In addition, following a re-edition of the colophon of the British Library manuscript and a description of its linguistic and orthographic peculiarities, a few other, quite fragmentary manuscripts are presented more briefly.

The second chapter turns to the text itself. First the paratextual elements of title and narrative frame are discussed. The discussion of the prologue and epilogue situated on the Mount of Olives takes up and develops the thesis advanced by Casey in 1933. The following analysis of the structure and intentions of the text approaches the Coptic version on its own terms and takes the thematic and structural cues furnished by the text itself as its point of departure. Thus it seeks to steer clear of the preconceived ideas that since the days of James have obscured the proper understanding of the text. Instead of being proof of the presumed incompetence of the author, the wealth of recurrent motifs and topographical detail conveys a clear sense of unity and direction.

The third chapter is about the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul* as an intertext. A discussion of its possible models links it to a number of other well-known Egyptian apocrypha and is much indebted to the earlier work of Montague Rhodes James and, in particular, Martha Himmelfarb. A study of its interaction with other, later or contemporaneous Coptic sources underlines the importance of the text for the scribal imagination of late-antique Egypt and confirms the link with Pachomian milieus already suspected by Louis Leloir and Kirsti Copeland, among others.

A fourth chapter proposes a new model for the evolution and transmission of the text in its early stages. Assuming with a majority of scholars an Egyptian provenance, it sets out to combine our own perception of the Sahidic text as

a unity with Casey's initial thesis, but also with more recent views about the date of the text, as advanced most notably by Jan Bremmer, and the paratextual character of frame narratives. It situates the original text in the Pachomian milieus of Upper Egypt and defends the thesis of an early split of the tradition into two recensions, a Theban and an Alexandrian recension, the former represented by the Sahidic version.

Finally, the Sahidic text as established by us and our English translation of the Coptic are followed by an extensive commentary that is conceived of in a quite inclusive manner. In an effort to open up and clarify the Sahidic version as much as possible, it discusses select linguistic, literary as well as religious aspects of the text by chapter, paragraph, clause and word. Comments on points of grammar and lexicon are hardly ever an aim in itself, however, but geared to guiding the reader through the text or justifying our interpretations. Broader questions of language, but also of structure and intent are discussed in the initial chapters. The index of the Coptic text is likewise meant to make it easily accessible for a wide readership.

The Coptic Manuscript Tradition

The Coptic text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is transmitted in a single, incomplete Sahidic manuscript, a parchment codex copied in the tenth century in Esna, in southern Upper Egypt, and now kept in the British Library in London under call numbers Or. 7023 and Or. 6806A. This is our principal manuscript, tagged BL by us. In recent years, two tiny fragments of a much older Sahidic manuscript have come to light (our manuscript IC) as well as snippets of a Fayoumic Coptic version (manuscript FL). Besides, there is a single leaf from the Sahidic manuscript of an *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, which appears to offer a thinly disguised version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* (tagged AA). For obvious reasons, the present chapter focuses on the extremely valuable tenth-century Sahidic manuscript now in London. In addition to sections devoted to provenance, codicology and language of the codex, it offers a new edition of its bilingual (Sahidic-Greek) colophon. Finally, the other, fragmentary Coptic witnesses of the text will be discussed, to which we add a few words on two recently edited Greek fragments that in all likelihood attest to an early Egyptian form of the text.

1 British Library Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A: Date, Provenance and Modern History

Or. 7023 and Or. 6806A are parts of a single codex that were rebound as two separate volumes in modern times. The entire codex bears no. 158 in Bentley Layton's 1987 catalogue of the Coptic literary manuscripts in the British Library.¹ It belongs to a collection of twenty-four paper and parchment codices, written in Sahidic Coptic, Greek and Old Nubian, a majority of which were acquired for the British Museum between 1907 and 1911 and are now stored in the British Library.² According to the information provided by Layton, Or. 6806A was purchased on 12 November 1907 from Robert de Rustafjaell;³ Or. 7023, on 15 June

1 Layton, *Catalogue*, 186–188.

2 For the provenance and acquisition history of the Coptic part of the London collection, see Layton, *Catalogue*, xxvi–xxx.

3 A hand-written note on a fly-leaf of the manuscript states the date as 9 November. For de Rustafjaell (1859–1943), see Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 404–406; Hagen and Ryholt, *Antiquities Trade*, 259. Or. 6806A is described as manuscript no. 5 in de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt*, 107, with pl. XLIV.

1909 from the Egyptian antiquities merchants Maurice Nahman and Abd en Nur Gubrial (‘Abd al-Nūr Ġubrīyāl).⁴ When Sir Ernest Wallis Budge first edited the manuscript in 1915, the codex still preserved its ancient leather cover with geometrical tooling.⁵

The mixed lot of codices to which Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A belongs is usually designated as the Esna-Edfu collection or Esna-Edfu hoard, on account of its provenance from southernmost Egypt.⁶ The codices were not found during controlled excavations, though, and the place and circumstances of their discovery are hazy at best. According to the account of one of the sellers, de Rustafjaell, the collection (or at least part of it) was discovered “near the ruins of an old Coptic monastery,” situated “about five miles west of Edfu on the fringe of the desert plateau.”⁷ Even though de Rustafjaell’s description of the find spot and his identification of the place as a monastery of Saint Mercurius, mentioned in several of the manuscripts, leave room for skepticism,⁸ the information that can be gleaned from the colophons of the codices definitely converges on the region of Edfu and Esna, in the frontier zone with Nubia. Quite a number of the manuscripts were copied in Esna for churches or monasteries in Esna itself and, in particular, Edfu or show evidence of Nubian ownership.⁹ Codex Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A belongs to those that were copied in Esna.

On its last page, Coptic 140 (modern folio 37b), the manuscript bears a bilingual (Sahidic and Greek) colophon that is re-edited below (in section 3). It consists of two parts. A Sahidic prayer for the donor shows that the manuscript

4 Layton, *Catalogue*, 188, cf. 90 and 134. For Nahman, see Hagen and Ryholt, *Antiquities Trade*, 253–256; Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 337; for ‘Abd al-Nūr Ġubrīyāl, Hagen and Ryholt, *Antiquities Trade*, 216–217, where at 217 the purchase of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is mentioned.

5 A line drawing, by E.J. Lambert, after the tooling pattern of the cover is reproduced in Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lx (cf. xxiv). The cover was removed and the codex rebound at some point after its acquisition. Note that in his edition and translation of the codex, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 536 and 1034, Budge erroneously quotes it as Or. 7022. This false signature found its way into some of the later literature about the texts in the codex.

6 For the nature and background of the collection, see Van der Vliet, “Nubian Voices from Edfu”; cf. Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 12–15.

7 De Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt*, 3–7, partly cited in Layton, *Catalogue*, xxix. The recollections of Budge, who represented the British Museum, are extremely vague. In *By Nile and Tigris* 2, 371–372, he merely refers to a “place in the neighbouring hills where the monks of Edfu and Asnâ had hidden their manuscripts,” mentioning the *Apocalypse of Paul* at 371.

8 Even de Rustafjaell himself, *The Light of Egypt*, 5–6, does not seem wholly convinced by the find spot that had been pointed out to him.

9 For further details, see Layton, *Catalogue*, xxvi–xxx, and Van der Vliet, “Nubian Voices from Edfu.” O’Connell, “Sources for Hagr Edfu,” in particular 245–246, and ead., “Greek and Coptic Manuscripts,” 74–75, show that the Edfu provenance of the lot is now generally accepted. See also our discussion of the colophon below, in section 3.

had been ordered by a certain Psate, a native of the village of Tmekra (Timikraton, al-Dimiqrāt) in the province of Armant (Hermonthis). No recipient institution is recorded. A Greek subscription states that the text was copied by Joseph, son of Sisinnios, a deacon from Esna, and completed on 6 Hathor of the Hijra year 349 (2 November 960). This indubitable date and the identity of the copyist, Joseph, are discussed below, following our re-edition of the colophon.

2 British Library Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A: Codicological Description and Analysis

2.1 Composition

British Library Or. 7023 consists today of 38 parchment folios.¹⁰ However, a handwritten note at the bottom of f. 37b, dated to June 1909, shows that it originally numbered only 37 folios. Folio 38 is an extraneous parchment leaf added later.¹¹ The folios measure ca. 320 × ca. 240 mm.¹² The text is disposed in two columns and the number of lines per column oscillates between 23 and 30. The Coptic pagination, running from ⲁ to [ⲱ], from 00 to ϣϣ, and from ϣϣ to ϣϣ allows the conclusion that the manuscript originally comprised at least 70 folios.

Ignoring the original Coptic pagination, which numbers pages and not folios, a modern hand renumbered the folios of Or. 7023 from 1 to 37. This modern foliation, however, obfuscates the fact that the current sequence of the quires is not the original one. Probably due to a modern binding error, one of the quires (the fourth) occupies nowadays a wrong position. The result is that the correct sequence of the text according to the modern numeration is ff. 1a–7b, **24a–31b**, 8a–23b, 32a–37b.

¹⁰ This does not include the modern paper leaves bound at the beginning and end of the manuscript.

¹¹ It is not mentioned in Budge's 1915 edition of the manuscript. Layton, *Catalogue*, 186, n. 1, speculates that it might have been extracted from the ancient boards of the codex itself, as in Layton, *Catalogue*, nos. 143, 161 and 162. The much tattered leaf is inscribed in a late sloping uncial with a hymn in Greek, in honor of Saint Shenoute, which will be published separately by Agata Deptuła and Adam Łajtar; the latter kindly identified the text for us in August 2020 and put a provisional transcription at our disposal.

¹² The difference between these and Budge's measurements (31.5 cm × 24.5 cm) is due to the fact that some folios (7 and 38) have been inlaid and the others re-margined, in paper. Some folios suffered marginal damage, in particular in their outer corners; only in a few cases, this resulted in minor loss of text, restored by us within square brackets.

Or. 7023 consists in its present form of five quaternions, of which two (the first and last) are incomplete. All quires except the first were originally signed on the first and last pages in the top inner margin as follows: [1/1A] (fourth quire), 1B/1r (second quire) 1A/1E (third quire), and [1C]/[1Z] (fifth quire). Of these signatures only those on the second (1B/1r) and third quires (1A/1E) are still completely visible. The first quire was only signed on its last page, since the presence of a decorated title on the first page sufficiently marked the beginning of the manuscript. The fourth quire lacks a signature on its first page and preserves only traces (illegible) of a signature on its last. The fifth quire, though originally a quaternion, today lacks its external bifolio and as a result lacks both signatures.

2.2 Contents and Disposition

The first quire of Or. 7023, ff. 1a–7b, with Coptic pagination A to [1A], is an incomplete quaternion (see below) and contains the beginning of an only partially preserved *Homily on the Archangel Raphael*, attributed to John Chrysostom (CPG 5150, 2).¹³ The title of this text occupies the whole of f. 1a.¹⁴

The other four quires group the thirty remaining folios and contain a defective version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the beginning of which, including its title, is lost. The current sequence of quires and folios is the following:

The second quire (ff. 8a–15b), with Coptic pagination qE–pI, is a complete quaternion and includes the continuation of the text contained in the fourth quire.

The third quire (ff. 16a–23b), with Coptic page numbering pIA–pKZ, is likewise a complete quaternion and continues the text of the second quire.

The fourth quire (ff. 24a–31b), with Coptic pagination oO–qA, is a complete quaternion and includes the current beginning of the preserved text.

The fifth quire (ff. 32a–37b), with Coptic pagination pKΘ–pM is the last, incomplete quaternion, which has either lost its external bifolio or never had one. However, only the first half of the missing bifolio creates a lacuna, for the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* ends on f. 37b (Coptic page pM).

As already indicated, thanks to the Coptic signatures at beginning and end of each quire and the Coptic numeration of the pages we can be certain that

13 This homily is known in Sahidic, Arabic, Old Nubian and Ethiopic versions; in addition to the titles mentioned in the CPG lemmas, see Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 176–179; id., *Engellehre*, 240; Browne, “Fragment of Ps.-Chrysostom”; id., “P. Mich. xviii 798.” A modern study of the dossier is a desideratum.

14 This title is briefly discussed below, in chapter 2, section 1.

the current disposition of the quires is erroneous. The correct sequence of the four quires including the *Apocalypse of Paul* is the following:

1. Fourth quire: ff. 24a–31b of the modern foliation.
2. Second quire: ff. 8a–15b of the modern foliation.
3. Third quire: ff. 16a–23b of the modern foliation.
4. Fifth quire: ff. 32a–37b of the modern foliation.

2.3 *Original Structure of the Manuscript*

On the basis of the five extant quires we can affirm that the basic structure of the manuscript was the quaternion pattern. Hypothetically, Or. 7023 originally consisted of nine quaternions, a hypothesis that can be ascertained thanks to the presence of quire signatures on some of the quires. If this hypothesis is correct, however, not all quaternions were regular. The fact that the first page of the extant fourth quire (ff. 24a–31b), which is actually the second of the remaining quires, shows the page number 08 (79) implies that one of the preceding quires was an irregular quaternion that missed a folio, for otherwise the page number would have been 1A (81).

Thanks to the information provided by manuscript Or. 6806A we can establish which of the quires was irregular. Or. 6806A consists nowadays of a total of four folios that originally belonged to the same codex as Or. 7023, yet were bound separately in modern times. Or. 6806A, f. 1, lacks the Coptic pagination, but it fortunately preserves the signature B in the top inner margin, which implies that it was originally the first folio of the second quire of the codex. The third and fourth folios of Or. 6806A present visible page numbers running from KZ (27) to λ (30). It is of importance that page λ also presents the signature r, for this means that it was the last folio of the quire. This information allows us to conclude that it was one of the first two quires that was irregular, since the total number of their pages was 30 and not the expected 32.

Bentley Layton suggested that the first quire was originally a complete quaternion that lost its last folio,¹⁵ but there is an important argument for thinking differently. Although the entire manuscript Or. 7023 follows the law of Gregory, this is not the case with its first quire, which begins with the flesh side and is arranged as shown below, in Figure 1.

Since from the second quire onwards the manuscript does respect Gregory's law, it is likely that the exception to this rule in the first quire is simply due to the need for obtaining a smooth surface for the page-filling decorative title of the *Homily on the Archangel Raphael*. Given the poor quality of the parchment

¹⁵ See Layton, *Catalogue*, 187.

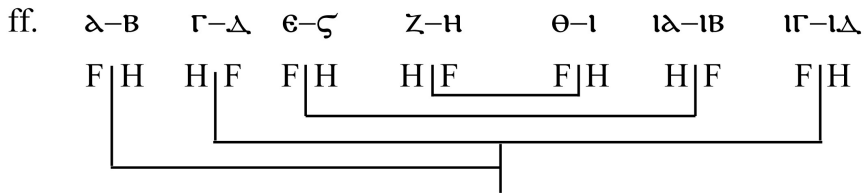


FIGURE 1 The structure of the first quire of Or. 7023 / 6806A

and the obvious artistic ambitions of the scribe, only the flesh side could provide a suitable surface for the yellow and red guilloche motif that frames the title on three of its sides (above, below, and in the left inner margin). The addition of a half bifolio to a ternion solved two problems. To begin with, there was a smooth surface for the title and, secondly, the last page of the first quire could be followed by the second quire, respecting Gregory's law.¹⁶

The first two quires of the original codex contained the beginning of John Chrysostom's *Homily on the Archangel Raphael*, whereas the last four are taken up by a copy of the *Apocalypse of Paul* that lacks its first chapters. Logically, the end of the John Chrysostom text and the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Paul* both fell in the three presently missing quires. The question how far the *Homily on the Archangel Raphael* extended is difficult to answer.¹⁷ Yet a rough estimate of the amount of text lost in the beginning of the *Apocalypse* (fifteen chapters out of sixty-four) suggests that the loss may have amounted to about a quaternion.¹⁸ It can hence be assumed, by way of hypothesis, that the first four quires of the manuscript were taken up by the *Homily on the Archangel Raphael*. If this hypothesis would prove acceptable, the John Chrysostom text may have had 62 pages, since the first quire was an incomplete quaternion, which only had fourteen pages (see Figure 2).

Following the same hypothesis, the *Apocalypse of Paul* would have occupied the five remaining quires, of which only the first, covering pages ζΓ-ΟΗ, is nowadays lost. Then follow the three remaining complete quaternions covering pages ΟΘ to ρΚζ and the incomplete one covering pages ρΚΘ to ρΜ. Given that the text ends in the seventh folio of the last quire, its eighth folio was either a copyist's blank or absent from the beginning. The latter possibility would easily explain the loss of its first folio (pages ρΚΖ and ρΚΗ), since it would have

¹⁶ The observed contravention of the law of Gregory might be due to Byzantine influence.

¹⁷ No complete Sahidic version of the *Homily* is available for comparison.

¹⁸ A similar estimate is proposed by Copeland, *Mapping*, 186.

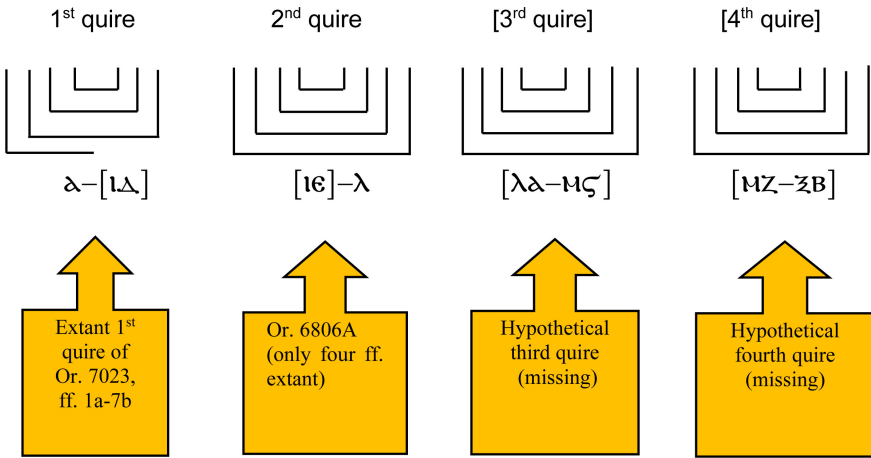


FIGURE 2 Reconstruction of the first four quires of Or. 7023 / 6806A

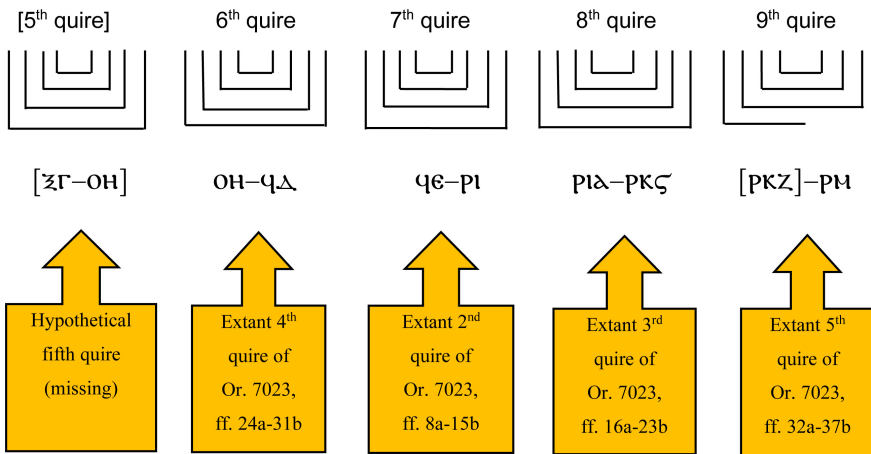


FIGURE 3 Reconstruction of the last five quires of Or. 7023 / 6806A

been held only by an unstable stub.¹⁹ Figure 3 shows the hypothetical original structure of the second part of the codex.

According to this reconstruction, the *Apocalypse of Paul* began at page Ⴡრ (63) of the Coptic pagination and filled the following 78 pages until ϐΜ (140).²⁰

19 Also the position of the colophon, squeezed into the lower right corner of f. 37b, favors this option.

20 Also slight differences in the style of the marginal decoration, in particular the central crosses in the upper margin, observed already by Copeland, *Mapping*, 186, might suggest

Nowadays we have 60 pages of text. Given the fact that the lost fifth quire consisted of sixteen pages, we may conclude that after the current beginning there is only one single minor lacuna of two pages.

2.4 *The Problems with Budge's Edition*

Despite the fact that, as we have shown above, beyond its imperfect beginning, the extant Coptic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* only has a single lacuna of one folio, the *editio princeps* by Budge creates a different impression, since it provides conflicting statements about the existence of various (fictitious) lacunae. In fact, the edition provides up to three different reconstructions of the text:

1. According to the summary of the text in the introduction, Or. 7023 includes a single (non-existent) lacuna of seventeen folios, following page 4A (f. 31b of the modern foliation).²¹
2. The edition of the Coptic text, however, enumerates up to three lacunae: 80 pages after p. [1A] (f. 7b); 52 pages after p. PKC (f. 23b), and 34 pages after p. 4A (f. 31b).²²
3. The English translation, finally, notices a single lacuna of 52 pages after p. PKC (f. 23b).²³

These conflicting reconstructions are the result of three crucial errors of appreciation. To begin with, Budge did not realize that the four folios of codex Or. 6806A were actually the remains of the second quire of the same codex.²⁴ Secondly, he seems to have misunderstood the signature of the quires. Probably not realizing that signatures appear on the first and last folio of every quire, he understood the Coptic number 1A as an ordinal indicating a quire numbered fourteen, whereas it is actually the eighth, and consequently considered our manuscript the second of a series.²⁵ It is his third mistake, however, that is more relevant for our text. As already mentioned, due to an unnoticed binding error, the modern renumbering of the folios does not coincide with the original Coptic pagination. While Budge deliberately preserves this wrong sequence in his edition of the Coptic text, he corrects it in his English translation. In his view a new renumbering of the folios might have led to confusions. However,

that the *Homily* and the *Apocalypse* were copied in two installments and that the latter started on a new quire, our hypothetical fifth quire.

21 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, clxii–clxxiii, at clxv.

22 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 534–574, at 534, 556, 566, respectively.

23 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1043–1084, at 1076.

24 They were partially transcribed only in an appendix to *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, at 1189–1191.

25 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lix.

TABLE 1 The structure of the codex according to Budge and its actual structure

Or. 7023 according to the “Summary”	Or. 7023 according to the Coptic text	Or. 7023 according to the English trans.	Actual structure of Or. 7023/ Or. 6806A
1. –	1. ff. 1a–7b (ⲁ-[ⲓⲁ])	1. ff. 1a–7b (ⲁ-[ⲓⲁ])	1. ff. 1a–7b (ⲁ-[ⲓⲁ]) + Or. 6806A ([ⲓⲉ]–ⲗ)
2. –	2. 80 pages missing	2. 64 pages missing	2. 48 pp. / 24 ff. missing
3. ff. 24a–31b (00–ϣⲁ)	3. ff. 8a–23b (ϣⲉ–ⲣⲕϛ)	3. ff. 24a–31b (00–ϣⲁ)	3. ff. 24a–31b (00–ϣⲁ)
4. 17 folios missing	4. 52 pages missing	4. ff. 8a–23b (ϣⲉ–ⲣⲕϛ)	4. ff. 8a–23b (ϣⲉ–ⲣⲕϛ)
5. 8a–37b (ϣⲉ–ⲣⲙ)	5. ff. 24a–31b (00–ϣⲁ)		
	6. 34 pages missing	5. 52 pages missing	
	7. ff. 32a–37b (ⲣⲕⲉ–ⲣⲙ)	6. ff. 32a–37b (ⲣⲕⲉ–ⲣⲙ)	5. 2 pp. / 1 f. missing
			6. ff. 32a–37b (ⲣⲕⲉ–ⲣⲙ)
Total: ?	240 pages = 120 folios	190 pages = 95 folios	140 pages = 70 folios

instead of clarifying matters, his choice led to important errors concerning the evaluation of the text’s structure. Table 1 presents a synoptic summary of these errors and includes in the fourth column the manuscript’s actual structure and the right place of the only internal *lacuna* of one folio in pp. ϣⲕⲗ-ⲣⲕⲏ.

As the fourth column clearly shows, the actual structure of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A is rather different from what one may suppose on the basis of Budge’s three descriptions. Unaware readers of his edition, or those relying exclusively on Budge’s English rendering, might easily be led to false conclusions concerning the form and extent of the Coptic version. As shown above, however, apart from the missing first quaternion, the Coptic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* presents a single material lacuna of two pages (one folio).

3 The Colophon of British Library Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A

In order to situate our principal manuscript, British Library Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A, better in its social and historical context, we here re-edit its colophon.²⁶ The single extant colophon of the codex immediately follows the last column

26 Van Lantschoot’s 1929 edition (*Recueil*, no. CXVI) was excellent for its time, but lacks a translation and his commentary is scarce; more importantly, his presentation of the text gave rise to considerable confusion about the date of the manuscript (see below). The transcriptions by Budge and Copeland (cited below) are defective.

of the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, on modern folio 37b, Coptic page 140. It is squeezed into the lower right-hand corner of the page, where part of the right margin is torn away, but it is practically intact. Only the end of l. 13 is much faded and partly broken.

The colophon is bilingual and displays two different types of script. The introduction of the donor and the prayer for him and his family are in Sahidic Coptic (ll. 1–11, van Lantschoot's section A); the subscription of the copyist and the date are in Greek (ll. 12–14, van Lantschoot's section B). The script of the Coptic part is the late sloping uncial that is normally used for non-literary texts in this period; the Greek lines show a swift cursive hand.

The Coptic prayer is framed by two interrupted decorative lines, above and below the text, and small *diplai* before each line; the beginning the text in l. 1 is marked by a *coronis* and four dots in a cross form. By means of blanks, two paragraphs are distinguished, one for the introduction of the donor (ll. 1–4), the second for the prayer (ll. 5–11). Throughout, several ligatures and abbreviations appear, not all of them resolved by the previous editors. Occasionally high dots appear. The edition below is semi-diplomatic, but resolves all abbreviations.

Bibliography: [editions] Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 574 (Coptic only), 1084 (translation), pl. 40 (photo), cf. lx–lxi; van Lantschoot, *Recueil*, no. cxvi (complete text with notes); Copeland, *Mapping*, 248 (translation of Coptic), 309 (text, Coptic only), cf. 187; [mentioned or discussed] Layton, *Catalogue*, 187 (with incorrect dates); Roig Lanzillotta, “Coptic Ms. Or 7023,” 26–27 (discussion of date); id., “Coptic Apocalypse,” 161–162 (discussion of date).

- ∴ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲓⲁⲑ(ⲟⲛ) ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲓⲧⲟ-
 ⲟⲩⲧⲓ ⲛⲡⲓⲙⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲧ(ⲁⲓⲛⲩ)
 3 ⲫⲁⲧⲉ · ⲛⲣⲓⲧⲙⲉⲕⲣⲁ · ϣⲓ ⲡⲧⲟⲩ
 ⲛⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ ·
 vac. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲭ(ⲟⲉⲓ)ϥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲧⲉⲗⲟϥ
 6 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϣⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ ⲛⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲕⲗⲟϥ
 ⲡⲁⲡⲟϥⲧⲟⲗⲟϥ · ⲛⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲫⲁⲧⲉ
 ⲙⲓ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛⲣⲉ · ⲛⲛ ⲧⲓ-
 9 ⲥⲓⲛⲣⲉⲩⲱⲃ · ⲛⲓⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲩⲛⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟϥ
 ⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϣⲣⲁⲓ ϣⲓ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧ-
 ⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓ ⲛⲡⲓⲛⲩⲉ · ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲣ · ϣⲁⲙⲛⲛ
 12 Ἰωσήφ ἐλαχίστου, υἱοῦ Σισιννίου), ἐγράφη· Ἀθὺρ· Ϛ´
 vac. ἔτους Ὑⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏ[νῶν]
 vac. τμθ´

2. ⲉⲧⲧ(ⲁⲓⲛⲩ): ⲉⲧ,,ⲧ ms., ⲉⲧⲧ Copeland || 10. ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲓ: ⲉⲧⲉⲛ || 10–11. ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧ
 ⲉⲣⲟ: ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲉ|ⲉⲣⲟ van Lantschoot || 12–14. om. Budge, Copeland || 12. ἐλαχίστου: ἐλάχιστος
 | υἱοῦ: ὁ van Lantschoot, υἱὸς

This good work came into being thanks to the honorable pious brother Psate, from Tmekra in the province of Armant.

May the God of the holy Archangel Raphael and Saint Paul the Apostle bless him, Psate, as well as his wife and his children and his business, and make him joint-heir together with his saints in his kingdom that is in heavens, forever. Amen.

The most humble Joseph, son of Sisinnios, wrote (this) on Hathor 6, year of the Saracens 349 (2 November 960).

The colophon commemorates the donation of the manuscript by a certain Psate to an unnamed institution. The expression ΠΕΙΛΑΘΟΝ, literally “this good thing” (l. 1), refers to the manuscript itself. It is a common way of characterizing a pious foundation in dedicatory texts, colophons or inscriptions, similar to the Greek τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον, “this good work,” often used in reference to buildings or parts of buildings.²⁷ Psate himself was apparently a lay businessman from Tmekra (Timikraton, al-Dimiqrāt), a village in the diocese of Armant (Hermonthis), south of the Theban area.²⁸ The scribe was a member of a family of deacons and scribes in Esna, discussed below, whereas the manuscript itself is said to have been discovered in a ruined monastery, west of Edfu.²⁹ The combination of all this evidence suggests that the recipient may have been a monastery or church in the south of Upper Egypt.

The prayer invokes God via the intercession of Saints Raphael and Paul, with a formula (“God of Saint so-and-so”) that is often used in invocations inscribed near the relics or a representation of the saints in question (ll. 5–7). Here the two saints are represented by the texts contained in the codex, the *Homily on the Archangel Raphael*, attributed to John Chrysostom, and the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The commemoration dates of Saints Paul (29 June) and Raphael (27 August) are rather far apart in the Coptic calendar and it is therefore unlikely that liturgical reasons can have motivated the combination of these two texts in a single codex.³⁰ The selection of the texts may have been dictated by the personal preference of the donor or the needs of the otherwise unknown recipient institution. The prayer asking to make the donor inherit celestial bliss together with the saints (ll. 9–11) is extremely common in funerary

27 See A. Łajtar, in Łajtar and Twardecki, *Catalogue Varsovie*, 271–272, at 1; Van der Vliet, *Catalogue Khartoum*, 17, n. 76, both with further references.

28 For the village, a few kilometers south of Armant, see W.E. Crum, in Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius* 1, 122; Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 2, 866–868; 6, 2707.

29 See above, section 1, about the modern history of the codex.

30 Cf. van Lantschoot, *Recueil* 2, 81–82, n. 3.

prayers and in colophons; the New Testament word $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ($\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$), “joint-heir,” is less common in this context, however.³¹

The Greek subscription underneath the prayer briefly presents the name of the scribe and the date when he finished his work. This date according to a Hijra year, although quite unambiguous, has given rise to considerable confusion in the past. Budge briefly discussed it, but without transcribing the Greek subscription, and dated the manuscript in an approximate way to the second half of the tenth century. He apparently obtained this very imprecise date by combining two partial numbers, a τ (300), the first digit of the date according to the Era of the Hijra, and the remaining portion of a ψ (700), which he attributed to a date according to the Era of the Martyrs.³² If read correctly, the latter would date the codex to a year after AD 983. No trace of this ψ , however, can be discerned in the manuscript today. Fourteen years after Budge’s edition, Canon Arnold van Lantschoot examined the manuscript and was unable to find any trace of it either. He concluded that the colophon may never have contained such a date.³³ His conclusion is confirmed by the textual format of the colophon, which does not allow room for a date according to the Era of the Martyrs.³⁴

In his excellent edition of the colophon, van Lantschoot correctly deciphered the Hijra year as $\tau\mu\theta$, that is 349, but transliterated this as 389 (with a question mark), probably by mere inadvertence, and accordingly dated Or. 7023, with reservations, to the year 999.³⁵ Finally, Bentley Layton, in his catalogue entry, proposed to read the year as either 389 (that is, $\tau\pi\theta$) or 395 ($\tau\varphi\epsilon$, both with question marks), dating the codex to either AD 999 or 1004.³⁶ Yet both readings are paleographically impossible and, moreover, contradicted by the chronology of the copyist, discussed below. Only in 2000, personal inspection confirmed the correctness of van Lantschoot’s reading.³⁷ The manuscript can hence be securely dated to AD 960.

31 It occurs as a loanword in the Sahidic of Eph. 3:6 and 1 Pet. 3:7. For the idea, compare for instance Acts 20:32.

32 Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, lxi. From his description it is unclear where he read this ψ exactly: at the end of l. 14, or did he misread the stigma at the end of l. 12? Copeland, *Mapping*, 187, accepts Budge’s readings of the date without discussion.

33 Van Lantschoot, *Recueil* 2, 82, n. 4.

34 See the reproduction of f. 37b (Coptic page 140) in Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, pl. 40.

35 Van Lantschoot, *Recueil* 1, 204.

36 Layton, *Catalogue*, 187. Lucchesi, “(Pseudo-)Apocalypse,” 241–242, n. 4, cites van Lantschoot’s edition, but follows Layton’s dates.

37 Roig Lanzillotta, “Coptic Ms. Or 7023,” 26–27; id., “Coptic Apocalypse,” 161–162. Also Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 3, 866, gives the correct date (after van Lantschoot).

The copyist, Joseph, son of Sisinnios, belonged to a tenth-century family of scribes and deacons from Esna.³⁸ The same Joseph finished writing codex British Library Or. 7022 on 7 April 981.³⁹ The colophon shows that, at least by 981, he was a deacon and that his father Sisinnios, who had died meanwhile, had been “archdeacon of the cathedral church of Saint John the Baptist in the city of Esna.”⁴⁰ Joseph’s own son, Zokrator, added a note to the colophon, probably because he had assisted his father in the production of the codex. In a later codex, British Library Or. 7029, dated to 14 July 992, Zokrator acted as the principal scribe, assisted—in all likelihood—by his brother Diomedes, who added a note to the colophon.⁴¹ Their father, our scribe Joseph, who had meanwhile been raised to the rank of archdeacon, just like his own father Sisinnios, had died between 981 and 992.

As these three codices and their bilingual colophons show, the scribes of the Sisinnios family were fully competent to transmit Egypt’s late-antique literary heritage into a period when Arabic was rapidly becoming the standard throughout the country. The scribe Joseph was not only bi-literate, but had no less than three distinct writing hands at his command, each for a distinct register or domain. He copied the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in the formal majuscules of the period, the late Coptic variant of the Alexandrian majuscule.⁴² The Coptic colophon was written in the sloping uncials that were commonly used for book titles and colophons as well as non-literary documents in this period,⁴³ whereas the Greek subscription is distinguished by a swift cursive. The oblique cases in ἐλαχίστου and υ(ι)οῦ, instead of the expected nominatives, are not a symptom of lacking knowledge of Greek, but a language

38 For what follows, see Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 20–22.

39 For the manuscript, which contains the Sahidic *Martyrdom of Saint Victor the General* and a homily in his honor, attributed to Celestine of Rome, see Layton, *Catalogue*, no. 144; for its two colophons, van Lantschoot, *Recueil*, nos. CVIII–CIX.

40 For Esna as a bishopric in this period, see Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 3, 1184–1186; for the church, 1187–1188.

41 The manuscript is Layton, *Catalogue*, no. 163; its colophon, van Lantschoot, *Recueil*, no. CXIII. The colophon is newly translated and discussed in Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 18–23. The codex contains, in addition to the *Life of Aaron* and the liturgical readings for his festival, the death-bed *Prayer of Saint Athanasius*, recorded by his successor, Timothy of Alexandria, and a *Homily on the Archangel Michael*, attributed to the same Timothy; see Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 3–9.

42 For which, see Askeland, “On the History of the Alexandrian Majuscule.”

43 For this script, the “colophon script” of Stegemann’s *Koptische Paläographie*, see Boud’hors, “Onciale.” The same script was used in the extensive title of Pseudo-John Chrysostom’s homily on the Archangel Raphael, extant on the first page of the codex, and in the Greek hymn on the (extraneous) folio 38 of the codex.

contact phenomenon, found very frequently for instance in contemporaneous Nubian Greek.⁴⁴ The family had access, passively and actively, to Egypt's Christian heritage and they were proud of it, as the rare Greek names of Joseph's sons, Zokrator and Diomedes, underline.⁴⁵

The activity of the Sisinnios family, which can be followed over several decades, allows us a glimpse of the workings of a tenth-century cathedral scriptorium in the city of Esna, in southernmost Egypt. It may be assumed that the *Vorlages* for the texts copied by them were available locally, most likely in the cathedral library itself. This must have been the case for a text like the *Life of Aaron*, the interest and circulation of which were purely regional.⁴⁶ Yet, as the remains of the Esna-Edfu hoard demonstrate, the area was clearly connected with the broader literary tradition of late-antique Egypt, as transmitted in Sahidic Coptic, but also in Greek and Old Nubian.⁴⁷ Tenth-century Esna was not the backwater that it may seem from a distance. The region profited from the nearby frontier with the powerful Christian kingdom of Makuria, in present-day Sudan, and the commercial and intellectual exchanges that this proximity favored.⁴⁸ Still several centuries later, in the fourteenth century, the neighboring commercial centre of Qus produced a scholar like Bishop Athanasius of Qus, who was equally versed in Arabic, Greek and the principal varieties of Coptic.⁴⁹ The Esna text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* has a background in an urban scholarly milieu, where the traditional literary culture of Christian Egypt was cherished and cultivated.

44 See the remarks in Łajtar and Van der Vliet, *Empowering the Dead*, 226–227; Van der Vliet, “Exit Bishop Tamer,” 230–231. Alternatively, the rather terse subscription could be read as: “(Work) of the most humble Joseph, son of Sisinnios; he wrote (this) on Hathor 6 (etc.).” This is less likely, however, in light of other colophons and, in particular, the Greek prayer of Or. 7022 (van Lantschoot, *Recueil*, no. CIX), by the same Joseph, which shows similar cases of *genitivus pro nominativo*.

45 On these names, Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 22, n. 109.

46 See Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 15.

47 For the multilingualism of the collection, Van der Vliet, “Nubian Voices from Edfu,” 265. Note that also the extraneous leaf that is bound with our text (f. 38) is inscribed with a hymn in Greek; see above, n. 11.

48 For the Nubian connections of the Esna-Edfu codices, see Van der Vliet, “Nubian Voices from Edfu.”

49 On Athanasius, see Sidarus, “Littérature copte et copto-arabe au xive siècle,” 303–306, with further references.

4 British Library Or. 7023: Language and Orthography of the *Apocalypse of Paul*

The language of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in manuscript Or. 7023 represents an overall correct and idiomatic literary Sahidic.⁵⁰ In a period when written Sahidic was giving way to Arabic and simultaneously undergoing considerable changes itself, the scribe faithfully adhered to a linguistic standard that had been developed in Upper Egypt in late antiquity.⁵¹ Salient grammatical features that would deserve a separate discussion are few, which is in itself a significant fact.⁵² The following pages will therefore be almost exclusively concerned with details of orthography and spelling.

In these domains, British Library Or. 7023 exhibits a number of mainly orthographic regionalisms, similar to those found in other Sahidic manuscripts from the Esna-Edfu hoard. Compared to the *Life of Aaron* in British Library Or. 7029, copied by Joseph's sons, Zokrator and Diomedes, their number is relatively small, however. This may be because the *Life of Aaron* is a far longer text, but more likely the difference brings out that both texts have different regional backgrounds. The *Life of Aaron* is very much a local text, commemorating the saints of the First Cataract region, whereas the *Apocalypse of Paul* must have been translated in a different part of Egypt, perhaps in the neighborhood of Panopolis, where it most likely originated, before it came to circulate in southern scriptoria. Whatever the text's original background may have been, all of the orthographic peculiarities discussed below, as far as they are geographically distinctive, converge in the Theban area and the region south of it, underscoring the southern origin of both scribe and manuscript. The language shows no other regional markers and bears a uniform character throughout the text.⁵³

50 The following observations concern the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul*; the *Homily on Raphael*, copied by the same hand in the same codex, has not been studied by us.

51 For the rise of literary Coptic from the early fourth century, see Zakrzewska, "Bilingual Language Variety"; Fournet, *Rise of Coptic*; for its demise: Van der Vliet, "Coptic Documentary Papyri," 200–208. For the difficulties involved in the use of the term "standard," see Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 2.

52 Some less usual constructions or idioms are discussed in our commentary, primarily as a help to the reader.

53 With the exception of an isolated ϩΔΝ-, instead of ϩΕΝ-, for which see our commentary at 46, 4, the instances of Bohairic influence recognized by Copeland, *Mapping*, 292, n. 153; 293, n. 168, and 298, n. 168, are not distinctive. One might wish to consider ⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲓ for ⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ, in 49, 3, a northern spelling, but ⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ is an Upper-Egyptian word and the ending -ⲓ is best explained by vowel assimilation.

Below, the most notable features of the manuscript's language are discussed, first a syntactic peculiarity, then the characteristics of its orthography.

4.1 *Uncertainty over Pronominal Reference*

Uncertainty over pronominal reference is found in other manuscripts of the Esna-Edfu find as well. It is particularly disturbing in the *Life of Aaron*, in British Library Or. 7029, where it may have been favored by the extremely complicated narrative structure of the text.⁵⁴ In the present manuscript it occurs much more rarely and most often in generic contexts. In particular in periods starting with generic free relative clauses ("he who ..., those who ...," that is, "anybody who ..."),⁵⁵ the scribe tended to switch in backward reference from plural to singular pronouns or the other way round. A nice example is found in the explanation of the angel in chapter 19, 2. Translated literally, it would run: "As for *those who* serve God with the whole of *their* heart, also *his* likeness is in heaven, and the angels recognize *him* as the person who served God with the whole of *his* heart before *he* left the world." All the third person pronouns in this sentence are generic, that is, they refer to *any* righteous person who served God on earth, which tends to neutralize the distinction between plural and singular. Other instances of incorrect pronominal selection are rare and mostly explained by contextual factors.⁵⁶

4.2 *Orthography: Vowels*

4.2.1 Vowel Doubling and Occasionally the Contrary

According to Walter E. Crum, vowel doubling is "the most constant characteristic distinguishing the idiom in which the literary texts from Esne-Edfû are written."⁵⁷ The present manuscript proves no exception. Thus we find ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉ, in the sense of both "alone, only" and "very much," written *passim* as ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲧⲉ; ⲁⲗⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ, "to stand," as ⲁⲁⲗⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ; ⲙⲙⲧⲉ, both "middle" and "ten (fem.)," as ⲙⲙⲙⲧⲉ; ⲭⲟⲟⲙⲉ for ⲭⲟⲙⲉ, "to be high"; ⲡⲟⲟⲙⲉ for ⲡⲟⲙⲉ, "fragment, rag." Several more instances could be cited, none with ⲉ or ⲱ, though. These doubled vowels represent orthographic variants, no scribal errors. They are therefore not corrected in our text or the apparatus, unless this seemed desirable for the sake of easy recognition.

54 See Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 28–29.

55 See Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 434.

56 For the principle of "structural priming" at work in such cases, see Ferreira and Bock, "Functions of Structural Priming."

57 Crum, in Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius* 1, 242. Cf. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 117.

Inversely, sometimes a single vowel is written where a double one would be the usual. Thus, we find ⲙⲁⲅ for ⲙⲁⲁⲅ, “mother,” in 46, 1; ⲙⲏⲟⲩⲉ for ⲙⲏⲏⲟⲩⲉ, “multitude, crowd,” in 62, 1, and ⲧⲟⲃⲥ for ⲧⲟⲟⲃⲥ, the pronominal state of ⲧⲱⲟⲃⲉ, “to repay, reward,” in 51.

4.2.2 Doubling of the Glides ⲟⲩ and (ⲉ)ⲓ

Also the glide ⲟⲩ is sometimes doubled, in particular—so it seems—after a vowel. Examples include: ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩ̄ for ⲉⲟⲩ̄, the circumstantial of ⲟⲩ̄ (31, 4), ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲅⲟⲟⲣ for ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲅⲟⲟⲣ, “the dogs” (40, 3), ⲁⲅⲟⲩⲱⲛ for ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛ, the imperative of ⲟⲩⲱⲛ, “to open” (41, 1), and ⲁⲅⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲕ for ⲁⲅⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲕ, “they cried out, exclaimed” (44, 2; 56, 1). Inversely and more rarely, it disappears between two vowels, for instance in ⲗⲁⲱ for ⲗⲁⲅⲱ or ⲗⲁⲃⲱ, “sail,” in 23, 1.

More incidentally, this may happen with (ⲉ)ⲓ, for instance in ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲉⲓⲱ, for ⲧⲙⲁⲓⲱ or ⲧⲙⲁⲉⲓⲱ, “to praise” (doubling, 24, 2), and inversely ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲟⲥ for ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲱⲥ, δίκαιος, “righteous” (drop, 23, 3).

4.2.3 Uncertainty over the /o/ Sound

Uncertainty of the realization of the rounded back vowels ⲟ, ⲱ and ⲟⲩ is shared with the *Life of Aaron* in British Library Or. 7029, copied by the sons of the present scribe.⁵⁸ Yet it is much less frequent here than in the latter manuscript. Likewise very rare is the writing of ⲁ for ⲟ in closed syllables, which is common in texts from Middle Egypt and the Fayoum (a single example is cited below).

4.2.3.1 o–ω Interchange

We find ⲟ instead of ⲱ in ⲛⲉⲅⲩⲱ, for ⲛⲉⲅⲩⲱ, “their hairs,” and ⲕⲟⲙⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ for ⲕⲱⲙⲱ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ, “to sneer at,” both in 31, 4, and once even in the vocative marker ⲱ (ⲱ̇), in 54. Among Greek loanwords, it is found for instance in ⲁⲗⲟⲩⲟⲥ, for ἀλόγως, “without reason, unjustifiably,” in 40, 5.⁵⁹ Inversely, ⲱ may be written instead of ⲟ. Thus, we note ⲙⲱ ⲙⲏ, for ⲧⲅⲟ / ⲙⲟ ⲙⲏ, “to treat badly,” in 44, 5, and once even ⲡⲁⲅⲗⲱⲥ, in 32, 2.

4.2.3.2 ⲟⲩ–ω Interchange

This phenomenon is frequently encountered in the Theban area and its occurrence in the present manuscript is certainly significant.⁶⁰ Thus, we find ⲟⲩ for

58 See Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 30–31; on the scribes, see above, section 3.

59 Cf. Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 41, under b; Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 31.

60 See Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts*, 121–122; cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah* I, 90–91, par. 62; Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 31. Theban area: Crum, in Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius* I, 241.

ω (Ϝ), the vocative marker, in οΥ πα.χ.ο.ε.ι.ς, “O, my Lord!” (22, 2), which is once written ο, in 54. Inversely, οΥ, the question word “what?,” is once written ω (44, 5). Note also οΥκε.α.ν.ο.ς, for Ὠκεανός, “the Ocean” (21, 2; elsewhere in the text spelt οκεανος or ορεανος), and να.ν.ω.ο.υ, for να.ν.ο.υ.ο.υ, “they are good,” in 16, 6, and more often.

Perhaps connected with the apparent loss of distinction between οΥ and ο / ω is the occasional merging of ο / ω with an adjacent οΥ or inversely. Possible examples are ροΥ for ροοΥ, “day,” in 16, 1; ε.χ.ω for ε.χ.ω.ο.υ, “over them,” in 21, 4; α.φο.υ.ω.β̄ for α.φο.υ.ω.ω.β̄, “he answered,” in 45, 3. Inversely, merging of οΥ, appears in ν̄ο.ε.ι.ν for νο.υ.ο̄.ε.ι.ν, “light,” in 58, 2. The numbers are statistically not impressive, but since the same mechanism appears to be at work in the *Life of Aaron*, the examples most likely represent a pattern.⁶¹

4.3 Orthography: Consonants

4.3.1 Weakness of the Nasals

The loss of stress in the nasals, in particular ɴ, is a well attested characteristic of later Sahidic.⁶² In a limited number of cases, this caused drop of the weak ɴ between two vowels or at the end of a syllable. Examples are ρεοΥ ɴε να.ι for ρενοΥ ɴε να.ι, “what kind of people are these?” in 24, 2 (drop of intervocalic ɴ); α.πα.τα for α.πα.ν.τα, ἀπαντάω, “to meet,” in 21, 3 (at the end of a syllable); λα.χ.α.τ̄ι for λα.μ.χ.α.τ̄ι, “pitch,” in 31, 3 (similarly, with ɴ). Inversely, doubling of the syllabic ɴ-, in particular before the indefinite article οΥ-, which is frequent in more northern manuscripts,⁶³ occurs only once here, in ɴ̄νο.υ.γ̄β̄.ς.ω, “a garment” (object), in 61.

4.3.2 Palatalization

The replacement of ڪ by ɕ (palatalization) is a striking feature of the present manuscript. This is again a typically southern phenomenon, common in texts from the Theban area.⁶⁴ Thus, ڪω.β, “to be / make double,” is almost consistently written ɕω.β. Furthermore, we may note το.ɕ for το.ڪ, “razor,” in 16, 2, and 36, 2; λω.ɕ for λω.ڪ, “to sting,” in 16, 2; το.ɕ for το.ڪ, “to be adorned, studded (with),” in 23, 1, and 62, 1; a rare ɕι.ɕ for ɕι.ڪ, “sorcery,” in 38, 2, and

61 Thus already Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 118 (“excrecence or omission of οΥ [w] before ω”). Cf. Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 31.

62 See Richter, “Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden 11,” 99 and 101; Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 33, with n. 154.

63 See, for instance, Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 119–120, par. 90; Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 21, par. 22(b).

64 Thus according to Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 96–97; cf. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 115–117; Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 32.

ϸⲙⲙⲙ for ⲕⲙⲙⲙ, “to be black,” in 38, 3. Inversely, there is a single ⲕⲁⲡ for ϸⲟⲡ, “hoof,” in 49, 3 (with an ⲁ/o swap that otherwise does not occur in this text).

4.3.3 Various Other Changes in the Consonants

The text shows some rare cases of ϣ-ϥ interchange. Once, ϣⲙⲙⲙ is found for ϥⲙⲙⲙ, “to become warm,” which is otherwise twice written in the normal way in the same paragraph (42, 1).⁶⁵ Inversely, chapter 49, 3, writes ϥⲙ, “length, height,” whereas the standard spelling ϣⲙ occurs in 22, 1 and 42, 1.⁶⁶ Chapter 23, 1, has a rare word ϥⲧⲙ, “mast,” perhaps for ϣⲧⲉ / ϣⲧⲙ, with the same meaning, but these may be two different words altogether.⁶⁷

Some instances of ϣ-λ and ⲃ-ϥ interchange, as can be found all over Egypt, have been noted in the apparatus.

4.4 Orthography: Greek Loanwords

Greek loanwords are usually spelt in their correct Coptic form, which obviously is not always their standard Greek spelling.⁶⁸ Quite frequent in our text is the interchange of the loan-morpheme ζ and ϥ, which may reflect “the absence of a phonemic contrast between the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives /s/ and /z/. ”⁶⁹ We note ⲃⲁⲫⲁⲛⲟϥ / ⲃⲁⲫⲁⲛⲓⲥ for ⲃⲁϥⲁⲛⲟϥ / ⲃⲁϥⲁⲛⲓⲥ (*passim*) and ⲕⲃⲣⲓϥⲥ for ⲕⲃⲣⲓϥϥ (ⲕⲃⲣϥⲥⲥω) in 47, 2. Greek nouns ending in the sequence -η-C-η, such as ⲡⲏⲃⲏ, “source,” consistently take an ending -ϥ-C-ⲙ, as is very common (thus ⲡⲓⲃⲙ, in 45, 3).⁷⁰ The isolated spelling ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲓⲟⲛ for ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲓⲟⲛ, “kettle, cauldron” (31, 3), occurs also in the *Life of Aaron* 84.⁷¹ In both cases, this may simply be a case of consonant assimilation.⁷²

65 Cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 677; Westendorf, *Wörterbuch*, 372; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 264, s.v. ϣⲙⲙⲙ (“forme exceptionnelle”), and 301, s.v. ϥⲙⲙⲙ.

66 See Crum, *Dictionary*, 549a, s.v. ϣⲙ, where the *hori* is seen as an Achmimic feature; cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 135–136, where almost all examples are from the Theban area.

67 Treated as two distinct words by Crum, *Dictionary*, 595a and 723a, and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch*, 328 and 393, who suspect a relationship, though; cf. Černý, *Etymological Dictionary*, 255 and 300; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 271 and 315.

68 For the review of the most common changes that occur in the Coptic spelling of Greek loanwords, see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 40–43; most of these are found in Egyptian Greek as well, see Gignac, *Grammar* 1. Note that spellings that can easily be found in Förster, *Wörterbuch*, have not been normalized in our apparatus.

69 Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 22.

70 Cf. Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 41, under ϥ; Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 264–265.

71 Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 114, l. 16.

72 Cf. Crum, in Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius* 1, 243, who quotes a Theban spelling ⲕⲁⲗⲕⲓⲟⲛ.

4.5 *Scribal Conventions*

The scribe Joseph produced a pleasant and easily legible manuscript. For a brief but adequate description of the clear and regular script, an upright Sahidic majuscule, the page layout and the sober page decoration of codex Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A, we refer to the entry in Bentley Layton's catalogue.⁷³ Here we may merely observe that the upper margin of each page bears a centrally placed staurogram, summarily decorated with dots, strokes and small scrolls.⁷⁴ Page numbers (in the top outer margins) and quire signatures (in the top inner margins) are similarly decorated. The text is written in two rather narrow columns of approximately twelve to fifteen characters per line. The scribe does not divide words or word groups, but separates clauses by a high point followed by a small blank. The points and blanks are placed logically, but the length and nature of the clauses thus divided varies considerably. Enlarged letters in *ekthesis*, sometimes decorated and heightened in color, occasionally mark paragraphs. The *coronis* is used in the same way. Once, four *diples* mark an enumeration in the text (of the four rivers in 23, 3, p. 92, f. 30b, col. 1). All such marginal devices are used very sparingly. They are relatively frequent in the first half of the codex, in particular in the John Chrysostom homily, whereas they become increasingly seldom towards the end of the text. The various graphic devices displayed by the manuscript are not reproduced in our edition of the text, which uses modern Greek-style punctuation throughout.⁷⁵

The shwa is often, but quite inconsistently marked by a superlinear stroke. Single syllabic consonants are marked with short, longer syllables usually with longer strokes, yet there is great variation in length, shape and place of the strokes. Also syllabic and stressed vowels may be provided with a stroke, and spellings like ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲛ and ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲧⲃ or ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲃ are not uncommon. Wherever such strokes are written, we render them in our text, though always as short strokes over a single letter. In the end of the lines, the prolonged cross of the raised ⲧ (see the next paragraph) often seems to take the place of one of more strokes; this has not been rendered in our text. The trema (*diaeresis*) over the syllabic iota is used sparingly and always printed by us if present.

73 Layton, *Catalogue*, 187; cf. Copeland, *Mapping*, 185–186. A typical page (96, f. 8b) is reproduced in Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, pl. 39; the slightly cramped f. 37b, with the colophon, *ibid.*, pl. 40. Two pages from the John Chrysostom homily on Raphael (from Or. 6806A) are reproduced in de Rustafjaell, *The Light of Egypt*, pl. XLIV, facing p. 107.

74 Instead of this simple staurogram (*crux monogrammatica*), the first part of the codex, which contains the John Chrysostom homily, shows more elaborate ornamental crosses of variable shape (cf. Copeland, *Mapping*, 186).

75 See below, chapter 5, on the principles of edition.

In order to accommodate the text within the two columns of the page and also for a purely visual effect, the scribe uses a variety of devices to get the right hand margins more or less even. He prolongs letters or superlinear strokes at the end of lines to fill them out and frequently abbreviates words. Thus he often renders a consonant (not only \mathfrak{n}) at the end of a line by a stroke (for instance $\overline{\mathfrak{nk}}\overline{\mathfrak{o}}|\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}$ for $\mathfrak{nk}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}|\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}$, in 52, f. 32a, p. 129, col. II, ll. 1–2), or a vowel by a crossed stroke (for instance $\overline{\mathfrak{nn}}|\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{h}$ for $\mathfrak{nen}|\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{h}$, in 36, 2, f. 13a, p. 105, col. I, ll. 12–13, or $\mathfrak{w}\overline{\mathfrak{ll}}$ for $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{l}$, in 40, 4, f. 15b, p. 110, col. I, l. 21), but also other abbreviation marks are used, such as raised and superimposed letters and ampersand-like signs. The upper parts of \mathfrak{p} , \mathfrak{t} and \mathfrak{y} may be raised and prolonged above the line, and the combination $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}$ written as a ligature,⁷⁶ so that they occupy less space. Rendering or even noting all of these devices in our printed text would make very tiresome reading and add little or nothing to our understanding of the text or its transmission. We therefore silently resolved all abbreviations, signaling only a few less habitual ones in the apparatus. Among these may be noted, the writing $\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}$ for $\Delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{c}$ (in 46, 2, f. 20b, p. 120; 51, f. 32a, p. 129), using the ampersand for Greek $\chi\alpha\iota$, a device often found in Nubian Greek.⁷⁷

The same procedure has been followed for the so-called *nomina sacra* and similar standard abbreviations.⁷⁸ These are usually, though not always marked by a superlinear stroke in the present manuscript. In accordance with the practice current in the edition of Christian literary texts in Greek, all of these abbreviations have been silently resolved.

5 Other Coptic Witnesses

5.1 *Sahidic Fragments from the Ilves Collection*

The two tiny fragments that make up this manuscript, tagged IC by us, are part of a Finnish private collection, the Ilves Collection. The text was identified by Antti Marjanen and Alin Suciu, who presented a brief report about their findings at the SBL Annual Meeting in Chicago, in November 2012, which remained unpublished.⁷⁹ As we had no access to the original, we are deeply

⁷⁶ For which see Quecke, “Schreibung des $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{y}$.”

⁷⁷ See Łajtar, *Catalogue Khartoum*, xviii; it occurs more occasionally in contemporaneous Egypt.

⁷⁸ For listings of the most common ones, see, for instance, Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 34, or Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 18.

⁷⁹ The manuscript is briefly mentioned in Suciu, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 113.

indebted to our colleagues for generously sharing with us their expert report and a set of digital photos. Obviously, all errors of reading and interpretation are ours.

The manuscript consists of two oblong parchment strips, apparently not connecting, yet undoubtedly belonging to the same leaf. The fragment numbered 1 measures 17 × 71 mm; fragment 2, 14 × 41 mm. The fragments are inscribed in a single hand, in quite beautiful late-antique uncials, which can be dated to the fifth-sixth centuries on paleographical grounds. This date would make them over four centuries older than our principal manuscript, British Library Or. 7023 (BL). No provenance is stated; as far as can be judged from the little text surviving, the language is a standard Sahidic.

The fragments preserve parts of chapters 49, 2-50, 1-2. These chapters relate Paul's meeting with respectively Lot (49, 2), Job (49, 3) and Noah (50) and are only partly extant in manuscript BL, which lacks a folio here, as a result of which only the parallel passages in 49, 2, and the beginning of 49, 3, are extant. The text is divided thus over the fragments:

- 1, hair side: 49, 2 (about Lot)
- 2, hair side: 49, 3 (about Job)
- 2, flesh side: 49, 3 (about Job)
- 1, flesh side: 50, 1-2 (about Noah).

This division shows that the two fragments must have been part of a single leaf, inscribed in two columns. The hair side is the recto, fragment 1 being part of the left hand, fragment 2, of the right hand column. The flesh side is the verso, with the left hand column on fragment 2, the right hand column on fragment 1. Fragment 1 preserves the original width of the column, with even some remains of a margin. It shows that the lines comprised about thirteen to sixteen characters. All of this suggests that the codex to which the fragments belonged had a layout more or less similar to our manuscript BL.

The text of manuscript IC corresponds almost literally to that of manuscript BL, where extant, and the Latin of the Paris manuscript. The differences between the three witnesses will be briefly summarized below. For further details, the reader is referred to our commentary at 49, 2, and 49, 3.

In the two instances where comparison between IC and BL is possible, BL omits text. This concerns the question of Paul in fragment 1, hair side, and the mention of the righteous in the answer of the angel in fragment 2, hair side. In the first instance, this is simply a scribal error (*saut du même au même*); in the second, a hasty copyist may have considered the repetition of the word ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙC, "righteous," redundant (for both omissions, see our commentary). More interestingly, BL twice seeks to clarify a sentence by replacing a non-verbal prepositional predicate: πείζραϊ εἰ̅π̅ τ̅π̅ολις, μ̅ν̅ ἱ̅[ο]̅γ̅[α]̅ πογ̅]δ̅, literally "who

(was) in the city,” “(is) with each,”⁸⁰ with a lexical verb: πετῳοον ἑῷ τιπολις, μοῦῳε μῇ πογα πογα, “who *lived* in the city,” “*accompanies* each.” A similar desire for explicitness can be observed in the slightly modified quotative indexes that introduce Lot’s words (fragment 1, hair side) and the answer of the angel (fragment 2, hair side). In both cases, BL adds ναι, “to me,” identifying the participants in the dialogue in a more explicit way. Compared to the older manuscript, therefore, manuscript BL exhibits two scribal omissions as well as several instances of lexical and pragmatic clarification that typically represent textual engineering, a form of editing aimed at preserving and heightening the text’s efficacy in performance.⁸¹

Comparison with the Latin of the Paris manuscript shows that both Coptic versions situate Lot “in the city of the impious” (1C, fragment 1, hair side), whereas the Latin repeats the *in Sodoma* from the previous speech of the angel. The Latin starts the story of Lot in the middle of the events, skipping the typical “I am”-statements (in Coptic, ἀνοκ πε) with which the biblical saints introduce themselves in this part of the text. In the question about the accompanying angels (fragment 2, hair side), the Latin slightly condenses the question and does not repeat the word for angel. In the words of Job (fragment 2, flesh side), the Latin phrases a bit differently and reduces the largely reconstructed phrase ἡτεῖθ[λιψις μῇ τ]επληγη, “in this affliction and the plague,” to a simple *in plaga*, “in the plague.” In the text about Noah (fragment 1, flesh side), manuscript 1C introduces Paul in the third person against the first person of the Latin. Switching from the first to the third person and back is a common stylistic feature of the genre of “cosmic tours.” It occurs in the text of manuscript BL in chapter 43, 4 (see our commentary there, also for literature). Otherwise the Latin and the Coptic of these brief phrases match perfectly.

The primary importance of the fragmentary manuscript 1C resides in its age. If a fifth-sixth century date can be accepted, it attests to an early translation of the *Apocalypse of Paul* into Sahidic Coptic and generally confirms the stability of the text over many centuries. Given the amount of text preserved, textual comparison does not allow sweeping statements. As far as can be judged, the text of 1C displays a redaction that is largely identical to that of the Sahidic manuscript BL and the long Latin text of the Paris manuscript. The first to third person switch that can be observed in 1C, in a passage lacking in BL (50, 1), is a stylistic device that does not alter the character of the text.

80 For this type of predicates, see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 237–238, par. 310.

81 We owe this concept, which emphasizes the agency of the ancient scribes, to Ewa D. Zakrzewska; cf. Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, “Earliest Manuscript,” 385–388, with further references.

Comparison of the two Sahidic witnesses can only bear upon the tiny portions of text extant in both manuscripts. Not unexpectedly, it shows them to be closer to each other than to the Latin, which is inclined to abridging. The two overlapping passages from 49, 2–3, however brief, confirm the general reliability of the tenth-century manuscript BL. At the same time, BL can be seen to represent a later stage of evolution of the text, marked by (unessential) scribal omissions and textual engineering. Yet, while affecting the text in details, both the omissions and the editing process seem to have left the essence of the text untouched.

5.2 *The Vienna Leaf of the Sahidic Apocalypse of Athanasius*

The status of the manuscript presented here is debatable. It is a single leaf from a Sahidic manuscript of an *Apocalypse of Athanasius* that is based upon a re-edition of the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in which the editor replaced the figure of Paul by that of Athanasius, the fourth-century bishop of Alexandria.⁸² It is not therefore, strictly spoken, a manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Yet, since the editor seems to have limited his task mostly to the systematic replacement of Paul by Athanasius, while retaining the structure and often even the exact phrasing of the older work, the leaf may be considered a genuine witness to the Egyptian text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* that might shed light on the shape and reliability of the text of the London manuscript.⁸³ As we will see below, this optimistic statement needs to be qualified. Nevertheless, also given the dearth of other Coptic witnesses, there are good reasons to present the fragment here.

In addition to the Sahidic Coptic fragment, the false *Apocalypse of Athanasius* is known in its entirety in an Arabic version, first published in 1922 in Cairo by a monk Dumadius (Dometius) al-Baramūsī.⁸⁴ This edition contains no information whatever on the manuscript used nor are we aware of any other manuscript witnesses. The edition by Dumadius al-Baramūsī remains, therefore, our only source for the complete *Apocalypse of Athanasius*. As a service

82 See Graf, *Geschichte* 1, 276–277, no. 1; Lucchesi, “(Pseudo-)Apocalypse,” 241. For the putative historical background of this revision, we refer to chapter 4, section 2, below.

83 Thus Lucchesi, “(Pseudo-)Apocalypse,” 242–243.

84 Dumadius, *Nūr al-anwār*, 7–60, in the literature usually cited under the name of Murqus Ġirġis, the publisher of the second edition (1926); for further details, see Appendix 2, by Jos van Lent. This apocalypse must be distinguished from the better known revelations about the Muslim rule in Egypt, attributed to Athanasius; see Graf, *Geschichte* 1, 277–279, nos. 2 and 3; cf. below, chapter 4, section 2, n. 42. The apocalyptic material deriving from the *Apocalypse of Paul/Athanasius* was again recycled in an Arabic *Homily CXII*, also attributed to Athanasius; see Graf, *Geschichte* 1, 315.

to the reader, we provide, in Appendix 2, his text, prepared by Jos van Lent, together with the latter's English translation.

The isolated leaf that remains of the Sahidic version is kept in the Papyrusammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, under inventory number K 9653. It was first published in 1997, in a semi-diplomatic edition by Enzo Lucchesi, with an appendix by Anthony Hilhorst.⁸⁵ Their very accurate edition does not provide an image, but it does give the corresponding text of the Arabic version after the 1926 edition, with a French translation.⁸⁶ Since the leaf represents a different text, as we will argue below, we did not integrate it into our edition of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Instead, we offer a re-edition and English translation of the Vienna leaf in Appendix 1, for which the same format as our edition of the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is adopted, in order to facilitate comparison. For the same reason, our reconstruction of the lacunae is less conservative than Lucchesi's. Our readings are based upon a digital photo, made after restoration of the leaf in the autumn of 2020 and kindly put at our disposal by the Vienna Papyrussammlung.⁸⁷

The Vienna leaf, inscribed at both sides, measures 30.7 × 23.4 cm and was originally part of a parchment codex. The recto is flesh side; the verso, hair side. The leaf lacks the upper right hand corner. As a result it lost its page numbers and some lines of text, while a badly repaired tear crossing the upper half of the leaf further obscures part of the text. A vaguely preserved quire signature, with the presumable Coptic numeral 16, on the recto, top left, shows that it was the first folio of a quire. On the assumption that this was the sixteenth quire and that the preceding quires were formed regularly, the missing page numbers were reconstructed by Lucchesi as 241 and 242. However, if quire signatures were used in the same way as in Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A, namely on the first and last folio of each quaternion, which is a not abnormal procedure, the quire must have been the ninth and not the sixteenth. In this case, we would be dealing actually with pages 129–130. Since we do not know how the quire numbers were assigned and lack other clues to the structure of the original codex, we did not retain these unverifiable numbers.

The text occupies two columns per page, each of 25 to 27 lines of about ten to thirteen characters. The leaf preserves vague traces of a ruling pattern and was

85 Lucchesi, "(Pseudo-)Apocalypse"; Hilhorst, "Lebensende." Lucchesi's text is reproduced by Copeland, *Mapping*, 294–296, in the apparatus of her edition of ff. 22a–23a of manuscript BL (cf. *Mapping*, 17–18, under the siglum C2).

86 Lucchesi, "(Pseudo-)Apocalypse," 247–248, after the second edition of Dumadius, *Nūr al-anwār*, 53–55.

87 For which we thank its director, Prof. Dr. Bernhard Palme, and staff most cordially.

inscribed by a practiced, though rather careless and uneven hand. Several letters omitted by error were added secondarily above the lines or in the margins; superlinear strokes and dots are placed irregularly. The text is divided in a logical way into short paragraphs that each begin with a slightly enlarged letter in *ekthesis*. On the recto, several letters of the last line are prolonged into the lower margin to produce a decorative effect. The script is basically the same upright Sahidic majuscule as that of our principal manuscript, BL. The leaf probably originates from the library of the White Monastery near Panopolis / Achmim and was plausibly dated to the tenth-eleventh century by Lucchesi.⁸⁸ Thus it is more or less contemporaneous with manuscript BL.

The text corresponds to the very end of our chapter 47, 4, with the last words of the Patriarch Joseph, the entire chapter 48, about Moses, though with some lacunae, and the beginning of 49, 1, where Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel relate their violent deaths. Comparison confirms that the texts of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, both the Sahidic and the Arabic, and the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*, as extant in our manuscript BL, are very close to each other and to the Latin (L¹) of the Paris manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. There are even several instances of literal correspondence between the two Sahidic witnesses and the Latin Paris manuscript. A closer look, however, reveals that the differences between the Sahidic texts go far beyond the mere mechanical replacement of name and identity of the visionary.

In a few instances, the Vienna leaf appears to be closer to the Latin than our principal manuscript. Thus in 48, 2, there is almost literal correspondence with the Latin in the sentence ΝΑΡΙCΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ... ΔΥΩΠΕ ΕΛΛΑΥ, “all my troubles ... came to nothing” (similarly in the Arabic: “all the trouble that I took has become like nothing”), which runs in the Latin: *omnes labores ... ad nihilum disputati*, “all the troubles ... were counted as nothing” (against BL: ΔΥCΩΠ̄, “were lost”). In the end of the same paragraph, the Vienna leaf (and the Arabic of the same passage) retained a negative clause, literally “yet they (sc. the Israelites) did not enter,” which is found in the Latin too (*Israel autem non est ingressus*), but not in manuscript BL. In 48, 3, the somewhat obscure clause ΕΤΖΜΟΟC Ξ[Δ]ΖΤΗC, about the saints “that dwell in his presence,” suggests that an earlier reference to God, in whose company the saints must have been living, fell out from the text. Such a phrase is indeed preserved in the Latin (Paris): *pater deus omnium, qui dedit mihi legem*, and in the Arabic of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*: “God, who created all things (and) gave me the law.” Neither this phrase nor the relative clause that seems to refer back to it in manuscript AA are found in BL. In

88 Lucchesi, “(Pseudo-)Apocalypse,” 241–242, n. 4.

the same passage, our reconstruction of the word for “people” (λαος) finds support in the Latin text: *quando populus suspendit Iesum*. More accidental may be that in 47, 4, BL reads εϣϣανεῖ εβολ ϣ̄ñ ϣωμα, “when he comes forth from the body,” against AA’s εϣϣανεῖ εβολ ϣμ πεικοσμοϣ and the Latin *cum exierit de mundum*, “when he comes forth from this world.”

More important and more numerous are the differences between manuscript BL and the Sahidic text of AA that are the result of deliberate editorial intervention affecting the Athanasian text. Compared to BL, the text of AA shows considerable lexical variation and a definite tendency towards abridgment. Abridgment is most clearly visible in chapter 48, which is considerably briefer in AA than in BL. The text of AA simplifies the opening situation and omits the description of the singing angel that accompanies Moses, which is definitely an original element, shared by BL, the Latin as well as the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (where the angels are in the plural, as in the Latin). Still in 48, 1, AA collapses the laconic dialogue between Paul / Athanasius and the *angelus interpres*, yet adds a clumsy phrase about the beauty of Moses (“he was amazing to see”), which lacks in all other versions. In 48, 2, the “idol worshipers” were skipped (likewise in the Arabic). In 48, 3, the list of the angels and patriarchs who blame Moses is reduced to a simple “all the saints” and they are not stated to weep. Finally, in 49, the introduction of the prophets is simplified and the stoning of Jeremiah fell out. In particular, the cuts made in the opening lines of chapters 48 (the phrase “I looked in the distance” and the ensuing dialogue with the angel) and 49 (the prophets came “from a distance”) are significant. These at first sight trivial phrases represent important structural and stylistic characteristics of the original *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁸⁹

The amount of lexical variation is quite considerable, given the small amount of text. Noteworthy is that AA uses the verbs τογιο, “to repay,” in 47, 4, and ϣγλα (συλλάω), “to carry off,” in 49, 1, instead of τωωβε (reconstructed) and ϣωκ that both belong to the standard vocabulary of the text in BL. In 48, 2, the miracles in the desert were “not heeded” (μπογϣ̄ ϣτηγ εροογ), according to AA, whereas they were “not understood” in BL (ḿπογνοι ḿμοογ; as in the Latin: *non intellexerunt*). In 49, 1, BL has μογογϣ̄ against AA’s ϣωτβ, “to kill, murder,” and where BL has the rare word λανθεν, “saw,” AA uses the more common βαωογρ, with the same meaning. In particular, the deviations from the characteristic vocabulary of BL (τωωβε, ϣωκ) and the deliberate abridgments show that manuscript AA represents a different text.

89 As we argue below, in chapter 2.

The Arabic of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* somewhat clarifies the relation between the two Sahidic texts. The Arabic was undoubtedly translated from a Coptic model.⁹⁰ Yet its model appears to have been less radically abridged than the Sahidic represented by the Vienna leaf. The Arabic is in several instances closer to the text of BL, and sometimes even to the Latin, than the Vienna leaf, and retains original details lost in the latter, such as the angels singing before Moses (48, 1) and the number of twelve prophets (49, 1). The Arabic ends in chapter 51 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, and hence its Coptic model was based on the defective text that we call the Alexandrian recension, not on the complete text represented by the Esna manuscript.⁹¹ The Vienna fragment of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* must ultimately derive from the same Alexandrian recension of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but—as comparison with the Arabic shows—it was based upon a text that underwent secondary abridgment. Whether the lexical differences between both Sahidic texts reflect two different translations from their Greek *Vorlage* or a later effort at revision is a moot point.

This brief discussion may suffice to demonstrate that the relationship between the Sahidic of the Vienna leaf and the text of our manuscript BL is not as straightforward as has been suggested. The Vienna leaf can definitely be considered an indirect Coptic witness to the *Apocalypse of Paul*, though not to the Sahidic text represented by the Esna manuscript, our Theban recension, but to a secondarily abridged Sahidic version of an edited form of the Alexandrian recension. Both Sahidic texts, therefore, are situated at several removes from each other. This does not make the Vienna leaf worthless for text-critical purposes. In spite of some crucial differences, the two witnesses are so close that manuscript AA can be cited in support of our (very minor) emendations of the Esna manuscript. Thus in the last sentence of 47, where we changed the verb, and in the last sentence of 48, 2, where we corrected the doubtful syntax (see our commentary). Similarly, in the description of the death of Ezekiel in 49,

90 Either Sahidic or Bohairic. In the Vienna version of 48, 2, Moses complains that his people “did not heed” the miracles worked for them by God: $\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau \epsilon\tau\eta\upsilon \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ (in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Latin and Sahidic: “they did not understand them”). Here the scribe of the Vienna leaf made an error, to which already Lucchesi, “(Pseudo-)Apocalypse,” 244, n. 5, had drawn the attention, and first wrote $\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau \epsilon\tau\eta\upsilon \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon$, “did not profit from them,” afterwards adding the omitted τ above the line. The Arabic version does not mention the miracles, but states that “all the trouble that I took has become like nothing and of no use.” The phrase “and (has become) of no use,” which lacks in the other versions, shows that the model of the Arabic translator most likely contained the same error, mistaking $\tau \epsilon\tau\eta\upsilon$ for the more common $\tau \epsilon\tau\eta\upsilon$, “to profit, have use.”

91 For the terms “Alexandrian recension” and “Theban recension,” and our views on the development of the text, see below, chapter 4, section 2.

the phrasing of the Vienna leaf suggested the tentative reconstruction of the original proposed in our commentary, which is supported by the Latin version L² of this chapter. Finally, comparison of the text of the Sahidic and Arabic versions of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* with the Latin of the *Apocalypse of Paul* confirms two minor omissions in the text of manuscript BL (in 48, 2, a phrase corresponding to *Israel autem non est ingressus*; in 48, 3, a reference to God the Father).

5.3 *Fragments of a Fayoumic Version in Leipzig*

Sahidic is not the only variety of Coptic in which the *Apocalypse of Paul* is preserved. Recently, in the autumn of 2021, the remains of a Fayoumic translation came to light. Fayoumic was one of the minor literary varieties of Coptic, presumably current in the Fayoum oasis and its surroundings from the fourth to about the ninth century. We owe our knowledge of this exciting find to Vincent Walter, who identified the text among the Coptic literary fragments kept in the Leipzig University Library (Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung), in the course of a cataloguing project.⁹² Our colleague very generously shared his discovery with us. He put his provisional transcriptions at our disposal as well as a set of photos, and made several valuable suggestions, for all of which we owe him great thanks.

The fragments identified by Vincent Walter stem from a papyrus codex inscribed, apparently in a single column of about 18–19 characters, in a uni-modular, somewhat fat Coptic uncial that can be dated approximately to the seventh century.⁹³ The provenance of the fragments is unknown. They were acquired in Egypt by Georg Steindorff (1861–1951), presumably between 1904 and 1908. On the basis of their language, it may be suspected that they originate from somewhere in or near the Fayoum.

Several smaller fragments could be joined and are now catalogued as P.Lips. inv. 3702. They appear to belong to the centre fold of a single bifolio that preserves parts of chapter 40, 1–4, very incompletely. The measurements of the joined piece are 13.2 × 16.7 cm. The distance between the edge of the fragment

92 The DFG-Projekt “K-Tafeln” (“Die Erschließung und Digitalisierung koptischer Papyri [sog. K-Tafeln] im Bestand der Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig”). The publication of the material will be part of a follow-up project.

93 Among (roughly) datable manuscripts, the script somewhat resembles the Sahidic Shenoute codex at Turin, edited in Behlmer, *Schenute* (7th cent.). Among Fayoumic hands, one may compare the Louvre fragments AF 12763 (Psalter) and 12764 (Gospel of Matthew), in Boud’hors and Nakano, “Vestiges bibliques,” 19–28, pl. 1–4, both dated by their editors to the 6th–7th century (with?). For more detailed comparisons, Vincent Walter’s edition is awaited.

and the center fold is about 10 cm. As approximately half of the lines is missing, the width of the original folios may be estimated at about 20 cm. Although not one survives completely, the lines of the text must have counted around 18–19 characters. Another fragment, P.Lips. inv. 3703, measuring 12.3 × 10.3 cm, appears to belong to the same bifolio, but not enough text survives to ascertain its original position. A third fragment, P.Lips. inv. 3704, 4.0 × 6.6 cm, without margins, has no parallels in the Sahidic text as known, but—as Vincent Walter surmised—may belong to chapter 11, not extant in Sahidic. The ample margins of the folios nowhere preserve page numbers or signatures. Some letters appear in ekthesis. The scribe divided clauses by high dots and small blanks, but made no effort to justify the right-hand margins.

Only the fragmentary bifolio of P.Lips. inv. 3702 allows comparison with the Sahidic text. At first sight, the Fayoumic would seem to offer a somewhat more concise version than the Sahidic (or the Latin), in particular in the passage about the aborted children in 40, 3. Yet, given the state of the manuscript, it is difficult to be more positive. Nonetheless, the fragments are not without interest, attesting a rather early form of the text.

In 40, 2, the Fayoumic shows that the Latin omits the name of the angel who is in charge of the punishments (Sahidic: Aftimelouchos). In 40, 3, however, it twice goes with the Latin, where the Sahidic adds a gloss, “to wit Christian (ⲭⲉ ϣⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ),” and omits a phrase about the fate of the aborted children that quite likely belongs to the original text. In the same paragraph, some lexical variation can be observed: instead of ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ, the Fayoumic has [ⲧⲓⲙⲱ]ⲣⲓⲁ (Lat. *poena*; no Greek preserved), which in the Sahidic text occurs only once, in 56, 2 (on a par with ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ); for ⲡⲟⲔⲥⲉ, “rag,” the Fayoumic has ⲡⲓⲕⲟ[ⲉ], with the same meaning. These variant readings are noted in our apparatus (as FL) or briefly discussed in our commentary to chapter 40. They might indicate that the Fayoumic does not derive from a Sahidic Vorlage, but represents an independent translation from a Greek original. On the whole, however, they carry too little weight to count as decisive evidence.

6 A Greek Witness from Egypt (van Haelst 620)

Mainly because of their Egyptian provenance, the following section briefly discusses two fragments from the Bodleian library in Oxford that for over a century have been cited as an early Greek witness to the text of chapters 45 and 46.⁹⁴

94 Madan and Craster, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. VI, no. 31660; cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 620; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 9; Kraus, “Fragmente,” 49.

The fragments were recently edited for the first time, by Thomas J. Kraus, after autoptic study of the originals.⁹⁵ As we have not been able to check the very badly preserved originals personally, our remarks are based on his edition and the accompanying plate.

The fragments Bodleian MS. Gr. th. g. 2 (P) were acquired in 1894 from a private collector with Egypt as the stated provenance.⁹⁶ The tiny and tattered snippets (A: 18×39 mm; B: 73×74 mm) must have been part of a single parchment codex,⁹⁷ inscribed in biblical majuscules that are dated by the editor to the first half of the sixth century.⁹⁸ As very little text can be read, the identification is far from assured, yet perhaps slightly more so than the very cautious editor was willing to concede.

The identification hinges on the mirrored offset of two lines of text in the upper margin of fragment B, hair side, which seems to render the characteristic address of the Patriarch Joseph in chapter 47, 4, that begins thus: *dico autem tibi, Paule, quia omnia quaecumque mihi fecerunt fratres mei ...* / ἰῆρ μῆτρει νακ, ὦ παγλoς, xε ἡγίσε τηρογ ἡταιροπογ μῆ ἡχινδονῆ ἡταγααγ ναι The Bodleian fragment seems to preserve this as: [μαρτυ]ρῶ σοι, Παῦλε, εἰ ἐ[---]. ἀν μοι οἱ ἄδελ[φοι μου], “I testify to you, Paul, if my brothers [---]ed me”⁹⁹ In the medieval Greek published by Tischendorf, the entire passage is phrased much differently: ἄκουσόν μου, φίλε τοῦ θεοῦ Παῦλε· οὐκ ἀπέδωκα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, οἳ κατηράσαντό με, “listen to me, Paul, beloved of God. I did not repay my brothers, who cursed me.”¹⁰⁰

The preserved remains of Joseph's address in the Bodleian fragment are hardly conclusive in themselves. Yet the reconstruction gains in likelihood from the support offered by the text of B, flesh side, which may correspond to text from 45, 1–2, about Paradise, *in quo errauit Adam et mulier eius. Ingressus sum autem et uidi initium aquarum* / πμα ντα αδαμ παρaba νρητῳ μν τεφς-ζιμε. ντερεϊζων δε εζουν επιπαρδλεικος, αιναγ εταρχη νπεφτοογ νεερο ζῳ πμα ετμναγ. As others saw before us, the meager remains of the Greek are entirely reconcilable with a reading: [-- ἐν]θα παρέβησ[αν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνή

95 Kraus, "Fragmente," 47–52, with plate VIII.

96 Madan and Craster, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. VI, no. 31660.

97 Van Haelst's description as "feuillet d'un codex" is somewhat misleading. Fragment B preserves part of the upper margin, but codicological clues are otherwise lacking.

98 There is no reason to doubt his carefully argued assessment, which agrees with the one
proposed earlier by Madan and Craster in their catalogue entry. Silverstein and Hilhorst,
Apocalypse, 9, write “now dated fourth century,” but without any justification.

99 We slightly emended Kraus's text. His reconstruction, "Fragmente," 49, is not convincing; the lacuna must have contained one or more verbs.

100 Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 65.

αὐτοῦ.] Εἰσελθὼ[ν δὲ εἰς τὸν παράδει]σον, εἶδο[ν ἐκεῖ τὴν ἀρχήν] τῶν [τεσσάρων ποταμῶν ---], “... where Adam and his wife transgressed.’ When I had entered Paradise, I saw there the spring of the four rivers ...”¹⁰¹ In particular the proximity of an aorist of παραβαίνω and the quite certain εἰσελθὼν are suggestive of the correctness of this reading, which makes it possible to establish the width of the column at approximately 22–24 characters. Again, the medieval Greek version offers a much abridged text: Paradise, ἔνθα παρέβησαν Ἀδάμ καὶ ἡ Εὕα. Καὶ ἶδον ἐκεῖ δένδρον παμμεγέθη ὠραῖον ..., “‘where Adam and Eve transgressed.’ And I saw there a lovely tree of great size” (etc.).¹⁰²

In our opinion, the readings of the Oxford fragments, however meager, converge in such a manner that they tend to confirm the traditional attribution of the text to chapters 45–47 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, against the skepticism of the editor. For obvious reasons, the text-critical harvest to be gleaned from these snippets remains limited. In 47, 4, they show that the Latin is correct in explicitly mentioning “my brothers” as the ones who harassed Joseph, against the Sahidic, where the nominal subject of the clause dropped out for some reason. Otherwise, just enough survives to show that in early sixth-century Egypt a Greek text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* circulated that was much closer to the Sahidic and the long Latin versions than to the medieval Greek redaction.

101 The correspondence had already been noted by Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 9, who acknowledge the assistance of Leofranc Holford-Strevens for the transcription of the Greek.

102 Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64.

The Sahidic Version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*

1 The (Lost) Title of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*

In the tenth-century codex from Esna, British Library Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A, the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* must have been preceded by a title that is now missing, together with its first chapters. In similar Sahidic codices from this period, titles are strongly formalized statements about author, genre, contents and liturgical setting, differentiated from the main text by decorative borders and the use of a distinct script.¹ The *Apocalypse of Paul* can have been no exception. It is therefore a stroke of good luck that the title of the first work in the codex, the *Homily on the Archangel Raphael*, attributed to John Chrysostom, is fully extant.² It may give an inkling of what the lost title of the *Apocalypse* looked like, physically and up to a degree also textually.

The Chrysostom title takes up the entire first page of the manuscript (f. 1a) and is framed on three sides by a colorful guilloche motif. Whereas the text of the homily, similar to the *Apocalypse*, is written in two columns, in upright majuscules, the title is written in a single page-width column, in the so-called late sloping uncial that is characteristic of Sahidic titles and colophons in the tenth-eleventh centuries. The exceptionally long title first states the genre of the composition, a λόγος or homily, and identifies its author, John Chrysostom, and subject, “the holy Archangel Raphael.” Then it specifies the calendrical date, the feast of Raphael on the fourth epagomenal day (27 August), and the occasion on which the homily was first preached and even the place where it was preached, the shrine of Raphael in the south of Constantinople, newly erected by Emperor Arcadius (383–408). The title concludes with a brief summary of the homily and a prayer for blessing.³

In spite of the very different nature of the text, the lost title of the *Apocalypse of Paul* had necessarily provided the same kind of information, presented in a more or less similar format. Just like the title of John Chrysostom’s homily, it

1 Buzi, *Titoli*, is the principal study of these titles and their development. For the title as paratext, see Genette, *Seuils*, 54–97.

2 For the literature on this homily (CPG 5150, 2), see chapter 1, section 2, n. 13.

3 See Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 526–527 (text); 1034–1035 (translation); Buzi, *Titoli*, 52 (text and translation). Cf. Müller, *Alte koptische Predigt*, 176–177 (analysis). The title is an example of Buzi’s “titoli a struturra complessa espansa” (*Titoli*, 119–124).

must have contained statements about genre, author, subject matter and liturgical setting of the work, as well as a brief summary and a prayer. As for the genre of the work, there can be little doubt that it was designated as a revelation, an apocalypse. In the body of the text and in the epilogue, the text refers several times to itself as *τειαποκαλλυμνις*, “this revelation,” *ἀποκάλυψις* (chapters 46, 3; 56, 2; 59; 63, 2, and 64, 2). As Paul must have been mentioned as the authority behind the text, the work was quite certainly designated as *ταποκαλλυμνις μπαγλος*, “the Revelation of Paul,” similar to the homonymous work from the Nag Hammadi find (*NHC V*, 2).⁴ There is no reason whatever to assume that this was not the original title of the present *Apocalypse of Paul* too. The medieval Greek recension still bears basically the same title, *Ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου*, “Revelation of the holy Apostle Paul.”⁵

In addition to Paul himself, it is very likely that also his disciples Mark and Timothy were mentioned by name in the title. In the epilogue, chapter 63, 2, they are commissioned by the other apostles to write down “this holy revelation,” *τειαποκαλλυμνις ετογααβ*, on the basis of Paul’s oral report.⁶ This construction underlines the apostolic authority of the text, even though it was not written by Paul himself. The title of the tenth-century codex, therefore, cannot have failed to include the names of Mark and Timothy, the authorized editors of the text. Linking the text to the historical circumstances related by the frame story, set on the Mount of Olives (our chapters 63–64), they warrant its authenticity.

Mark and Timothy were charged to write down the text “for the profit and the benefit of those who will hear” its words (63, 2), which presupposes a setting of liturgical reading. The title must therefore have provided the date for this reading, which quite likely corresponded to the one given in the epilogue (64, 2), to wit the fifth of the month Epiphi (29 June), the day of the commemoration of the martyrdom of Paul, later Peter and Paul.⁷

Finally, the standard format of the title demands that it provides a minimal summary of the text and is brought to its conclusion by a brief prayer for God’s blessing. The summary cannot, for obvious reasons, be reconstructed in any

4 For its title, preserved at the beginning (partly) and the end of the work, see Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 12–14, 172–173. In both cases, the primary intertext must have been *ταποκαλλυμνις ἰωαννης*, “the Revelation of John,” the Sahidic title of the biblical book of Revelation (Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts*, 330). The spelling *αποκαλλυμνις*, used in manuscript BL, is a normal one; see Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 80.

5 Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 34.

6 See our discussion of the prologue-epilogue, in the next section.

7 The date is discussed in the next section, about the prologue-epilogue, and in our commentary at 64, 2.

detail. It may have resembled the title of the medieval Greek version: "Revelation of the holy Apostle Paul that was revealed to him when he ascended to the third heaven and was taken up to Paradise and heard ineffable words," which clearly echoes 2 Cor. 12:2–4.⁸ More likely, however, it will have employed the terms of Paul's own description of his vision, which had revealed to him, according to the epilogue, "the honors that will be bestowed on the righteous as well as the fall and the destruction that will be the lot of the impious" (63, 2).⁹ It is this opposition between reward for the righteous and punishment for the sinners that underlies the entire composition of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

2 Prologue and Epilogue: The Mount of Olives

In several versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, among them the medieval Greek and the Paris manuscript of the long Latin text, chapters 1–2 are taken up by a preface that has become widely known as the Tarsus prologue.¹⁰ It relates the discovery of the original manuscript of the *Apocalypse*, which had remained hidden in the foundations of Paul's former house in Tarsus ever since his lifetime. A precise consular date situates the event in the year 388, in the reign of Theodosius the Great (379–395).¹¹ In the Latin of the Paris manuscript, the prologue is preceded by a brief title and a full quote of 2 Cor. 12:1b–5; in the medieval Greek, by a slightly longer title that briefly alludes to 2 Cor. 12:2–4 (cited above).

In the Sahidic Coptic version, the corresponding chapters do not survive, due to a material lacuna in our principal manuscript, which lacks the entirety of

8 Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 34.

9 Compare the title of the medieval Greek *Prayer and Apocalypse of Paul* from Sinai ms., paper 365, which lacks any reference to 2 Cor. 12 and runs: "Prayer of the holy Apostle Paul and revelation about the righteous and the sinners; how the soul of the righteous is taken from the earth and how that of the sinner, and what their fate shall be in the coming judgment" (Bouvier and Bovon, "*Prière et Apocalypse de Paul*," 17; on this text, see also Piovaneli, "*La Prière et apocalypse de Paul*").

10 For a review of the versions that contain the Tarsus prologue, see Piovaneli, "Miraculous Discovery," 31–32, who provides a critical translation (at 32–36) as well as a valuable commentary. The book-discovery story has, of course, a long history in ancient literature; see the classical study in Speyer, *Bücherfunde*, in part. 60–65; cf. id., *Literarische Fälschung*, 67–70, and for Egypt, Dieleman, *Priests*, 271–274. We will return to the status of this prologue in chapter 4, section 2.

11 In the Latin Paris manuscript, this seems to be Theodosius II, which is certainly an error, however; see Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 19, n. 3, and the discussion by Piovaneli, cited in the previous note.

chapters 1–15. Yet it can be ruled out categorically that the Coptic version extant in the London manuscript had a preface similar to chapters 1–2 of the Greek and Latin versions.¹² Although lacking its prologue, the Coptic text has preserved an epilogue that is not attested in any of the other versions (our chapters 63–64). Following Robert P. Casey's seminal 1933 study,¹³ we will argue below that this epilogue allows quite precise inferences about the lost prologue of the Coptic, since both together constituted the presentational frame in which the text of the *Apocalypse* was embedded.

2.1 *The Epilogue*

The Coptic epilogue mentions neither the city of Tarsus nor Emperor Theodosius. It briefly describes how Paul, after his long tour of heaven and hell, returns to the earth and finds the apostles gathered upon the Mount of Olives. He relates his adventures and the apostles charge his disciples, Mark and Timothy, with the task of writing down his report (chapter 63). Then Christ appears. He greets the apostles, addressing Paul in particular, and in a brief speech underlines the importance and authority of the revelation granted to Paul. Finally, he predicts the martyrdom of Peter and Paul and dismisses the apostles, each traveling on a cloud to his own province (chapter 64).

This brief summary suffices to show that, for its presentation of the text, the Sahidic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* adopted a narrative frame that was extremely productive in the religious literature of late-antique Egypt and that has been designated variously as “Gnostic dialogue,” “apostolic memoirs” or “diaries of the apostles.”¹⁴ These qualifications are hardly felicitous as such, but they help in identifying a specific structural device, a “paratexte” in the sense of Gérard Genette, rather than a genre.¹⁵ It uses the basic narrative pattern of the risen Christ convening with his disciples, as laid out in Acts 1:1–12. Prototypically, it shows Christ on the Mount of Olives in conversation with his disciples, often but not always in the period between his resurrection and

12 Pace Piovanelli, “Miraculous Discovery,” 31, n. 17; Copeland, *Mapping*, 16–17.

13 Casey, “Apocalypse,” in particular 24–26, 32.

14 Gnostic dialogue: Perkins, *Gnostic Dialogue*; apostolic memoir: Suci, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*; diaries: Hagen, “Diaries”; id., “Anderer Kontext.” See, furthermore, Hartenstein, *Die zweite Lehre*; Parkhouse, *Eschatology and the Saviour*, 37–51 (“What is a Dialogue Gospel? Defining a Genre”); Burns, “From the ‘Gnostic Dialogues’ to the ‘Apostolic Memoirs.’”

15 For the concept of paratext, see Genette, *Seuils*, in particular on prologues (and epilogues), 150–270. It is the merit of Pierluigi Piovanelli to have introduced Genette's concept of paratext in the discussion of the *Apocalypse*; see, for instance, “Miraculous Discovery,” 41–44. Cf. Roig Lanzillotta, “Paratext.”

his ascension, answering their questions and revealing or explaining whatever mysteries canonical scripture does not reveal or explain. Sometimes these revelations are presented in a rather straightforward dialogue format, proceeding by questions and answers, as it is done very consistently in the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia* (CANT 28) or in the non-Gnostic *Book of the Investiture of Michael*.¹⁶ In other cases, they seem to be a mere pretext for spinning a good yarn, for instance about the angel of death, Abbaton, or for relating a journey into other worlds, as in the present case or the Sahidic *Mysteries of John* (CANT 333). The device itself, which for the sake of brevity we will call Mount of Olives narrative here, is neither “Gnostic” nor “orthodox” and remained popular for many centuries, at least in Egypt. It can be combined with similar paratextual devices. For instance, the story of the angel Abbaton was reportedly revealed by Christ to Peter and the other apostles just before his ascension and then written down in a book. Several centuries later, this apostolic manuscript was discovered by Patriarch Timothy of Alexandria (380–384) in an ancient library in Jerusalem and verbally reported, together with the discovery story, in a homily that falsely bears the patriarch’s name (CANT 334).¹⁷

The example of the Abbaton apocryphon is particularly instructive because it shows a triple “wrapping” of the embedded text, a legendary story about an angel, in different presentational devices (homily—book discovery—divine revelation). This triple wrapping constructs the authority of the embedded story by linking it to the times, places and characters of the New Testament and provides it with a narrative “depth” that engages the audience.¹⁸ No less importantly, as blurb does on the wrappers of a modern book, ancient paratext guides the reader or listener towards the proper understanding of the text, to its what, how and why.¹⁹ The entire set-up serves all of these various purposes and is therefore much more than a mere authentication strategy.

The Mount of Olives narrative fulfills this multiple role for the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*, as does the book-discovery story of the Tarsus prologue for some of the other versions. It provides the primary referential framework for the interpretation of the text. Paul’s return to the Mount of Olives, described in chapters 63–64, is more than a means of formally closing the circle. The epilogue in various ways defines the status of the text. It explains how Paul’s original oral report was sanctioned by the apostles and transmitted in written form

16 For this popular apocryphon, see below, chapter 3, section 2.

17 On this text: Müller, *Engellehre*, 273–275; Suci, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 126–127; Suci and Saweros, “Investiture of Abbaton.”

18 For the engaging “depth” of embedded narrative, see Herman, *Storytelling*, 263–281.

19 Genette, *Seuils*, 7–8.

(63). Christ's words of recommendation endorse the text and authorize its reading in a congregation, "for the benefit of those who will hear it" (64, 2). Christ's prediction of Paul's martyrdom provides the privileged date for the text's liturgical reading, to wit the fifth of the month Epiphi. In a few words, therefore, the epilogue characterizes the *Apocalypse* as an apostolic text, endowed with divine authority, with a legitimate place in the liturgical cycle of the Church and beneficial for the souls of its audiences.

Thanks to the familiar layout of the Mount of Olives narrative, its missing parts—the main elements of the lost prologue—can be filled in with considerable confidence. In this reconstruction there is no place for the Tarsus story in any form. In principle, though, as the homily about Abbaton or the Gnostic *Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII, 2) show, the Mount of Olives frame can be combined with similar presentational devices, such as an epistolary or homiletic format or a story of book discovery, such as offered by the Tarsus prologue. Several elements in the epilogue, however, provide clear proof that, in the case of the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*, such a combination of devices must be ruled out. These are, in particular, the editorial history of the text as outlined in paragraphs 63, 2 and 64, 2; the double question with which Christ greets Paul (64, 1) and the episode of the departure of the apostles on a cloud (64, 3). Even a brief glance at the text shows that these three elements are irreconcilable with the narrative of a book discovery, at Tarsus or anywhere.

The Coptic epilogue outlines a quite precise program for the edition and diffusion of the text. First, Mark and Timothy, disciples of Paul, are commissioned by the apostles to transcribe Paul's oral report (63, 2). Disciples of the apostles occur more often in similar narratives. Thus, a group of twenty-four disciples of the apostles play a distinct role of their own in the revelations of the Coptic *Book of the Investiture of Michael*.²⁰ Here, only Mark and Timothy are mentioned, yet with a precise aim. As disciples of Paul, they are the designated editors of the text.²¹ Secondly, Christ's words of recommendation promise blessing to everyone who "will take care of this revelation and has it copied and published as a witness for the generations to come" (64, 2). In other words, the epilogue foresees a wide diffusion of the text as a written text that derives from the exemplar edited by Mark and Timothy. The Tarsus prologue, by contrast, appears to imply that the text is an autograph by Paul himself.²² It nowhere betrays the involvement of other persons, whether apostles or disci-

20 See below, chapter 3, section 2.

21 See our commentary at 63.

22 This is stated explicitly in the Syriac version, Ricciotti, "Apocalypsis Pauli," 144–147, his chapter 51.

ples, in the production of the text. Moreover, Paul's autograph remained hidden in the foundations of his house at Tarsus for centuries since the days of the apostle. To conclude, the Coptic epilogue sketches an entirely different editorial scenario for the text than the Tarsus prologue, with which it is fundamentally irreconcilable.

When the Savior appears among the apostles, he greets them and asks Paul a double question: "Are you satisfied by what you have seen? Are you convinced by what you have heard?" (64, 1). Christ's questions show that Paul's visionary journey must have been granted in response to one or more precise requests from the part of Paul. This is again a standard device in Mount of Olives narratives. Thus, in the *Mysteries of John*, it is John who asks: "My Lord, look, you are telling me: 'You are my beloved and you have found favor with me.' Now, then, my Lord, I would like you to take me up to the heavens and instruct me about all things, so that I may come to know them."²³ In response, Christ asks a cherub to take John on a guided tour of heaven and earth, more or less like Paul in our text. More importantly, also the *Apocalypse of Peter*, in many respects a precursor of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, uses the same device.²⁴ Its prologue describes how Christ is sitting upon the Mount of Olives, when the Twelve come up to him and ask him questions similar to John's in the *Mysteries of John*. They first ask him: "Tell us what will be the signs of your coming and of the end of the world, so that we may know and understand the time of your coming and may enlighten those who will come after us" (Ethiopic 1, 2).²⁵ Christ answers with various warnings and the parable of the fig tree (Matt. 24:32–33). Then Peter is singled out among the disciples and he asks for the correct interpretation of the parable. The remainder of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, including its extensive "tour of hell," basically represents Christ's long answer to these questions. Similar questions, presumably bearing on the fate of the righteous and the sinners after death, must have been posed by Paul in the lost Coptic prologue of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The first thing Christ asks upon Paul's return among the apostles in chapter 64 is whether the answer, provided by Paul's long journey, proved satisfactory. The state of affairs evoked by Christ's questions is irreconcilable with the Tarsus prologue, which explicitly and exclusively links the *Apocalypse* to the event of Paul's rapture as told in 2 Cor. 12.

23 Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 59.

24 For the *Apocalypse of Peter* as one of the models of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, see the discussion below, in chapter 3, section 1.

25 Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 164–165. The Greek of this passage is not extant; the antiquity of the Mount of Olives frame is nonetheless guaranteed thanks to the Rainer fragment, f. 2, Van Minnen, "Greek," 38.

A third element in the epilogue that is irreconcilable with anything resembling the Tarsus prologue is the cloud that appears at the very end of the text. As the text has it, Christ “ordered the cloud to lift the disciples and take them to the country that he had assigned to them, so that everywhere they would preach the gospel of the kingdom of heavens” (64, 3). No cloud has been mentioned before in the epilogue, yet the definite article shows that familiarity of the audience with this cloud is presupposed. This can hardly be the cloud that seized Paul in 55, 1, in an entirely different setting. It stands to reason, therefore, that it was introduced in the lost prologue of the text. How this may have looked like is best exemplified by the beginning of the prologue of the *Mysteries of John*, which opens thus: “When our Savior had risen from the dead, he went up to the Mount of Olives, sat down and ordered a cloud to go around to all the countries where the apostles were. And it gathered them in the presence of the Savior upon the Mount of Olives.”²⁶ The apostles are called back from their missionary journeys, by Christ himself, for an *ad limina* visit to the Mount of Olives. The mention of the cloud in our text presupposes the same scenario. In the course of the ensuing dialogue, Paul must have come up with the question or questions that occupied him. That this is indeed the correct scenario is proven not only by the cloud flying the apostles back to their countries in 64, 3, but also by Christ’s formal dismissal of the apostles in 64, 2: “I have revealed to you (plural) all the mysteries of my divinity, O my holy members. Indeed, I have already told you (plural) everything. Now, go and depart and preach the gospel of my kingdom.”²⁷ Christ not only addresses Paul here, but the entire group of apostles and disciples, who must have made up his audience from the very beginning of the text.

2.2 The Prologue

The preceding brief demonstration bears out that the Coptic epilogue is irreconcilable with the Tarsus prologue, which accordingly must have lacked in the Coptic version of the *Apocalypse*. In addition to this negative conclusion, the epilogue allows a number of positive conclusions about how the lost prologue

26 Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 59

27 This dismissal has a very similar counterpart in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, quoted in our commentary at 64, 2. According to Suci, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 114, these words of Christ would show that the epilogue of the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* is not original, since “no revelation of Jesus appears in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.” However, Christ’s double question to Paul makes it clear that he was the authority behind the entire revelation and that the *angelus interpretes* had merely been charged with the work of showing Paul “everything,” in the name of Christ (similarly to the cherub in the *Mysteries of John*). See Roig Lanzillotta, “Paratext.”

of the Coptic may have looked.²⁸ The standard format of the Mount of Olives narrative predicts that the prologue and the epilogue will be the mirroring parts of a single paratextual frame. Hence the prologue must have told how, at some time after Pentecost and Paul's conversion, but obviously before the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, Christ convoked his apostles (and at least some of their disciples) by means of a cloud to the Mount of Olives. During their conversation, Paul came up with a question or a problem concerning reward and punishment of the righteous and the impious in the afterlife. In answer to Paul's question, Christ grants him a visionary journey under the guidance of an *angelus interpres*. It is even quite likely that, as in the *Mysteries of John*, also in our text, Christ formally confided Paul to the cares of the *angelus interpres*. The Latin version introduces the *angelus interpres*, out of the blue, only in chapter 11, which seems hardly satisfactory.²⁹ What role (if any) the passage from 2 Cor. 12, which figures so prominently in the beginning of both the Greek and the Latin (Paris) versions, may have played in the Coptic prologue must remain obscure. The epilogue simply does not refer to it.³⁰ Table 2 below proposes a hypothetical reconstruction of the lost Coptic prologue (first column), juxtaposing the elements of the lost prologue to the corresponding motifs in the preserved epilogue (second column).

2.3 The Original Frame?

The final question remains whether the Coptic prologue-epilogue, the Mount of Olives narrative as reconstructed above, constitutes the text's original paratextual frame. This question cannot be answered anymore in the apodictic and dismissive way it was done by Montague Rhodes James a century ago.³¹ For one thing, the Tarsus prologue, in spite of providing a precise date *post quem*, does not tell a very likely story, even by ancient standards. It was decried as a fake by the church historian Sozomen already in the mid-fifth century³² and

28 As was first observed by Casey, "Apocalypse," 24.

29 The absence of any mention of the *angelus interpres* before chapter 11 obliged the redactor of the Syriac version to insert a sentence introducing "one of the spiritual ones" as Paul's guide (Ricciotti, "Apocalypsis Pauli," 8–9). This insertion was adopted in James's translation, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 529, at the beginning of the chapter, to make up for what looks like a compositional defect of the Latin text, whereas in fact it betrays the secondary character of the Tarsus prologue.

30 For the echoes of 2 Cor. 12 in the body of the text, see below, sections 4 and 5.

31 See e.g. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 554–555, and the discussion of his positions below.

32 Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica* 7.19.10–11, cited in nearly every study of the *Apocalypse*, from James onwards (e.g. in James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 525; Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 29; Copeland, *Mapping*, 26–27; Touati, "Origène, Athanase et Augustin," 179–180) and again below in chapter 4, section 1.

TABLE 2 Comparative table of prologue (reconstructed) and epilogue of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*

Prologue (missing chapters 1–2)	Epilogue (chapters 63–64)
Christ assembles his disciples upon the Mount of Olives.	Christ dismisses his disciples: “Indeed, I have already told you (plural) everything. Now, go and depart and preach the gospel of my kingdom.” Paul joins his fellows: “The angel ... brought me upon the Mount of Olives. Then, I, Paul, found the apostles assembled all together.”
They arrive upon a cloud from different parts of the world.	They depart: “And right away he (sc. Christ) ordered the cloud to lift the disciples and take them to the country that he had assigned to them, so that everywhere they would preach the gospel of the kingdom.”
They are licensed to ask Christ about the divine mysteries.	Christ concludes: “I have revealed to you all the mysteries of my divinity, O my holy members. Indeed, I have already told you everything.”
Paul asks a question / raises a problem about reward for the righteous / punishment for the sinners.	Christ asks Paul: “Are you satisfied by what you have seen? Are you convinced by what you have heard?” Paul “reported to them (the apostles) everything ... that I had seen and the honors that will be bestowed on the righteous as well as the fall and the destruction that will be the lot of the impious.”
Paul is lifted by an angel and starts his celestial journey.	Paul returns: “The angel of the Lord lifted me and brought me upon the Mount of Olives.”

suppressed, for instance, in all of the Latin versions, with the sole exception of the Paris manuscript of L¹. In the Syriac version, the Tarsus narrative was demoted to the end of the curtailed text (that is, after our chapter 51), while its place at the beginning of the text was taken by a theological treatise discussing the authority of apocryphal scripture.³³

Whereas the Tarsus prologue was criticized already in antiquity, the Mount of Olives narrative was a device that remained productive and hence apparently credible for many centuries. Mainly in Egypt, it was used to frame a broad range of early-Christian revelation texts, whether or not in the form of a dialogue, among them several of the apocrypha from the Nag Hammadi find.³⁴ For an appraisal of its occurrence in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*, the witness of the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter* is of primary importance.³⁵ There can be no doubt that the *Apocalypse of Peter* was one of the more important models for the *Apocalypse of Paul*.³⁶ Given their general affinity, it is a logical assumption that the latter borrowed its Mount of Olives setting together with other features from the former. In fact, this can be proven for the concluding words of Christ, with which he dismisses the disciples, in chapter 64, 2 (partly cited above). These are a near literal quote of the words of Christ to Peter in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 14, preserved not only in the Ethiopic version, but similarly in the Greek of the fifth-century Rainer fragment (cited in our commentary at 64, 2). Also their structural position in the text is the same. They do not merely dismiss the apostles, sending them to their respective missionary fields, Rome in the case of Peter, but also introduce Christ's prediction of the imminent martyrdom of Peter and Paul.³⁷

The case for the original character of the Mount of Olives setting is far stronger, therefore, than usually assumed and the position of the Tarsus prologue all but unassailable. Yet, several counter-arguments can be cited, the three weightier of which will be briefly discussed here.

33 Not printed in Ricciotti's edition; for this prologue, see Desreumaux, "Symboles"; id., "Prologue."

34 See the literature cited in n. 14 above.

35 As was first seen by Casey, "Apocalypse," 25: "the setting for the vision in C(optic) is clearly dependent on the Apocalypse of Peter."

36 The evidence, mostly long known, is discussed in our chapter 3, section 1.

37 Casey, "Apocalypse," 25, quotes the role of the disciples in writing down the revelation (Mark and Timothy for Paul; Clement for Peter) as an additional analogy. This is not incorrect, yet Clement does not figure in the text itself of the *Apocalypse of Peter*; he rather belongs to the broader pseudo-Clementine frame in which the Ethiopic text was transmitted and that may be of a considerably later date; see the discussion in Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 376–386.

The first is well known and concerns the Tarsus prologue itself. It is attested not only by the isolated, yet early Latin manuscript now in Paris, but also by the Greek and the Syriac versions, whereas all three traditions are silent about a revelation on the Mount of Olives. More importantly, the Tarsus story is indirectly attested by the church historian Sozomen, at a quite early date, between about 440 and 450. A late fourth- or even early fifth-century date for the *Apocalypse* is now commonly accepted and the present study of the Coptic text does not belie such a date. This makes Sozomen a fairly early witness to the *Apocalypse of Paul* in general and the Tarsus prologue in particular, which increases the probability that the latter was part of an early form of the text.³⁸

The second and third arguments are text internal. In the epilogue, Paul is addressed by Christ as “excellent letter-carrier,” “mediator of the covenant” and “gable and foundation of the Church” (64, 1). As was aptly observed by Jan Bremmer, these rather far-fetched epithets are clearly at variance with the honorific epithets used for Paul in the body of the text, most often something like “beloved of God (or, God and men),” “chosen of God,” and variants, and may reflect a different style and a different author.³⁹ However, Christ’s speech in the epilogue also uses the simpler forms of address that were used throughout the text, “beloved of the Father” and “my chosen Paul” (both in 64, 2), and the more far-fetched ones may simply have been selected to mark in a somewhat pompous manner the solemnity of the moment.

The third argument concerns the liturgical date mentioned in Christ’s address, 5 Epiphi, the date of the commemoration of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul. The prominence given to this date in the last words of Christ in 64, 2, just before the final doxology, could suggest that the epilogue in its present form represents the period of “synaxarial standardization” in Tito Orlandi’s periodization of Coptic literature.⁴⁰ The term refers to the process by which so-called literary texts were re-arranged or even revised in order to insert them in the annual lectionary cycle of the Coptic Church, the Synaxarium, which required the assignation of a liturgical date, usually provided by the work’s extensive title. This process, more or less contemporaneous with the metaphrastic movement in the Byzantine world, gained momentum only towards the end of the first millennium. Dependence on this calendrical revision would assign a rather late date to the epilogue, not much earlier than our tenth-century British Library manuscript. In Upper Egypt, however, the liturgical date

38 Thus, most recently, Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 440.

39 Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 441, referring to earlier discussions by Th.J. Kraus.

40 See Van der Vliet, “Coptic,” 81, referring to Orlandi, “Terminology,” 89–93.

in question, 5 Epiphi (29 June), was demonstrably associated with Saint Paul already in late antiquity.⁴¹ Its mere mention here cannot be taken to contest the antiquity of the text.

As our discussion bears out, none of these three counter-arguments is conclusive by any standard. The first is probably the strongest, but even if it proves the antiquity of the Tarsus narrative, it does not disprove that of the Mount of Olives narrative, which can be traced back to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Yet, taken together, the arguments adduced above might be used to sketch a different scenario, which assumes that the present frame of the text was the product of a late inner-Egyptian innovation. In Muslim-ruled Egypt, one might speculate, the hardly convincing Tarsus narrative, with its long obsolete consular date, had lost whatever appeal it once had and was replaced by the more familiar Mount of Olives narrative, for which formally the example of the *Apocalypse of Peter* was followed. This move would have allowed the simultaneous addition of a month date, the feast of Peter and Paul, licensing the insertion of the text in the liturgical calendar of the Coptic Church. Given the essentially paratextual character of the frame narrative, such a replacement could easily be made, without seriously affecting the text itself.

The greatest weakness of this hypothetical scenario is that it would assume a secondary borrowing from the *Apocalypse of Peter*, in addition to the earlier ones in the body of the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Given the generally acknowledged dependence of the *Apocalypse of Paul* on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the Mount of Olives narrative carries the weight of tradition.⁴² In the absence of decisive counterevidence, it can credibly claim to represent the original frame of the text, inspired, as are various other elements of the text, by the earlier *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁴³ This claim is further substantiated by our following analysis of the structure of the text.

41 With Saints Peter and Paul already in fourth-century Rome; see the literature cited in our commentary at 64, 2. Usually, in the course of the “synaxarial standardization,” such a date would be inserted in the title of the work, rather than in the text itself, as is the case here.

42 Note that the *terminus post quem* (eighth century) tentatively proposed for the Coptic epilogue by Jan Bremmer (“Apocalypse of Paul,” 441, quoting Suciu, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 113–114) reverses the evidence; the *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80) is likely to be dependent on the (arguably earlier) *Apocalypse of Paul*, rather than the other way round; see below, chapter 3, section 2.

43 This has, of course, implications for the way in which the development and the transmission of the entire text have to be envisaged; our views on these issues are discussed below, in chapter 4, section 2.

3 The Structure of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*

Excluding its lost beginning, the Sahidic Coptic version extant in British Library Or. 7023 / Or. 6806A preserves a fairly complete and uniform copy of the *Apocalypse of Paul* with only one minor lacuna of two pages between chapters 49 and 51, due to the loss of a single folio. In fact, the Coptic and the long Latin version (L¹) run parallel to such an extent that their contents can be easily compared.

3.1 Overview of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*

In what follows we offer a synoptic overview of the extant chapters of the Coptic text, briefly indicating the main elements of their contents.

16–18. Trial and the mechanisms of divine judgment: two souls of sinners

- 16, 1. First soul disavowed by its angel and spirit.
- 16, 2–3. First soul encounters the powers of darkness.
- 16, 4–5. First soul conducted to heaven and presented to God.
- 16, 6–7. First soul condemned by God.
- 17. Second soul brought up for trial.
- 18. Second soul judged and condemned by God.

19–20. Third heaven

- 19. The angel takes Paul to the third heaven; at its gate, golden tablets inscribed with the names of the righteous.
- 20, 1–2. At the gate, Paul encounters Enoch and Elijah, who weep for sinful humanity.

21–30. The Land of Inheritance and the City of Christ

- 21, 1–2. Paul descends to the second heaven, the firmament and to where the sun rises; he sees the foundations of heaven resting upon the river Ocean.
- 21, 3–4. Paul arrives at the Land of Inheritance, beyond the Ocean. It shines seven times brighter than silver.
- 22, 1–4. Its abundant vegetation, on the shores of a river of milk and honey.
- 22, 5. Still further east, Paul arrives at the Acherusian Lake; its function.
- 23, 1. Paul is sailed by angels on a golden ship to the City of Christ.
- 23, 2. Description of the City of Christ. It shines brighter than the sun and is built of gold; twelve walls of precious stones surround the city.
- 23, 3. Description of the four rivers that give access to the City of Christ on its four sides, of honey, milk, wine and oil.
- 24. Trees at the entrance with no fruit and only leaves. Haughty ascetics naked under these trees.

- 25. Paul to the river of honey (west of the city); he encounters the murdered prophets.
- 26. Paul to the river of milk (south of the city); he sees the infants murdered by Herod.
- 27. Paul to the river of wine (east of the city); he encounters Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.
- 28. Paul to the river of oil (north of the city); he sees people singing, free of hypocrisy.
- 29, 1. Paul in the middle of the city, up to the twelfth wall; the hierarchical structure of the city.
- 29, 2. Golden thrones for guileless and simple ascetics.
- 29, 3. In the centre of the city, an altar and David beside it, singing Alleluia.
- 29, 4. David's liturgical role.
- 30. The meaning of the word Alleluia.

31–44. The Land of the wicked and Christ granting respite

- 31, 1–2. Paul returns and travels, via the Acherusian Lake, the Land of Inheritance, the river of milk and honey and the Ocean, to where the sun sets.
- 31, 3. Beyond the Ocean, a parched field, full of pits of different depths.
- 31, 4. Paul sees the river of fire and people immersed in it.
- 32. Paul sees various punishments and the pit that descends to the extremity of the abyss.
- 33. First reference to Paul's compassion for humanity.
- 34. Punishment of a priest.
- 35. Punishment of a bishop.
- 36, 1. Punishment of a deacon.
- 36, 2. Punishment of a reader.
- 37, 1. Punishment of usurers on the shore of the river of fire.
- 37, 2. Punishment of slanderers in a parched place.
- 38. Of sorcerers in a pool in which pus oozes down.
- 38, 3. Of fornicators.
- 39, 1. Of girls defiling their virginity.
- 39, 2. Of oppressors of the poor and the orphans.
- 39, 3. Of cheaters with the fast.
- 39, 4. Of adulterous women.
- 40, 1. Of the heathen.
- 40, 2–3. Of aborting widows and girls; second reference to Paul's compassion.
- 40, 4–5. Of rotten monks.
- 40, 6. Third reference to Paul's compassion; he weeps for the race of men.

- 41. Paul to the west of all punishments: the well of the abyss; deniers of Christ's incarnation and other heretics; renegades.
- 42, 1. Paul to the north-west: the worm that never rests; extreme cold; deniers of the resurrection.
- 42, 2. Paul weeps again.
- 43. Michael descends from heaven with his angels; Paul, Michael, his angels and the sinners weep, begging for mercy.
- 44, 1. Vision of God's throne, with the Twenty-Four Elders and the Four Creatures.
- 44, 2. The Son of God descends from heaven; sinners entreat him for mercy.
- 44, 3. His reproaches to the sinners.
- 44, 4–6. He grants periodical respite.

45–54. Paradise

- 45, 1. Paul taken to Paradise.
- 45, 2. Paul sees the spring of the four rivers.
- 45, 3. Paul sees the tree that pours water into the spring.
- 45, 4. Paul sees the trees of knowledge and life.
- 46. Paul encounters the Virgin Mary.
- 47, 1–2. Paul encounters Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.
- 47, 3. Paul encounters Joseph and the other patriarchs.
- 48. Paul encounters Moses.
- 49. Paul encounters the twelve Prophets.
- 49, 2. Paul encounters Lot.
- 49, 3. Paul encounters Job.
- 50. Paul encounters Noah.
- 51. Paul encounters Elijah.
- 52. Paul encounters Enoch.
- 53. Paul encounters Zechariah, his son John and Abel.
- 54. Paul encounters Adam.

55. Third heaven

- 55, 1. Paul taken in a cloud to the third heaven.
- 55, 2–3. Vision of an altar of light surrounded by eagles.

56–62. Reward in celestial Paradise

- 56, 1–2. Paul taken to celestial Paradise; sees the prophets and the undefiled; their thrones.
- 56, 3. Paul taken to a tabernacle of light; first vision of his throne and its angels.
- 57. Paul greeted by his converts.

- 58. Description of the marvelous landscape of celestial Paradise.
- 59. Paul's rewards: he will prevail over the accuser from hell; he will gain superior glory when he disseminates his revelation.
- 60, 1. Paul before the veil in the Holy Land: second vision of his throne and his robe.
- 60, 2. The thrones, garments and crowns of the apostles.
- 61. David singing and playing his lyre.
- 62, 1. The martyrs, their thrones, dress and crowns.
- 62, 2. Final eulogy: Paul rewarded for his continence and preaching.

63–64. Mount of Olives

- 63, 1. Paul's prayer, blessing God.
- 63, 2. The angel brings Paul back to the Mount of Olives. Paul tells the apostles what he has seen. They commission Mark and Timothy to write down his revelation.
- 64, 1. Christ appears. Dialogue between Christ and Paul.
- 64, 2. Christ promises blessings for the publishers and readers of the *Apocalypse*. He predicts Paul's martyrdom.
- 64, 3. A cloud takes the apostles back to their allotted regions.

3.2 A Concentric Narrative Structure

If we leave the (lost) prologue and the epilogue on the Mount of Olives (63–64) momentarily aside, it is easy to see that the narrative has a concentric structure arranged according to the pattern A-B-C-D-C-B-A. The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* is carefully built around a gravitational center (D), namely the description of the land of the wicked (chapters 31–44), around which the narrative is disposed in concentric rings. The outermost circle (A) is focused on the theme of trial and reward. The first extant chapters (16–18) focus on the judgment and condemnation of two souls of sinners; the last ones before the epilogue (56–62) center mainly on the celestial rewards awaiting Paul, but also his twelve fellow-apostles and the martyrs. The following ring (B) is formed by Paul's brief visit to the third heaven in the beginning of the text (chapters 19–20) and by his second view of that place towards the end (chapter 55). The third circle (C) includes the description of the Land of Inheritance and the City of Christ (chapters 21–30) in the first part and Paul's visit of Paradise in the second (chapters 44–54). In the center of this concentric structure, the land "where the souls of the godless and the sinners are taken when they die" (D) forms the unquestionable axis of the text. However, this section is central not only from a structural point of view; also thematically it occupies a seminal position, since it describes both the punishments of hell and the granting of temporal respite to the punished sinners:



FIGURE 4 The concentric structure of the Sahidic text

- A. Immediately following the start of Paul's journey (chapter 11, missing in the Sahidic manuscript), there is a section focusing on the trial and judgment of the individual soul upon death. Paul is first able to see the initial stages of the eschatological judicial apparatus, namely "angels without mercy" that await the souls of the impious (11) and "angels of justice," who wait for the souls of the righteous (12). Then there follow a brief description of the judgment of a pious soul (14) and a longer section about the trial of two wicked souls (15–18), most of which is extant in the Coptic version.
- B. After the conviction of the two wicked souls, the *angelus interpres* declares that he will take Paul to "the abode of the saints." Paul is therefore brought to the third heaven, where, after reaching its gateway, he sees upon the pillars golden tablets inscribed with the names of "all the righteous who serve God with the whole of their heart" (19, 2).
- C. After a short first visit to the third heaven, the angel takes Paul, first, a level down to the second heaven, and then still lower to the firmament, where he sees the foundations of heaven resting on the river Ocean. The description of Paul's travel to the east follows a clear crescendo that takes Paul, first, to "the Land of Inheritance," on the shores of a river of milk and honey. Looking to the east, he is able to see the marvels of that region, which shines brighter than silver and is covered with profuse vegeta-

tion. Paul's visit allows him to admire both the supernatural amount of fruits produced by the plants of the land and the bliss of those allowed to inhabit it. Next, always traveling eastwards, Paul and the angel arrive at the Acherusian Lake. On a richly appareled golden ship, they sail to the City of Christ, which is encircled by the four rivers of honey, milk, wine, and oil. Traveling anticlockwise around the City, Paul reaches its middle, with the twelfth wall and the high altar beside which David sings Alleluia.

- D. From the easternmost confines of the cosmos, Paul and the angel retrace their steps backwards, returning to the land of blessings, the river of milk and honey, and the Ocean, where they see again the foundations of heaven. After re-ascending to heaven, they travel to the west and reach the river Ocean at the other side the world, a location which is confirmed by the same words the angel had pronounced before: "That is the Ocean. That is the river that surrounds the entire inhabited world" (31, 2). Having passed it, they attain a parched field, and going westwards arrive at the river of fire, where Paul contemplates the horrors of hell. Looking still to the west, he sees the worm that never rests and realizes the cold of that place, which even seven suns will not be able to heat.
- C. Once the "demonstrative" part of the *Apocalypse* with the horrors of hell has been achieved, the angel takes Paul to Paradise "so that all the righteous may see you with joy and exultation" (45, 1). The reference to the spring of the four rivers assures the thematic link with the previous section describing the City of Christ (cf. 23, 3). After contemplating some of the marvels there, Paul is greeted by a "procession" of saintly persons: the Virgin Mary, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, Moses, the twelve prophets, Lot, Job and Noah. After the brief lacuna in manuscript BL, in chapters 49, 3-51, Paul furthermore encounters Elijah, Enoch, Zechariah and his son John the Baptist, Abel and Adam.
- B. A cloud then takes Paul to the third heaven again, with the promise of seeing yet "unseen things" (55, 1). In a vision of an altar of light with seven eagles at each side, Paul hears myriads and myriads of angels praising God and, trembling, falls upon his face.
- A. He is then transported to the celestial Paradise. At the antipodes of the section on the trial of the soul, with its heavy emphasis on the horrors that await the dying sinner (16-18), the last section before the epilogue is focused on reward (56-62). Celestial Paradise is surrounded by three walls, two of silver and one of gold. There follows a description of its great splendor and the zenithal light that illuminates the place. After showing Paul celestial Paradise, the angel predicts him that he will prevail over "the accuser from hell" and that his glory and reward will increase once

his revelation is disseminated (59). The angel takes him to the veil in the Holy Land, where he first sees his crown and thrones, and then those of the twelve apostles. After seeing David singing Alleluia, he is finally shown the reward of the martyrs, who sing his praise.

The careful construction of the text around its center presents a gradual development of the narrative that intentionally offers a balanced and symmetrical conception of the cosmos. If our view regarding prologue and epilogue, based on Casey’s hypothesis,⁴⁴ is correct and the text began and ended with a gathering of the apostles on the Mount of Olives, beginning and end form the outermost narrative frame of this construction. Provided with this beginning, the text reveals a clear plan, concerning both form and contents. From a formal point of view, the beginning and end on the Mount of Olives completes with an additional outer ring the concentric disposition of the text. From the point of view of contents, the narrative’s symmetric structure is reinforced by the numerous conceptual oppositions. The binaries above-below, east-west, right-wrong, light-darkness, warmth-cold, fertility-aridity, together with precise topographical references, placing righteous and sinners at opposite extremes of the world, highlight the contrast between their fates and show the author’s intentional symmetrical construction of the cosmos around vertical and horizontal axes. Table 3 offers an overview of the binary oppositions found in the central section of the text.

TABLE 3 Binaries in the *Apocalypse of Paul*

East, chapters 21–30	West, chapters 31–44
Righteous: 22, 2	Impious: 31–42
Bliss: 22, 2	Suffering: 31–42
Reward: 22–30	Punishment: 31–42
Light: 21, 1	Darkness: 31, 2
Land of Inheritance: 21	Parched field: 31
Fertility: 22	Aridity: 31, 3
Cubits in height (plants, trees): 22, 1	Cubits in depth (pits): 31, 3
City of Christ: 24–29	Pit of Abyss: 41
Rivers of milk, honey, oil, wine: 22, 1; 25–28	Rivers of fire: 31, 4–38
Warmth (of the sun): 21	Cold (absence of sun): 42, 2

44 Casey, “Apocalypse,” 24; see the previous sections.

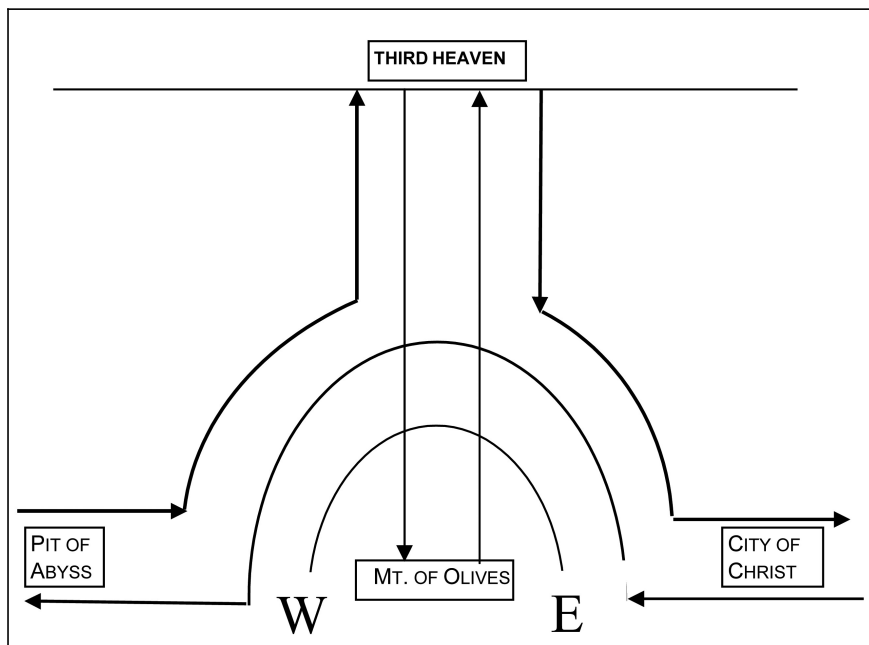


FIGURE 5 Paul's movements on the vertical and horizontal axes

This authorial intention is emphasized by the angel's clear and repetitive local references, aimed at helping Paul orient himself during his tour. These references allow the reader to precisely reconstruct Paul's movements during his ascent and descent, which even if strictly symmetrical and based on vertical and horizontal axes, nevertheless follow exactly inverse directions. Firstly, there is the ascent from the Mount of Olives, via the firmament, to the third heaven. From the third, Paul descends, first, to the second heaven and, then, to the firmament in order to reach its foundations on the river Ocean. The journey to the easternmost part and back completes the first half of Paul's experience, which is clearly separated from the second by Paul's journey along the firmament to its foundations in the west. After going to the westernmost part, he returns in order to proceed, first, to the firmament and, then, once again to his place of departure. His descent to the Mount of Olives completes the journey, delimiting in our graphic two equivalent but intrinsically opposed halves (Figure 5).

3.3 *The Length of the Text*

The preceding analysis of the text's structure has an obvious impact on the hypotheses emitted about the original length of the text. Given the profound

influence of the judgment of Montague Rhodes James, we may briefly reconsider his rather ambivalent views on the subject. On the one hand, in his 1916 review of Budge's edition, he acknowledged that, where all other versions stop in chapter 51, the Coptic may have preserved the original ending of the text.⁴⁵ In his influential translation of 1924, he is more specific and deems it "probable" that the original text may have continued till the appearance of Adam in chapter 54. This may have been followed by a short conclusion in which Paul returned to the earth. What actually comes after in the Coptic version, our chapters 55–64, he considers "to a great extent ... a pasticcio from other Coptic apocrypha."⁴⁶ On the other hand, James claims that the climax of the *Apocalypse* is reached in chapter 44, where the Sunday is granted as a day of respite from the tortures of hell, and that everything that follows is "an otiose appendix." Accordingly, so he suggests, chapters 45–54 may be the product of a later redaction of the original text. For the latter idea he refers to the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* and to the short Latin redactions that all end with chapter 44.⁴⁷

Our analysis so far shows that James' assumptions are far from compelling. Chapters 55–62 are in our view structurally and thematically an integral part of the composition (see on this issue our remarks in the next sections). As for the hypothesis that the original text may have ended with chapter 44, Silverstein demonstrated that all Latin redactions including that of manuscript St Gall derive from the same archetype, his λ , as the Paris manuscript, which continues to chapter 51. This means that in any case originally the Latin text was longer than the short Latin redactions invoked by James.⁴⁸ Also the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary*, although largely dependent on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, can hardly be considered a representative of a more original form of the text.⁴⁹ Besides, the view that granting the day of respite is the climax of the text is only valid on the *a priori* that describing periodical relief from the punishments was the main objective of the *Apocalypse*, and this is—in our perception—not the case. Central to the *Apocalypse*, as we will argue below, is rather the tension between justice and compassion. Our analysis shows that relief from

45 "Some Coptic Apocrypha," 166: "I have no doubt that in them (sc. the later chapters of the Coptic) the original conclusion is embodied."

46 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 555. Differently, Casey, "Apocalypse," 24–25.

47 To do justice to James, it must be added that he did not consider this a conclusive argument; see *Apocryphal New Testament*, 555.

48 Silverstein, *Visio*, 38, 59, 108–109 and n. 80.

49 On this text, Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 19–21, and, below, chapter 4, section 2. The same judgment applies to the Armenian versions cited by Casey, "Apocalypse," 25, for which see Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 87–172.

suffering admittedly represents an important moment in the *Apocalypse's* section on hell, but more as a way of counterbalancing the previous description of the terrible punishments of hell. After many chapters that describe the suffering of the wicked, their awful tortures and the variety of their sins, Paul's compassion, Michael's intercession and Christ's final granting of respite intend to balance suffering with divine mercy. The *Apocalypse* displays at the same time God's inflexible punishment of the sinners and his compassion, when his beloved ones intercede for them. Christ granting respite, therefore, certainly represents a climax, but only of the central section (chapters 31–44), not of the entire *Apocalypse of Paul*.

4 The Intentions of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*

When analyzing the intentions of the *Apocalypse*, in our view three main goals come to the fore. The text intended to provide: (a) an assessment of the validity of theodicy and an overview of the eschatological reward and punishment of righteous and sinners; (b) praise and glorification of the Apostle Paul; and (c) a description of a morally structured cosmos.

4.1 *Punishment and Reward*

Theodicy is a central theme in the context of theistic morals. The age-old question regarding the righteousness of God's justice recurrently arises as soon as morality and justice are vouchsafed by divine sanction or when creation is attributed to the activity of an omnipotent God. If God cares and himself establishes the moral standards according to which humans should behave, how is it possible that the wicked seem to get away with their injustice and that the vicious are apparently not or not always punished? Again and again writers and philosophers pondered this problem, in an attempt to restate the righteousness of theodicy and its validity despite the daily proofs that seemed to invalidate it. The archaic idea that divine punishment of human iniquities could reach up to the third generation (for example in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 757–771) was an attempt at solving the apparent inconsistencies of the system. The same problem is tackled in Plutarch's *De sera numinis vindicta*, or "On the Delay of Divine Vengeance," perhaps one of the best known assessments of God's notion of justice. The theme is also central to the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which intends to state not only the validity of theodicy, but also the ways punishment and reward work.

The functioning of God's system of justice is at the core of Paul's revelation. Already the first chapters, with the judgment of good and evil souls (only partly

extant in Coptic), set the framework in which the text's audiences are going to move in the following chapters: God's judgment of righteous and sinners in heaven, their reward or punishment, the land of the blessed and that of the damned, and, especially, the horrors of the punishments in hell are one by one presented. We may therefore assume that the assessment and presentation of the fulfillment of God's justice are one of the main goals of the *Apocalypse*. Readers of the *Apocalypse* are assured that there is an eschatological judgment and that God's justice will finally reconstitute the balance between virtue and reward, and between sin and punishment. Not only does punishment exist, it also will last forever, as the text affirms on nine different occasions (37, 2; 38, 3; 39, 1; 39, 2; 39, 3; 39, 4; 40, 1; 40, 3; 40, 5). The text, moreover, repeatedly underscores the necessity of punishment and the inflexibility of God's justice: everyone is paid according to his acts and merciless angels are in charge of the punishments (36, 2; 40, 4). This has to do with the strict reciprocity behind God's justice. Thus, for example, in 16, 7: "There is no partiality before God and a fair judgment is rendered. With him who practiced justice, justice is practiced. With him who practiced mercy, mercy is practiced."

But what is the meaning of all this suffering in the context of a world that owes its existence to a merciful God, and is there room for his mercy? The *Apocalypse* also devotes a good deal of attention to this problem. During his journey along the places of torment, Paul repeatedly expresses his compassion at the sight of the suffering of the damned (see our commentary at 33). Visible from the beginning, Paul's compassion shows a gradual crescendo that finally reaches its apex in chapter 43 with Michael, his angels and Paul interceding for the damned and asking for mercy. The text, however, repeatedly counteracts Paul's complaints, emphasizing both the righteousness of punishment and the impartiality of the retributive principle behind God's justice. To the sinner asking for pity in 17, 1 the judge replies: "What have you done in the world? Probably you were merciless, for you have been handed over to merciless angels." Mercy is indeed God's most important trait (33; 54) and the *Apocalypse* calls him "the Merciful" (43, 3; cf. 40, 6) or "compassionate and merciful" (54), but not even mercy can obstruct the course of justice. The tension between justice and mercy is omnipresent in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

The implacable functioning of justice does not deter Paul from complaining about the meaning of suffering in the context of God's creation. Despite the fact that justice does not seem to leave room for his weeping, Paul time and again expresses his compassion, to the extent that the angel rebukes him on two occasions: "Why do you weep, O Paul? Are you perhaps more compassionate than God?" (33). Or similarly in 40, 6: "O Paul, why do you weep? Are you perhaps just as merciful as God? Because God knows that the judgment

exists, therefore he allows each person to do as pleases him upon the earth.” His protest culminates with his existential question regarding the nature of evil in 42, 2: “Then I spread my hands, groaned and wept, saying: ‘It would be better if the impious had not been born upon the earth than that he was born.’” The tension between justice and mercy is resolved in 43, when Michael, his angels and Paul intercede for the damned. This creates the context for God’s mercy to appear. Jesus’ granting of respite in 44 indeed resolves the tension and restates the validity of justice.

4.2 *Praise of the Apostle Paul*

As his repeated complaints show, Paul—unlike the visionaries in many cosmic tours—is not just a dispassionate observer, who merely registers what he sees. Like Abraham in the *Testament of Abraham* (CAVT 88),⁵⁰ he is also the text’s protagonist. He shows a wide range of emotional reactions, not only sorrow and compassion, but also astonishment, doubt and awe. What is more, the prestige of Paul and the importance of his apostolic mission are core themes of the entire, sadly understudied last part of the text, chapters 45–62, where Paul visits Paradise, briefly returns to the third heaven and is finally granted a vision of his future rewards.

The very last sentence of chapter 44 brings the scene of Christ granting respite from the punishments of hell to an abrupt end and cleverly shifts the focus back to Paul. The angels overseeing the punishments tell the inmates of hell to take care, for: “Mercy has been shown to you ... only for the sake of Paul, the beloved of God, because he was brought to this place” (44, 6). From that moment onwards, Paul remains in the limelight. In the next lines, the angel transports Paul to (earthly) Paradise, not for mere sightseeing, but—as the angel tells him—“so that all the righteous may see you with joy and exultation. For the righteous have prepared themselves all to set out and meet you” (45, 1). What follows, after Paul’s rather perfunctory visit to earthly Paradise (chapter 45), is an encounter first with the Virgin Mary (chapter 46), then with a long procession of saints from the Old Testament, from Adam, who is the last on the list (54), up to and including John the Baptist (53), though not in chronological order.⁵¹ Mary explains the reason for this parade. She tells him (in 46, 2):

All the righteous entreat my son, Jesus Christ, who is my Lord, saying:
“Will you oblige us and bring Paul up to us so that we may see him in

⁵⁰ See below chapter 3, section 1.

⁵¹ See our more detailed analysis of chapters 46–54 in the commentary.

the flesh, before he comes forth from the body?" And my beloved son told them: "Be patient for a little while and he will come to live with you forever." All said to him with a single voice: "Do not grieve us, our Lord. We desire to see him in the flesh, since he has earned such great glory, caring for the great and the small. When any of them enters this kingdom, we inquire: 'Why has this one arrived here?', and they will say: 'There is one called Paul upon the earth, who preaches Christ with his sweet words, draws multitudes towards Christ and introduces them into the City of Christ, Jerusalem.'"

The righteous of the Old Testament, in other words, come to greet in Paul the exemplary apostle of Christ.

The episodes in which the righteous welcome Paul (chapters 47–54) all share a similar layout. Paul sees the saints approaching, usually from a distance, and asks who they are. They then briefly tell their story, with a strong emphasis on the sufferings they had to endure, and end with refrain-like, formulaic words of praise for Paul. The whole parade has other purposes as well, such as reminding the audience of the exemplary behavior of famous biblical heroes, but essentially it constitutes a prolonged homage to the Apostle Paul. In fact the very laudatory words of the saints in 46, 2 and later episodes vividly recall the words with which Jesus himself, according to Paul's own report, sent Paul "in order to open their eyes (sc. of the gentiles), to turn them away from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, so that they may receive forgiveness of their sins and inheritance with the saints, because they come to believe in me" (Acts 26:18, after the Sahidic, Thompson).

The honor of Paul remains a recurrent motif in the following chapters, a part of the text analyzed in more detail in section 5 below. This next and final stage in Paul's voyage, which brings him to the third heaven and celestial Paradise, is explicitly undertaken to show Paul "his place" (55, 3). What this place will be is revealed in the vision of the thrones and crowns that are prepared for him and his fellow-apostles in the sweet fragrance and the eternal light of Paradise (60). In this part of the text, Paul still sees various landscapes and encounters various groups of people, yet their description seems primarily aimed at highlighting the status of the seer, Paul himself. The saints in Paradise greet Paul with words of praise, culminating in the laudatory words of the martyrs in the final lines of the text (62, 2). The landscapes make him wonder whether he will be worthy to stay there, which is then emphatically affirmed by his interlocutors (56, 2; 59; 62, 2).

The last part of the *Apocalypse*, chapters 45–62, conveys a strong sense of thematic unity. For all its changes of scenery, it is focused on the person of

Paul as the ideal apostle of Christ's message, what has been called "the heroic Paul."⁵² Paul is not merely the protagonist of his visionary journey, but also one of its principal subjects. The text's emphasis on the importance of the mission of Paul, on a par with but also somewhat at the expense of the other apostles, is shared with the other, Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*, from the Nag Hammadi find (*CANT* 323; *NHC* V, 2), discussed below, in chapter 3, 1.

4.3 *A Morally Structured Cosmos*

Besides theodicy and Paul's glorification, the *Apocalypse* betrays a profound interest in cosmography. From the very first pages, the readers realize that the *Apocalypse* offers something more than a mere description of the destiny of sinners and righteous. In describing their respective abodes, the *Apocalypse* also devotes special attention to the eschatological landscape, providing an account of the structure of the world and its orography. In point of fact, the text includes an overwhelming amount of geographical indications, which include references to cardinal points and local references provided by both the angel and the apostle, meticulous descriptions of lands and territories, and climatic observations.

As is widely acknowledged, the primary source of inspiration for the revelations attributed to Paul in the *Apocalypse* is the account of his rapture to the third heaven in 2 Cor. 12. Even if not quoted explicitly, as in the Tarsus prologue of the long Latin version or the epilogue of the Syriac, the Coptic version of the *Apocalypse* contains several implicit references to this passage.⁵³ The conciseness and mystery of Paul's account in 2 Corinthians seems to have spurred the curiosity and the imagination of many in antiquity, since we know at least two spin-offs of his story that intended to expand Paul's world in different ways. One of them is the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* from the Nag Hammadi find, already mentioned above, which presents a vertical amplification of the cosmos of Paul's epistle. To the three heavens known from Paul's account in 2 Corinthians, the Gnostic *Apocalypse* adds no less than seven more, offering a ten-storey image of the cosmos, with seven levels belonging to the hebdomad and three to the divine region. The interest of this text, however, is more cosmological than cosmographical. Rather than providing additional descriptions of the different layers of the universe visited by Paul, the text gives a general overview of the cosmos' constitution that updates the cosmological outlook of

52 Thus Michael Kaler, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 168–169, about Paul in the Gnostic *Apocalypse* from Nag Hammadi.

53 In 21, 1, and most clearly in 55, 1, with the signal terminology, discussed in our commentary and below in section 5.

2 Corinthians, adapting it to views well established in the philosophical circles of the first centuries of our era.⁵⁴

Another development of the world view found in 2 Corinthians is the present *Apocalypse of Paul*, since to a certain extent it also intends to provide an expansion of Paul's cosmos. However, even if important for the conceptual world of the text, the vertical axis in the *Apocalypse of Paul* is not as significant as in the Gnostic *Apocalypse*. Admittedly, in the wake of 2 Corinthians, the *Apocalypse* makes Paul accomplish ascents and descents, but the main interest has moved to the horizontal axis. Instead of adding heavenly layers to Pauline cosmology, it expands Paul's world horizontally, eastwards and westwards. Excluding a passing reference to the seventh heaven, where the Godhead dwells (29, 4), the *Apocalypse of Paul* is loyal to Paul's cosmos and its exhaustive description of the world consciously remains within the boundaries set by 2 Corinthians. The question as to whether the author was reacting against the cosmological outlook of the Gnostic *Apocalypse* is difficult to answer. His restatement of Paul's traditional cosmos, however, might very well be a response to earlier cosmological innovations.

More importantly, this amplification of the world along the horizontal line plays a specific role in the plan of the *Apocalypse*, since east and west are meant to accommodate the two antithetic groups presented in the text, namely the righteous and the sinners. The vertical axis, along which Paul proceeds to and from the third heaven, divides the world into two equivalent halves that mirror one another negatively. The east is characterized by light, warmth and fertility; the west is dark, cold and barren. But there is more, since vertical and horizontal axes are part of the machinery of God's justice. On the one hand, sins are committed below, on earth, and judgment occurs above, in the middle of the air. On the other hand, east and west play an important role in the judicial apparatus of the text. The bliss and beauty of the eastern part of the world is intended as a reward for the righteous; the despair and ugliness of the west, by contrast, is intended to punish the sins of the wicked. In this sense, the configuration of the cosmos in the *Apocalypse of Paul* interestingly reflects morals, since the binary right-wrong is the main structuring principle of its design. The diagram of Figure 6, below, provides an overview of the *Apocalypse's* cosmos and the specific functions its different parts play in God's judicial system.

54 See Roig Lanzillotta, "The Apocalypse of Paul (NHC V, 2)," in particular 122–125, and below, chapter 3, section 1.

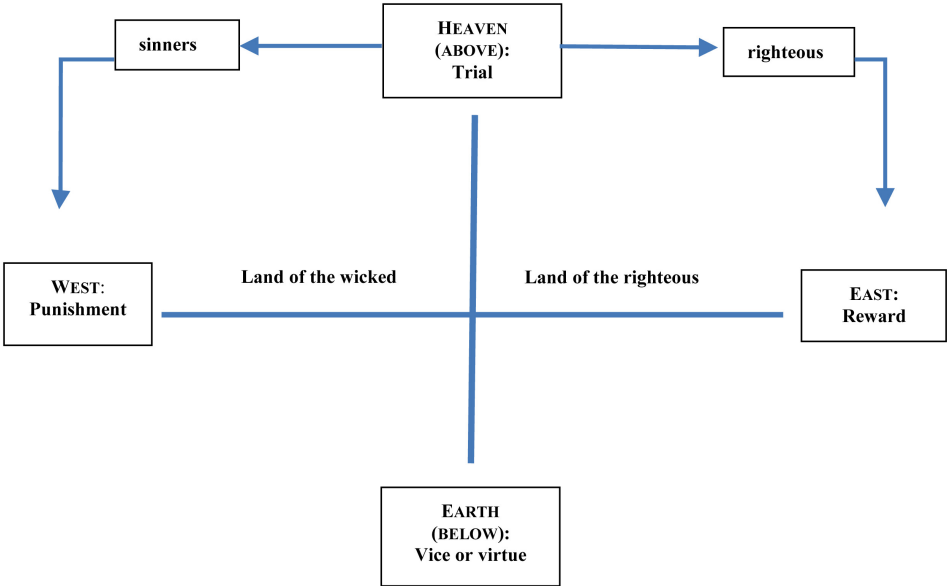


FIGURE 6 A morally structured world

This peculiarity has two important consequences for the text. The first is that the moral conception of the cosmos, organized along the vertical and horizontal axes, results in a particularly symmetric world. As already observed above, symmetry is a marked characteristic of the text and the text abounds in fundamental polarities (see section 3). The cosmographical description of the land of the wicked in the west and the Land of Inheritance in the east are conceived of as exact opposites that negatively mirror one another. The combination of local references and the questions and answers of both Paul and the angel emphasize the symmetry and polarity of the world even more. Paul's journey to the east starts on the River Ocean on the eastern side of the cosmos. After travelling to the third heaven and back to the firmament, Paul's question and the angel's answer in chapter 21, 2, conveniently mark the beginning of their trip on the horizontal axis: "My Lord, what is the water flood that surrounds the entire world?" He told me: "That is the River Ocean." There follows a description of the region of the righteous in the east that comprises four elements, the same number as found in the description of the west side of the world, as we will see. These are the Land of Inheritance, the river of milk and honey, the Acherusian Lake and the City of Christ. Paul's sojourn in this region is closed in 31, 1 with the description of how both, Paul and the angel, retrace their steps in order to reach their point of departure at the foundation of heaven on the River Ocean in the east. After mentioning in inverse

order the four places they have visited, again a question by the angel and Paul's answer in 31, 2, emphasize a new point of departure in their journey, but now to the west: "Paul, Paul, have you recognized where you are now?" And I said to him: "Yes, my Lord." Through the firmament Paul is taken to the foundations of heaven at the other side of the world. Once again, the angel's and Paul's words in 31, 2 are intended to precisely locate us on the opposite side of the cosmos: "What is the water flood upon which this heaven is resting?" He told me: "That is the Ocean. That is the river that surrounds the entire inhabited world." There follows the description of the western regions inhabited by the sinners, which also includes four elements: the parched field full of pits, the river of fire, the region to the west of the punishments with the pit of the abyss, and the freezing zone to the north-west with the worm that never rests.

The second consequence of the author's interest in linking the structure of the world to morals is the presence in the text of abundant geographical references and cosmographical descriptions, both of which have important structuring functions in the text. In his travels through heaven and earth Paul recurrently uses the expression "and I looked and saw," which is characteristic of the apocalyptic genre and introduces the new places he visits and the persons he encounters. However, differently than in other tours of hell, the *Apocalypse of Paul's* specific geographical coordinates intend to situate Paul and the readers with great precision at the different locations of God's machinery of justice. Both at his departure and at his arrival, Paul indicates whether he goes north or south, whether he moves east or westwards; or else if he is taken up or down. He also declares to be "near" and "far," "away from" or "close to," "inside" or "outside" a given location. As a result, cardinal points and adverbs of place proliferate in the *Apocalypse*: while cardinal directions appear up to 21 times,⁵⁵ adverbs of place are particularly frequent.⁵⁶

The following table provides an overview of the text's numerous local references:

55 Cardinal directions are indeed numerous: north appears on four (23, 3; 28; 42, 1; 58, 1); south, on three (23, 3; 26; 58, 1); east, on seven occasions (21, 2 [where the sun rises]; 22, 1; 22, 5 [2]; 23, 3; 27; 58); and west occurs also seven times (23, 3; 25; 31, 2 [where the sun sets]; 32, 1; 41, 1; 42, 1; 58).

56 By way of example, "near" appears four times; "far," twice; "away," twice; "close(r)," three times; "inside," sixteen; "out(er)," nine; and "outside," once.

TABLE 4 Local coordinates and cosmographic descriptions

19, 1.	to the third heaven ... near a gateway
21, 2.	away from that gate ... to the second heaven ... on top of the firmament ... to where the sun rises.
Cosmographic description: the foundations of heaven	
21, 3.	beyond the Ocean
21, 3.	"This is the Land of Inheritance"
Cosmographic description: the Land of Inheritance	
22, 1.	At both sides and to the east of the river
Cosmographic description: the Acherusian Lake	
22, 5.	The city of the holy ones ... is to the east of all this
23, 1.	inside the City of Christ ... on the shore of the Acherusian Lake
Cosmographic description: golden ship sailing the Acherusian Lake.	
23, 2.	I saw ... the City of Christ.
Cosmographic description: the City of Christ	
23, 3.	Inside the city ... to the west ... to the south ... to the east ... to the north of the city
Cosmographic description: the rivers of the City of Christ	
24, 1	When I entered that city ... at the entrance of the city gate ...
25.	to the river of honey to the west of the city ... inside the gate I found ...
26.	to the river of milk to the south of the city and I found ...
27.	along to the river of wine to the east of the city ...
28.	along to the river of oil to the north of the city ... inside the gate ...
29, 1.	inside to the middle of the city, up to the twelfth wall.
29, 3.	I, Paul, in the middle of the city, saw a huge altar, highly elevated
31, 1.	out of the city ... beyond the Acherusian Lake ... beyond the land of blessings on the shore of the river of milk and honey ... away over the Ocean ... took me up to heaven.
31, 2.	"Paul, Paul, have you recognized where you are now?" And I said to him: "Yes, my Lord."
31, 2.	he took me to where the sun sets
Cosmographic description: the foundation of heaven in the west.	
31, 2.	beyond the Ocean ...
31, 3.	Then I, Paul, looked and saw a huge parched field ... trench after trench and pit after pit
Cosmographic description: the parched field and its numerous pits	
31, 4.	I, Paul, looked and I saw a huge river of fire throwing up heavy waves ...
32, 1.	West of the river of fire, too, I saw a place ...
34.	Then I looked upon the river of fire and saw ...

TABLE 4 Local coordinates and cosmographic descriptions (*cont.*)

35.	I looked and saw a bit further in another direction ...
36, 1.	I looked again upon the river of fire closer to me ...
37, 1.	I looked again and saw pits on the shore of the river of fire ...
37, 2.	I, Paul, saw another parched place ...
38, 1.	I also saw a shining pool down in the depth ...
41, 1.	to the west of all the punishments ... near the well of the abyss
42, 1.	to the west in northern direction
Cosmographic description: the freezing region	
45, 1.	I will take you to Paradise ...
45, 2.	When I had come closer to Paradise ...
Cosmographic description of Paradise	
45, 4.	to the middle of Paradise
Cosmographic description of Paradise	
47, 3.	I looked in the distance ...
48, 1.	I looked in the distance and I saw ...
49, 1	Twelve more arrived from a distance ...
55, 1.	... I was seized in a cloud and taken to the third heaven
Cosmographic description: third heaven	
56, 1.	And the angel who accompanied me took me to Paradise
56, 2.	"This is the Holy Land of the Lord ..."
56, 3.	The angel took me to a tabernacle of light ...
Cosmographic description: tabernacle of light	
58, 1.	"Come and I will let you behold the Paradise of heaven ..."
Cosmographic description of the celestial Paradise	
59.	"O Paul, have you seen the Paradise of heaven ...?"
60, 1.	The angel took me before the veil in the Holy Land
62, 1.	I saw in the Holy Land a place set with precious stones
63, 2.	And the angel ... brought me upon the Mount of Olives.
64, 3.	to the country that he had assigned to them ...

The profusion of local references and the lengthy cosmographical descriptions give the *Apocalypse of Paul* its peculiar character. Given their focus on reward and punishment, apocalyptic texts in general provide rather concise and superficial geographical descriptions of the abodes where justice takes place. This is not so in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which shows a special interest in cosmography. Cosmographic descriptions, some of them particularly long, have an important structuring function in the text. Thus, Paul's journey to the east includes up to three of these long sections:

1. Paul's arrival at the foundations of heaven on the River Ocean in the east in 21, 1–3;
2. Paul's description of the Land of Inheritance in 22, 1; and
3. Paul's description of the City of Christ in 23.

The same goes for Paul's journey westwards, which also comprises up to three long sections including cosmographical descriptions:

1. Paul's arrival at the foundations of heaven both in the east and in the west in 31, 1–2;
2. Paul's description of the parched land and its numerous pits in 31, 3;
3. Paul's description of the place to the west of the punishments where the worm that does not sleep abides in 42, 1.

These six cosmographical descriptions provide a thorough overview of the world along the horizontal axis, that is, from east to west. If to these cosmographical sections we add the missing description of the place of judgment in the beginning of the text; the brief sketch of the third heaven in 19–20; the description of (earthly) Paradise in 45, 2–3, the vision of the third heaven in 55, 1–2; and celestial Paradise in 56–58, we will also have a complete description of the world along the vertical axis, namely from below to above. The missing chapters in the Coptic version probably described Paul's first ascent to the place in the middle of the air, where judgment takes place (cf. Latin 11). From that place Paul continues his trip to the third heaven. From a cosmographical perspective, consequently, his apparently trivial visit to the third heaven at the beginning of the text is, in fact, crucial, since it describes at the outset the vertical axis that will divide the cosmos into two antithetic halves.

The combination of precise geographical coordinates with cosmographic descriptions does something more, however, than simply orienting the reader in the symmetric conception of the cosmos. It also offers a coherent description of the world that is wholly consistent with the functioning of theodicy. The *Apocalypse of Paul's* cosmographical interest and the intertwining of cosmography and theodicy seem to indicate that in the mind of the author both aspects were inseparable parts of God's providential activity. Cosmos and theodicy are two sides of the same coin; they are so intrinsically connected that the former reflects the latter, and the latter implies the former. The world in the *Apocalypse of Paul* is not only wholly consistent with theodicy; its different regions are also part of God's judicial apparatus. In this sense, the very constitution of the cosmos assures the existence of theodicy. Given that justice is embedded in God's creation, punishment and reward cannot but take place, redressing in this way the balance between right and wrong.

4.4 *A Persuasive Text*

The *Apocalypse of Paul* is not a purely intellectual demonstration of doctrinal truths, however, or a lesson in cosmography. It is a text that was destined to be “preached (ταῦθ' οἰᾶν) in the entire world for the benefit of those who will hear it (μετ' ἡμῶν ἐπος),” as Jesus predicts in the epilogue (64, 2). It was, therefore, purposely designed as a text that was morally edifying for audiences to whom the text was read out aloud, undoubtedly in a congregational setting, monastic or otherwise.⁵⁷ The author of the *Apocalypse* was faced with the arduous task of at once morally engaging his audience and guiding it through a rather long and winding narrative by oral means. That he was eminently successful in his undertaking is not only proven by the popularity of the text, but is borne out as well by its literary form. The few remarks that follow do not pretend to take the place of a full literary analysis. They merely and in the briefest possible manner link some of its more conspicuous formal characteristics to the text's objectives.

Like practically all early-Christian literature, the *Apocalypse of Paul* was written with a view to oral reproduction and aural perception. For this purpose the *Apocalypse*, as many similar texts, adopts oral-like communicative strategies.⁵⁸ Failure to recognize the function and importance of these strategies accounts for many of the negative judgments of the *Apocalypse* that are found in the earlier literature.⁵⁹ As our analysis shows, the text displays a coherent and easily identifiable symmetric structure, laid out in concentric circles around the central description of the punishments of hell, in which the principal transitions are clearly marked by the horizontal and vertical movements of Paul.

Within the greater units that are distinguished in this way, the structure of the text is episodic, with usually fairly brief episodes that often follow a fixed pattern. The author has a striking predilection for concatenating such brief, very similarly laid out episodes. Brief episodes allow easy aural processing, while their repetitive layout gives the listener time to ponder on the text's message. Some of these chains are quite long, for instance, the catalogue of punishments that occupies chapters 31–42 or the procession of saints who come to greet Paul in chapters 46–54. The episodes in such series may show a considerable lot of variation individually, yet as a rule each begins and ends in the same

57 This latter point is corroborated by chapter 30, where—in an oblique way—the community setting is thematically present in the discussion of the Alleluia acclamation.

58 See Zakrzewska, “Masterplots,” 505–514, on the example of the Bohairic *Acts of the Martyrs*.

59 Such as those by James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 555 (“ill-proportioned and inartistic”), or Casey, “Apocalypse,” 32 (“rambling and repetitious”).

way. They usually open, in truly apocalyptic fashion, with Paul seeing something or someone, subsequently named or explained by the angel that guides him.⁶⁰ The individual episodes then tend to be closed by formulaic, refrain-like statements that not only create a sense of unity, but also forcefully bring home some of the text's moral message. Thus, in the list of punishments: "That is why they (sc. the sinners in question) will be suffering this everlasting punishment" (37, 2), or in the saints' address of Paul: "Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed is the nation that will come to believe through you" (49, 2, from the speech of Lot).

Smaller units that are organized in more or less the same way are the three judgment scenes of chapter 14–18 (partly lacking in Coptic), the descriptions of the four rivers surrounding the City of Christ (chapters 25–28) or, within the larger group of punishments, the tortures undergone by the four ranks of unworthy clerics (chapters 34–36). Similar units may be laid out symmetrically in a parallel fashion, such as the description of the punishments meted out to the aborting women and the worthless monks (in chapter 40), or may be conceived of as contrasting pairs, such as the scenes of the righteous and the evil souls leaving the body (chapters 14 and 15–16, only partly extant in Coptic). Instead of considering the amount of repetition that this procedure involves as a sign of the author's incompetence, it is better to recognize it as a powerful means of shaping a text that was fashioned to be recited orally.⁶¹ In particular the tripartite structure of the individual episodes, with formally identical opening and closing phrases, creates an undulating rhythm that enhances the text's efficacy as a persuasive text.⁶²

The narrative of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is told by Paul, the text-internal narrator, in the first person singular, but for rare shifts to the third.⁶³ The first person invites each individual member of the audience to step into the story world evoked by the author. This is further facilitated by the person of the protagonist, Paul. The text certainly depicts a "heroic Paul," in the sense that he appears as the hero of a novel rather than a profound theologian, but at the same time he is quickly moved to tears and easily awed. The often repeated descriptions of his various moods create an empathic bond between the listener and this very human and somewhat timid hero that makes it easy to sympathize with him, share in his emotions and, in the final instance, interiorize the moral message of the text.⁶⁴

60 For this "demonstrative" format, see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 41–67.

61 See, for instance, Foley, *How to Read*, in particular 109–124.

62 Zakrzewska, "Masterplots," 507–508.

63 On occasional shifts to the third person as a means of enlivening the text, here once, in 43, 4, and finally in 63, 2, see our commentary at 43, 4.

64 For the importance of empathy in processing the message of a text, see Sanford and Emmott, *Mind*, in particular 191–232.

Another important formal aspect of the text's reproductive background is the predominant role of direct reported speech.⁶⁵ A major part of the text is told in conversations between precisely identified interlocutors, mostly of course Paul and the angel that guides him. Yet also the other characters are often interacting verbally, for instances—in a more complicated setting—the judge, the souls brought in for judgment and the various angels in chapters 16–18. As a consequence, lots of space is taken up by quotative indexes, specialized constructions that serve to identify the interlocutors in an orally performed text in an unambiguous way.⁶⁶ In their briefest form, these may run: "I (sc. Paul) said to the angel: ... (πεχαλι μπαγγελος χε)," followed by: "He told me: ... (πεχαρι και χε)" (thus twice, with minimal variation, in 19, 2), but they may be much more extensive, depending on the narrative situation or the desire of the author to enliven the text.

In a text that is read aloud, frequently shifting speaking voices are an important means of enlivening the narrative, giving the reader ample space for changes in intonation and mimics.⁶⁷ For this reason, the *Apocalypse* is rich in small dialogues that do not really contribute to the narrative's progress, but greatly enhance the liveliness of the text. A nice example is found in chapter 47, 1–2, where Paul sees the three patriarchs approaching:

I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord, who saw me and rejoiced with me?" He said: "Did you not recognize them, Paul?" I said: "I did not, my Lord." He told me: "These are the fathers of the people, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob." As soon as they saw me, they greeted me and said to me: "Hail, Paul, beloved of God and men. Blessed is he who will take pains for God." And Abraham said: ...

It is hardly important whether Paul was supposed to have recognized Abraham or not, given their earlier encounter in chapter 27. His question serves to trigger a brief conversation that allows for a much more vivid declamation than a straightforward narration. The narrative turns into a theater piece.

Basically the same observations apply to the many spatial and locative indications strewn throughout the text.⁶⁸ As was argued above, the abundance of spatial descriptions helps situating the narrative within the morally structured

65 Zakrzewska, "Masterplots," 509, and in particular ead., "Alexandria Polyphony," 214–221, with further literature.

66 See, generally, Buchstaller, *Quotatives*.

67 Zakrzewska, "Masterplots," 509; ead., "Alexandria Polyphony," 219.

68 See on this topic Sanford and Emmott, *Mind*, in particular 132–160.

world of the author. In the context of congregational reading, they allow the reader a variety of gestures that, together with the many textual signals, assist the audience in configuring a precise narrative situation in both its spatial and its moral dimensions.

5 The Final Stages of Paul's Voyage: Third Heaven, Celestial Paradise and Paul's Throne

Chapters 55–62 represent the last stages of Paul's journey, before his return to the Mount of Olives. They again take him up for a final apotheosis, in which he is shown the throne that awaits him in heaven. There are several reasons to pay special attention to this part of the text, which is present in the Coptic version only. Firstly, even considering the general neglect of the Coptic version, these final chapters are grossly understudied.⁶⁹ Secondly, what little scholarly discussion there was is dominated by James' negative judgment on these chapters as "a pasticcio from other Coptic apocrypha."⁷⁰ Thirdly, the precise track of Paul in these chapters is not always easy to follow, owing to what might be an editorial intervention.

The logic underlying chapters 55–62 is quite clear. After the praise and encouragement of the biblical saints (chapters 45–54), Paul now receives a vision of his future reward, culminating in the double vision of his throne (56, 3 and 60) and a final eulogy (62, 2). In 55, he gets a brief, but frightening glimpse of the third heaven, of which he had seen the gateway already in 19–20. This enigmatic passage is, in our view, motivated, on the one hand, by the author's general desire to obtain a symmetric composition, which dictates another upward movement, on the other, by the forceful influence of the famous verses of 2 Cor. 12:2–4, which in a way serve as a blueprint for this part of the vision.

The passage in 2 Cor. 12 mentions, in that order, the third heaven, Paradise and the ἀρρητα ῥήματα, the "ineffable words," heard by Paul. The *Apocalypse* follows this order, but for the position of the latter element, and makes Paul visit first the third heaven, where an injunction is heard based on the words of 2 Cor. 12:4 about the ineffability of the vision (mirroring 21, 1), then celestial

69 Copeland, *Mapping*, 181, is symptomatic in this respect: she simply breaks off her commentary at the moment when Paul leaves hell, even though she provides a re-edition of the entire Sahidic text.

70 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 555, still followed by Suci, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 114.

Paradise. In chapter 55, the model passage is very clearly present. The Coptic verb τωρη, used only here and in 45, is the exact equivalent of Greek ἀρπάζω and the “unseen things” that Paul is not allowed to reveal are a clear echo of the ἄρρητα ῥήματα / ζενοῶδες ἐγρηπ of 2 Cor. 12. The injunction that Paul receives and the stated ineffability of the vision may explain both the brevity and the enigmatic character of the scene described in 55 (see our commentary, below). At the end of this chapter, he is invited by the angel to come and see his “place,” for which he is, in chapter 56, transported to celestial Paradise.

The passage about the third heaven, chapter 55, although structurally justified, in a sense interrupts the series of greetings and blessings that had been initiated by the Virgin Mary in earthly Paradise (in chapter 46). This theme is taken up again in 56, which describes Paul meeting the prophets and the undefiled in celestial Paradise, in “the Holy Land of the Lord,” where he is greeted by the saints. Paul hesitates whether to stay there, but the angel reminds him of his mission on earth and the need to preach “this revelation,” that is, Paul’s vision, so that many will repent (56, 2). Thereupon, he is taken to a “tabernacle of light” where he sees his throne and his future dwelling, as had been promised to him earlier (56, 3).

In 57, Paul is taken to yet another place, where among tall trees he finds again a group of saints, who now are identified as the “shoots” that he “planted in the world,” his converts. After this vision, he is again invited to Paradise, to see his throne and those of his fellow-apostles. What follows immediately, however, is a detailed description of the layout of the Paradise of heaven, including many marvelous details, which takes up the whole of chapter 58. Upon seeing its wonders, Paul hesitates once more, in 59, now as to whether he is worthy to be admitted to the glory of Paradise. Again, the angel reminds him of his mission on earth and the need to preach “this revelation,” and he is again invited to come and see his throne and now also those of his fellow-apostles. In 60, he is taken “before the veil in the Holy Land,” where he sees his own throne (60, 1) and the thrones of the other apostles (60, 2). At the same place, Paul sees David, presiding over the celestial liturgy, as he did already in 29 (here chapter 61). Concluding the vision, he sees a third group of saints, in a place “set with precious stones,” this time identified as the martyrs, who render him homage with concluding acclamations (62, 2). In chapter 63, the vision takes an end and the angel brings Paul back to the Mount of Olives.

The description of Paul’s future dwelling in celestial Paradise is strongly indebted to the vision of Isaiah in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 7–9 (see the discussion in our commentary). As in the latter text, in Paul’s vision thrones play a central role, a motif already announced in chapter 29, with the “golden thrones”

spread about the City of Christ. Not only Paul and the other apostles, but also the prophets and the undefiled are circulating in a place where there are "a great number of splendid thrones ... each of them different in splendor, one surpassing the other in glory" (56, 1). The same is true of the martyrs of 62, 1. With the thrones go crowns (in 59, 60 and 62, 1; cf. the diadems in 29) and garments (57, 60, 61), some of them clearly liturgical vestments (62). Other recurring motifs in this part of the text are elements of landscape, most notably in the long description of Paradise in 58, but also the "shoots" planted by Paul, in 57, move among "lovely trees" (for the trees, cf. chapters 22 and 24) and the martyrs of 62 live in "a land white as snow" (cf. the land "seven times brighter than silver" in 21). As elsewhere in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, this celestial space is basically liturgical space, exhaling "a sweet fragrance" (60, 2; cf. 58, 2). Much of the landscape is filled in liturgically, by an altar (55, 2, about the third heaven), "a tabernacle of light" (56) or a veil (60–61). The angels and the saints are chanting continuously, under the direction of the psalmist David (61). Even the elements of the landscape itself, such as the trees of Paradise, are singing God's praise according to a fixed liturgical schedule (58, 3).

These chapters are definitely not "a pasticcio from other Coptic apocrypha," even if they are to a large extent composed with the aid of well-known apocalyptic motifs. The strong thematic unity that determines the inner coherence of this part of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the equally strong thematic continuity that connects it with the preceding chapters can hardly be missed. It continues the series of Paul's encounters with groups of saints, now the blessed inhabitants of celestial Paradise, who praise Paul in the same terms as the righteous of the Old Testament did in the preceding chapters (45–54). Yet here there is an even stronger focus on the honor that awaits Paul. The entire ascent to celestial Paradise is right from the outset meant to show Paul the bliss of his future dwelling, as the angel says: "Now get up and follow me and *I will show you your place*" (55, 3, end). This injunction echoes the earlier words of the angel in 45, 1, that similarly marked a major transition, from hell to (earthly) Paradise: "Now follow me once more and *I will take you to Paradise*, so that all the righteous may see you." Given the unity of purpose and form that underlies this entire part of the text, from chapter 45 up to 62, it cannot be split up in the arbitrary way that was proposed by James. As was observed above, James deemed it "probable" that after chapter 54, the encounter with Adam, the original text ended.⁷¹ Yet there is nothing in the Coptic version, or in any other witness of the text, to substantiate such a view.

⁷¹ James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 555.

The indubitable unity that ties chapters 45-62 together is, towards the end, disrupted by a series of duplications that may point at editorial intervention, whether deliberate or by inadvertence. As long as no other versions or manuscripts for this part of the text, from chapter 52 onwards, are available, it is obviously difficult to distinguish between original and secondary or misplaced elements. Nonetheless, the indubitable doublets of the text do demand an explanation, however hypothetical, which we will try to give below.

For no clear reason, Paul is no less than four times invited by the angel to follow him to his place in heaven and admire his throne: at the transition from 55 to 56 (55, 3: "Now get up and follow me and I will show you your place"), in 56, 2 ("You are destined to see your throne and your house before you descend to the world"), at the beginning of 58 ("Come and I will let you behold the Paradise of heaven and your throne and your crown") and at the end of 59 ("Now, I will take you once more and show you your throne and your crown and that of your apostle-brethren"). Even more disturbing, he is twice shown his throne, once in 56, 3, and again in 60, 1, each time following a rhetorical hesitation of Paul, which in turn provokes a reaction from the angel, reminding him of the mission that he has to accomplish upon earth, including the preaching of the revelation that he received. Paul's hesitation (56, 2: I would like to stay here, but ...; 59: Am I worthy to stay here?) is in both cases triggered by seeing the mere beauty of Paradise and the bliss of its inhabitants. The table on the next page, which juxtaposes duplicating elements, shows that chapters 56, 2-3, on the one hand, and 59-60, 1, on the other, are structurally and for a large part also substantially doublets (Table 5).

Chapters 56, 2-3, and 59-60, 1, with their clearly duplicating elements (address of the angel about Paul's return to the earth, description of the throne of Paul), seem to betray a "seam" in the text. It is attractive to connect this with the intervening lengthy description of the landscape of Paradise in 58. Whereas the paragraphs on the thrones of the prophets (56, 1-2), the other apostles (60, 2) and the martyrs (62, 1) may be considered expansions of the description of the throne of Paul, mainly developing motifs known from the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the detailed description of celestial Paradise seems out of place. While entirely in tune with the text's general predilection for cosmographic descriptions, its position in the text is hardly logical. Instead of following directly on the description of the third heaven, it interrupts for a long stretch the narrative about Paul's throne, with which it is only very weakly connected, mainly by the angel's question at the beginning of the next chapter (59). Even its terminology appears to set chapter 58 apart. The regions of Paradise inhabited by the saints and the angels are designated as "the Holy Land of the Lord" (56, 2; briefly as "the Holy Land" in 60, 1 and 62, 1), whereas the term "Paradise," after

TABLE 5 Doublets in chapters 55–63

55, 1–2. Third heaven: the vision of the altar	
55, 3. First invitation	58, 1. Third invitation
56, 1–2. Holy Land: saints (prophets / the undefiled) / thrones	–
–	58, 1–3. Paradise: landscape
56, 2. Second invitation & Paul's hesitation	59. Paul's hesitation & fourth invitation
56, 3. Holy Land: tabernacle of light / Paul's throne	60, 1. Holy Land: the veil / Paul's throne
57. (Holy Land:) saints (Paul's converts) / trees	–
60, 2. (Holy Land:) the veil / the thrones of the other apostles	
61. (Holy Land:) the veil: David / celestial liturgy	
62, 1. Holy Land: saints (martyrs) / landscape / thrones	
62, 2. Final praise of Paul	
63. Return to earth	

a first appearance in 56, 1, is reserved for the mathematically laid-out garden described in chapter 58, which seems to be devoid of human or angelic life and where instead the trees are singing God's praise (see our commentary at 56, 2). The seam is perhaps best made visible by comparing the words of the angel at the beginning of chapter 58 ("Come and I will let you behold the Paradise of heaven and your throne and your crown") and at the end of 59 ("Now, I will take you once more and show you your throne and your crown and that of your apostle-brethren"). The intervening lengthy description of the Paradise garden made it necessary to repeat the phrase about "your throne and your crown," which in the first instance had lost its function.

Admitting the hypothesis of a seam in the text, connected with the intrusion of the description of Paradise (58), two scenarios for reconstructing the original sequence of the chapters may be envisaged. These are marked 1 and 2 on the table below (Table 6), where they are juxtaposed to the actual sequence of the chapters in our manuscript.

The first (no. 1 in the table) assumes that the description of Paradise is an original element of the text, but was destined to follow the description of the third heaven in chapter 55 immediately. By inadvertence, a copyist left out this passage, presumably because he confused the various very similarly described interventions of the angel, and moved on right away to the description of the bliss of the saints and the vision of Paul's throne that leads over to his return to the earth. The same scribe or another noticed the error and made a new start

TABLE 6 Alternative reconstructions of the original end of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and actual order of chapters

Scenario 1 (with 58)	Scenario 2 (without 58)	Actual order of chapters
55, 1–2. Third heaven: the vision of the altar	55, 1–2. Third heaven: the vision of the altar	55, 1–2. Third heaven: the vision of the altar
55, 3. First invitation	55, 3. First invitation	55, 3. First invitation
58, 1–3. Celestial Paradise	–	–
56, 1–2. Holy Land: the prophets & undefiled / thrones	56, 1–2. Holy Land: the prophets & undefiled / thrones	56, 1–2. Holy Land: the prophets & undefiled / thrones
56, 2. Second invitation & Paul's hesitation	56, 2. Second invitation. Paul's hesitation	56, 2. Second invitation & Paul's hesitation
56, 3. Tabernacle of light: Paul's throne	56, 3. Tabernacle of light: Paul's throne	56, 3. Tabernacle of light: Paul's throne
57. Paul's converts / trees	57. Paul's converts / trees	57. Paul's converts / trees
–	–	58, 1–3. Third invitation & celestial Paradise
–	–	59. Paul's hesitation & fourth invitation
–	–	60, 1. Holy Land: the veil / Paul's throne
60, 2. The thrones of the apostles	60, 2. The thrones of the apostles	60, 2. The thrones of the apostles
61. (Holy Land:) the veil: David / celestial liturgy	61. (Holy Land:) the veil: David / celestial liturgy	61. (Holy Land:) the veil: David / celestial liturgy
62, 1. Holy Land: saints (martyrs) / landscape / thrones	62, 1. Holy Land: saints (martyrs) / landscape / thrones	62, 1. Holy Land: saints (martyrs) / landscape / thrones
62, 2. Final praise of Paul	62, 2. Final praise of Paul	62, 2. Final praise of Paul
63. Return to earth	63. Return to earth	63. Return to earth

from chapter 58 onwards, without eliminating the text of our chapters 56–57, thus creating a duplicate.

A second option (no. 2 in our table) would be to assume that the description of the celestial garden was not at all part of the original text. It was inserted *en bloc* by a redactor who was dissatisfied with the relatively poor attention paid to the celestial Paradise, even though it is explicitly mentioned by Paul himself in 2 Cor. 12:3. He too made a new start in 58, without taking the trouble to

remove chapters 56–57, but then had to repeat parts of chapter 56 in chapters 59–60 in order to assure the continuity of the text.

With the scant information at our disposal it is difficult to decide which of both scenarios may be correct. Both assume that chapter 58 is intrusive in its present position, while chapters 56–57 are part of the original text, secondarily “corrected” and partly doubled by chapters 59–60, 1. In any case, Paul’s encounters with the various groups of saints who welcome him, culminating in the eulogy of 62, 2, must be original. These are a strong structuring element, recurring from chapter 46 onwards, and certainly belong to the primitive text.

6 Evaluation and Conclusions

6.1 *The Architecture of the Sahidic Version of the Apocalypse of Paul*

Our analysis of the textual structure of the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* reveals a rational, harmonious and well-balanced composition. The careful arrangement of elements shows that the author of the *Apocalypse of Paul* worked with a clear plan in mind. The display of the contrast between the bliss of the righteous and the suffering of the damned was certainly one of his principal goals, explicitly stated in chapter 63, 2. This contrast is emphasized by the numerous binaries of the text that present both the fates and the abodes of righteous and sinners as antithetic. The description of the punishments of hell was undoubtedly one of the author’s main ambitions. The central position occupied by this section in the textual architecture clearly points to its seminal importance for the text’s main message, the statement of the validity of theodicy. Even if sinners might seem to get away with it, sin never remains unpunished. The gruesome description of the suffering and pain of the impious is not gratuitous, however. Thanks to the interspersed expressions of compassion by Paul, the narrative of this section creates an important crescendo that culminates in the mercy shown by God in the granting of temporal respite in chapter 44.

The central position of the section on the pains of hell in the composition of the text is highlighted by the fact that it is surrounded by concentric circles that describe the bliss of the righteous. These descriptions provide the counterpoint to the punishments of hell. They include repeated glimpses of the third heaven (in our circle C), the bliss of the Land of Inheritance and the City of Christ (in circle B) and the rewards of celestial Paradise (in circle A). If our hypothesis regarding the lost beginning of the Coptic text is correct, we should annex an additional outer ring to this concentric structure. In this outermost circle, the gathering of the apostles on the Mount of Olives may have provided the narrative framework for Paul’s entire revelation.

The plausible beginning of the text on the Mount of Olives together with its end at the same location provided the *Apocalypse* with a familiar paratextual frame that oriented the reader as to the interpretation of the text. Our analysis of the external and internal evidence provides considerable support for the originality of this paratextual device, (partially) attested only in the Sahidic version. On the one hand, the familiar structure of the Mount of Olives narrative allows precise inferences about its form and function here; on the other, its use can with considerable probability be traced to one of the principal literary models of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, namely the earlier *Apocalypse of Peter*. A setting on the Mount of Olives is obviously not compatible with the famous account of the text's discovery in Paul's house at Tarsus. Hence, despite its (uneven and incomplete) attestation in the Greek, Latin and Syriac traditions, the Tarsus narrative represents in our view a later replacement of the Mount of Olives narrative as the text's paratextual prologue and epilogue.

Far from considering the last part of the *Apocalypse*, chapters 45–62, a patchwork of motifs from other Coptic apocrypha, we think it plays a crucial role in its textual economy. Once the display of the bliss of the righteous and the suffering of the damned has fulfilled one of the *Apocalypse*'s goals, the text focuses on its second objective, namely Paul's praise and glorification. The angel's words in chapter 45 regarding the "joy and exultation" of the righteous at the sight of Paul are programmatic for the developments in this part of the *Apocalypse*. Besides describing the final stages in Paul's journey, this part of the *Apocalypse* centers on the honor of the apostle. The last chapters, in which Paul is shown the throne and crown awaiting him in heaven, play an important role in preparing his final apotheosis. In this light, the originality and cohesion of the entire section from chapter 45 onwards can hardly be doubted, even if certain repetitions might indicate that chapter 58 was misplaced or secondarily inserted.

6.2 *The Value of the Sahidic Version of the Apocalypse of Paul*

Despite the general disdain of twentieth-century scholarship, the value of the Sahidic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is enormous. Already Casey and Silverstein had pointed out, almost a century ago, that the Coptic version was crucially important for both the study of the received "Tarsus text" and the reconstruction of the "pre-Tarsus" Greek original.⁷² Nonetheless, translators of

⁷² Casey, "Apocalypse"; Silverstein, *Visio*, 20, 98, n. 4; id., "Date." Both scholars consider the Coptic version a translation of a Greek original written in the third century and place its production before the fifth century. Also Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, shows interest in the Coptic version, comparing it with the other recensions. For our own view on the development of the text, which avoids the term "(pre-)Tarsus text," see chapter 4.

the *Apocalypse* over the last hundred years continued to focus mainly on the Latin version, resorting to the support of the Greek, Syriac and Coptic versions only when the defects of the Latin obliged them to do so. In general, scholars tended to consider the Coptic an amplifying and inferior version of the *Apocalypse*.⁷³ This prejudice can be explained, on the one hand, by the important editorial errors of Budge's *editio princeps*, on the other, by the authority of James, whose disparaging judgment has been decisive in the neglect and underrating of the Coptic text.

Due to the erroneous belief that the text contained lengthy lacunae, until now no systematic comparison of the Sahidic Coptic version with the long Latin version (L¹), the Greek, Syriac and other versions has been carried out.⁷⁴ Such comparison immediately reveals that the Coptic is not at all an expanding version. In addition, it also shows that James was wrong when he stated that, of the Eastern versions (Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic), Syriac was the best.⁷⁵ The Syriac not only alters the position of the narration with the discovery of the manuscript, but also omits an important number of chapters (39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 47 and partly 44), rewrites other passages (19 and 21) and presents several confusions (17 and 18). Unlike the Syriac, the medieval Greek recension follows the broad plan of the work as it appears in the Latin and the Coptic, although it consistently tends to summarize.⁷⁶ We refer the reader to our commentary.

Of all known versions, the Sahidic Coptic is definitely closest to the long Latin version (L¹) as preserved in the Paris manuscript. From chapter 16 to 51 both run parallel to such an extent that similarities and minor differences can be easily traced. The sometimes verbal correspondences between both versions are all the more remarkable since a considerable cultural and geographic distance separated them. This brings out that both were excellent translations. Nonetheless, comparison reveals that the Coptic is more careful in translating its original than the source of L¹.⁷⁷ Its descriptions are in general more meticulous, the imaginary geographical indications more accurate, and the description of places more precise and balanced. In this sense, the Coptic frequently helps us to understand sections that in Latin are confusing, obscure or simply

73 For instance Erbetta, "Apocalissi di Paolo," 356; Dünsing and de Santos Otero, "Apocalypse of Paul," 713; Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 618, all cited in our introduction, on previous scholarship.

74 For partial, but topical references, see Casey, "Apocalypse"; Silverstein, *Visio*.

75 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 525; similarly, Kraeling, "Apocalypse of Paul," and Erbetta, "Apocalissi di Paolo," 356, n. 4.

76 Thus, for instance, in chapters 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31 (etc.) of the published Greek text.

77 See Roig Lanzillotta, "Coptic Apocalypse," 168–193, and for further details our textual commentary.

omitted. Besides, despite missing the beginning of the text, the Coptic includes a much more developed end, which demonstrably belongs to the primitive version of the text. In brief, awaiting future manuscript discoveries, our Sahidic text is as close as we can get to the original, late fourth-century *Apocalypse of Paul*.

The *Apocalypse of Paul* in Christian Egypt

This chapter is basically concerned with intertextuality. That can hardly be otherwise, since the *Apocalypse of Paul* is the example *par excellence* of what Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva call an “intertext.” On the one hand, the *Apocalypse* can be seen as a “new tissue of past citations” and texts.¹ In this sense, it appropriates, uses and transforms previous texts, thereby converting them into something completely new. These appropriations and transformations may be both intentional and unintentional, but from an intertextual perspective this aspect is less relevant. What is interesting, however, is to establish our text’s relationship with previous texts and to determine how this relationship looks like. On the other hand, the *Apocalypse* shows to what extent intertextuality is an inevitable and never ending process, since it generates multiple texts or intertexts, which in their turn use and transform their model. Hence, this chapter looks in two directions and tries to situate the text in a regional, Egyptian trajectory of revelatory literature that transcends modern classifications according to, for instance, genre or religious affiliation.² First, we will discuss a number of mostly earlier texts with a shared focus on personal eschatology, following the lead of earlier authors, most notably Martha Himmelfarb and Montague Rhodes James (section 1). Secondly, we will present several Coptic language texts that reflect the reception of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in Christian Egypt. Most of these have hardly been taken seriously as intertexts, yet they offer invaluable material for a deeper understanding of the *Apocalypse*, both as a text and as a cultural artifact (section 2). As will be argued, the *Apocalypse of Paul* occupies a key-position in the history of the Christian Egyptian imagination of “unthinkable” worlds.

1 The Egyptian Apocalyptic Tradition

The *Apocalypse of Paul* is a work of erudition. It displays great ingenuity in combining and transforming material of different origins in order to create

1 Barthes, “Theory of the Text,” especially 39; cf. Kristeva, *Desire in Language*.

2 For Egypt, this concept was first developed in Frankfurter, “Legacy,” 142–200; cf. id., “Christian Eschatology”; Van der Vliet, “Coptic”; Burns, “From the ‘Gnostic Dialogues’ to the ‘Apostolic Memoirs.’”

something new. Identifying this material is for the greater part undertaken in our commentary, which by highlighting the most significant parallels tries to localize the intellectual antecedents of the text. Here, we will take a more specific view of a number of significant intertexts.

In his own perception, the most important source of the author of the *Apocalypse* was probably not one or another apocryphal text, but the Bible. Although the Bible is formally quoted only once (Matt. 5:5, in 21, 3), the text is saturated with biblical phraseology as well as more or less precisely identifiable allusions and echoes. Our commentary tries to capture the most important of these, but certainly cannot claim completeness. By the time the text was written, biblical language had come to shape the thought and speech patterns of literate Christians profoundly, and this holds *a fortiori* for clerics and monks. One biblical passage stands out, as it somehow licenses the representation of Paul as a visionary that underlies the entire composition. These are the famous verses from 2 Cor. 12:1–5. Even though we cannot be sure that in the Coptic version they occupied the same important place at the beginning of the text as in the Latin, due to a lacuna in our principal manuscript, the text presupposes them at various occasions, most notably in 21, 1, and 55, 1, which both deal with the third heaven. The passage in 55, 1, comes close to a kind of paraphrase, but the surviving Coptic text nowhere provides a full quote. Yet, even at the background, they set the scene for Paul's entire career as a visionary.

Otherwise, as has been repeatedly observed by modern scholars, there is very little of the biblical Paul in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.³ Paul is called “the teacher of the Church” (30, 1; 63, 2) and praised, in particular in the later parts of the text, as the heroic apostle of Jesus Christ, who earned his visionary gifts thanks to his continence (ἐγκράτεια) and the efforts of his preaching (62, 2). As we argued earlier, the Paul depicted in the pages of the *Apocalypse* is what may be called the “heroic Paul,” the somewhat naïve and emotional hero of a novel, rather than a profound theologian.⁴ Only Paul's somewhat convoluted doxology in 63, 1, may represent an attempt to render something of the depth of his theology, if our interpretation of these lines can be accepted.

More clearly present in the *Apocalypse of Paul* than the writings of Paul himself is the biblical book of Revelation.⁵ It is almost inevitable that a late-antique Christian author trying to visualize celestial Jerusalem (as in 29) or

3 See, for instance, Harrison, “In Quest of the Third Heaven”; Nicklas, “Gute Werke, rechter Glaube”; Kraus, “*Apocalipsis Pauli*.”

4 Chapter 2, section 4, citing Michael Kaler.

5 Hilhorst, “*Apocalypse of Paul*,” 16.

similar spaces in heaven (as in 58) would somehow appeal to the imagery of Revelation.⁶ Allusions to or echoes from the synoptic gospels usually conform to the Sahidic text of Matthew, which seems to correspond to a more general preference prevalent in late-antique Egypt.⁷

The Old Testament is very prominently present in the text, yet nowhere in the form of real citations. It is rather represented by its emblematic protagonists. Old Testament saints abound in the text, much less as historical agents than as symbolical figures, who within a familiar narrative universe represent certain shared values. Several of them even appear twice, such as Enoch and Elijah, in 20 and 51–52, or Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in 27 and 47, 1 (and again, but more obliquely in 48, 3). This is not because the author was distracted or had a weak sense of composition, but because these figures had different stories to tell and different tasks to fulfill in each different context. In as far as their stories are retold or alluded to, the information often seems second-hand, rather than directly taken from the biblical text. A telling case is that of the procession of saints in chapters 46–54, from Adam to John the Baptist, which is most likely inspired by a Christian list of exemplary biblical heroes, such as can be found in 1 Clement.⁸ Also in the individual notices in the same chapters, the text's sources are rather to be sought in novelistic re-workings of biblical subject matter than in the Bible itself, that is, in other so-called apocrypha, such as the *Lives of the Prophets* (CAVT 213).

The impression of an apocryphon that, so to say, feeds upon other apocrypha is confirmed by what can be said about its primary intertexts. These are themselves apocrypha, such as, most prominently, the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Apocalypse of Peter* or the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, each of which will be briefly discussed below. More occasionally, individual motifs and themes are shared with other apocryphal works such as 2 *Enoch*, the *Ascension of Isaiah* or the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. This state of affairs situates the text in a current of mainly Egyptian revelatory literature, woven around the characters of the Bible. Yet the *Apocalypse* is not a simple pastiche. It welds material from various sources into a new and intricate composition, a vast panorama of heaven and hell that, in the words of the text itself, affords a view of “the honors that will be bestowed on the righteous as well as the fall and the destruction that will be the lot of the impious” (63, 2).

6 For the popularity of Revelation in late-antique Egypt, see Frankfurter, *Elijah*, 270–278; id., “Christian Eschatology,” 542–543. For the heavenly Jerusalem imagery, see Nicklas, “From Heavenly Jerusalem to the City of Christ.”

7 Cf. Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 48.

8 See our commentary at chapters 46–54.

The creativity of the *Apocalypse* in using and combining heterogeneous material is illustrated in an exemplary fashion by chapter 20.⁹ It relates how Paul arrives at the gate of the third heaven, where he finds Enoch and Elijah. Both are biblical characters, of course, yet in early Christian literature they are usually found coupled in an eschatological context, by virtue of a widespread interpretation of the two witnesses in Rev. 11:3–12 as Enoch and Elijah.¹⁰ Echoes of this already ancient tradition are found, for instance, in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 2:12, which formally identifies Enoch and Elijah as the eschatological witnesses of Rev. 11,¹¹ or in the medieval Greek version of chapter 20 of the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself, where Enoch is called “the witness of the last day.”¹² In our text, however, they are not denouncing the Antichrist, but welcoming the saints at the gate of heaven. They are the oldest inhabitants of Paradise by virtue of a related tradition that claims that they did not die, but were taken up bodily to heaven. The motif of Enoch and Elijah in the *Apocalypse* may derive from the *Gospel of Nicodemus* 9 (25) or a similar source, where they are situated precisely at the gate of heaven. In our chapter 20, they are at first glad to see Paul; then, they start weeping, much to Paul’s embarrassment. They weep, so it is explained, because only very few souls are found worthy to enter the gate. The motif of their changing moods recalls another source, the *Testament of Abraham*. There it is not Enoch and Elijah, though, but Adam who is sitting between two gates in heaven, a narrow one leading to life, the other to perdition. As the souls are passing through the gates, Adam weeps for every sinner who goes to perdition and laughs for every righteous soul that enters the gate of life. Yet, so it is said, his weeping exceeds his laughing sevenfold.¹³

The primary aim of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is precisely that of opposing eschatological punishment to eschatological reward. The report of Paul’s brief visit to the gate of the third heaven holds a warning message, which may have been taken from the *Testament of Abraham*. In merging the figure of the weeping Adam at the double gate with that of Enoch and Elijah at the single gate of heaven, it replaced the personnel in accordance with the *Gospel of Nicodemus* or a similar tradition, but retained the message of the *Testament of Abraham*. Moreover, its characterization of Enoch, refers to yet another tradition. He is called “the scribe of justice,” referring to his role as a scribe that is found in

9 For more details, see our commentary at 20.

10 See Bauckham, “Martyrdom.”

11 Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 174–175.

12 Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50; this epithet lacks both in the Coptic and in the Latin.

13 Chapter 8 (short recension), Schmidt, *Testament*, 64–66; 11 (long recension), Schmidt, *Testament*, 128–123; Bohairic, Guidi, “Testo copto,” 168–169.

the vast apocryphal literature about Enoch¹⁴ and also in the *Testament of Abraham*, chapters 10–11 (short recension). In the latter work, Enoch figures as the bookkeeper in the celestial tribunal, a kind of latter-day Thoth. In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, however, Enoch nowhere actively appears as a scribe, neither in chapter 20 itself nor at Enoch's second appearance in 51–52. In the extensive descriptions of the tribunal in chapters 14–18, this role is taken by the angel of the individual soul. The epithet might therefore seem out of place here, but it is not. It was by this epithet that Enoch was best known among the text's Egyptian audiences, in particular Upper-Egyptian monastic audiences.¹⁵ By merging strands from different literary traditions and combining these with a locally popular identifier, the *Apocalypse of Paul* succeeds in creating a meaningful representation that is both novel and recognizable.

1.1 *The Testament of Abraham*

The *Testament of Abraham* (CAVT 88) is not an apocalyptic text properly, but rather a brief novel on the death of Abraham that incorporates a “tour of heaven” with a particular interest in the *post mortem* fate of the souls.¹⁶ Its influence on the literature of Christian Egypt was immense. Its description of Abraham's death generated a whole genre of death-bed literature, focusing on the soul's “coming forth from the body” and the gruesome aspect of Death and his messengers.¹⁷ The judgment scene found in its “tour of heaven” is not only echoed in chapters 17–18 of our text, but also in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* from Nag Hammadi (see below). Two sequels were annexed to the *Testament of Abraham*, both apparently unknown beyond Northeast African Christianity, about the dying hours of Isaac and Jacob respectively, which likewise contain cosmic tours (CAVT 98–99).

Although the *Testament of Abraham* is nowhere quoted literally in the present *Apocalypse of Paul*, as is the case with the *Apocalypses of Peter* and *Zephaniah*, discussed below, it has quite obviously been a major source of inspiration.

14 Already Jubilees 4:23 situates Enoch as a scribe in Paradise, where he records the sins of humanity.

15 See our commentary at 20, 1.

16 We quote the two recensions of the Greek, a short one (often cited as B) and a long one (A), after the critical edition by Schmidt, *Testament*; the important Bohairic Coptic version, after Guidi, “Testo copto”; cf. Schmidt, *Testament*, 40–42; Van der Vliet, “Coptic,” 74 and *passim*. The text may originally have been a product of Alexandrian Judaism, but was transmitted in Christian circles only and translated into Sahidic Coptic already in the fourth century.

17 For its reception in later narrative and ritual sources, see Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, 219–222; id., “Eschatology,” 544; Dosoo, “Powers of Death.”

Beyond the judgment scene of chapters 17–18, discussed below, and the text's general focus on reward and punishment, this is perhaps most clearly visible in the portrayal of its protagonist. Paul, like Abraham, is not a detached observer who merely registers a series of impersonal revelations in order to write them down, but a sympathetic agent, who reacts to what he sees, participates in the events and does not hesitate to express his ignorance or astonishment. From the height of the firmament, both Paul and Abraham look down upon the world and human activity in miniature, to be shocked by its sinfulness.¹⁸ Both, moved by pity, pray together with Michael, pleading for the souls of the sinners, to be answered in either case.¹⁹

The most compelling evidence for the interaction of the *Apocalypse of Paul* with the *Testament of Abraham* is found in the well-known judgment scene in chapters 17–18. This scene describes the arraignment of the soul of a murderer before the celestial tribunal, where it is confronted with its sins and convicted.²⁰ In addition to our text, similar scenes occur in the short recension of the Greek *Testament of Abraham*, chapters 10–11, in the Bohairic Coptic version of the short text²¹ and also in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*, from Nag Hammadi.²² In both Pauline *Apocalypses*, the judgment scene represents a well-defined unit, apparently inserted *en bloc* in Paul's "tour of heaven."²³ The context in the *Testament of Abraham* is similarly a tour of heaven. The long Greek recension of the *Testament* has a much different judgment scene, whereas the Bohairic goes with the short Greek recension. This suggests that the Bohairic has preserved an early form of the text, which is hardly surprising since it translates a Sahidic Coptic text that can be shown to go back to about the fourth century.²⁴ Moreover, the Bohairic version undoubtedly preserves the best text of this episode, better than the rather muddled rendering found in the short recension of the Greek. Its quality is confirmed by the same

18 Paul: 13, not extant in Coptic; Abraham: ch. 12 (short recension), Schmidt, *Testament*, 74–76; ch. 10 (long recension), Schmidt, *Testament*, 124–128; absent from the Bohairic. A similar bird's-eye view occurs in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, for which see below.

19 See our commentary at 43–44.

20 Studies of this scene: Nickelsburg, "Eschatology"; Rosenstiehl, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 81–88.

21 Guidi, "Testo copto," 171–173.

22 The passage is NHC V, 2: 20, 5–21, 22; Rosenstiehl, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 104–107. The text was mentioned already in chapter 2, section 4, and will be briefly discussed below.

23 See our commentary at 17–18.

24 See Schmidt, *Testament*, 40–42; for the Sahidic manuscript, still unpublished, Schenke, *Der koptische Kölner Papyruskodex 3221*, I, 1–10.

episode in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*, which is somewhat abridged and edited, but still fairly close to the Bohairic of this episode. This state of affairs favors the assumption that the very characteristic judgment scene of chapters 17–18 derives from a pre-fifth-century form of the *Testament of Abraham*, rather than a common source unknown to us.

Table 7 below compares the four witnesses of the judgment scene. The easily detectable structural and verbal similarities show that we are dealing with four versions of the same story. In addition, there is a verbal echo of the text of the *Testament of Abraham* in the episode where the soul denies its guilt (17, 1–2). The soul pretends its ignorance or forgetfulness, upon which the angered judge replies by underlining the difference between “the world” and the present “here” of the tribunal in heaven. All versions share this motif in some form, much reduced though in the Gnostic *Apocalypse*, but our text and the Bohairic *Testament of Abraham* are particularly close here.²⁵ There can hence be little doubt that the *Testament of Abraham* provided the inspiration for this passage of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

Compared to the other versions, it is nonetheless clear that this episode in the *Apocalypse of Paul* is not a mere copy from an earlier text, but was made to fit the text’s concept of the judgment after death and its author’s love of learned detail. Thus, Abel in his role of judge is replaced by God himself,²⁶ whereas instead of the figure of the scribe Enoch it is the personal angel of the soul who reads the record of its sins.²⁷ The substitutions Abel / God and Enoch / angel are dictated by the vision of the celestial tribunal as unfolded in the previous chapters, where God judges each individual soul on the basis of a report submitted by that soul’s personal angel. In addition, the text inserts three brief passages: a complaint of the soul about its seven days *post-mortem* tour of “unknown places” (17, 1);²⁸ a diatribe that underlines God’s great forgiveness and the importance of repentance before dying, which are major themes of the entire work (17, 4), and an explanation of the role of the victims who accuse the soul (18, 2). The most substantial difference between our text and the three

25 The Bohairic is quoted in our commentary at 17, 2; cf. also Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 202, who cites 6 Ezra.

26 God is likewise made the judge in the Bohairic version, which must represent a secondary effort at normalization of an apparently original feature. In the Gnostic rendering, the “publican” or “toll collector” (τελώνης) of the fourth heaven takes the place of Abel or God.

27 But note that the figure of Enoch the scribe was known to the author; see above, about chapter 20. The Gnostic version likewise suppressed Enoch, but did not replace him with an angel.

28 Itself a traditional motif; see our commentary, with the literature cited there.

TABLE 7 Comparative table of the structure of the judgment scene (17–18) in four witnesses

<i>Apoc. Paul</i>	<i>Test. Abr.</i> , Greek	<i>Test. Abr.</i> , Bohairic	<i>Apoc. Paul</i> , NHC V
Soul brought in by angels	Soul brought in by an angel	Soul brought in	Soul brought in by angels
Toured around / ill-treated	–	“like a robber”	Whipped
Judge: God	Judge: Abel	Judge: God	Judge: toll collector
At the gate of heaven	Near Paradise	At the gate of heaven	At the gate of the fourth heaven
Interrogation	Interrogation	–	–
Denial of guilt	Denial of guilt	Denial of guilt	Denial of guilt
Rebuked	–	Rebuked	Rebuked
Angel with written record	Cherubim with book / Enoch with pen	Enoch with book / reads book	Witnesses / book requested
God's forgiveness	–	–	–
Two souls called in	Enoch with three crowns = witnesses	Sins called in as three witnesses	Three witnesses appear
–	Reads book	–	–
–	Accusation of murder / adultery / ‘other sins’	Accusation of murder / adultery	Accusation of anger / jealousy
Recognition / confession of murder	Confession	Recognition / confession	–
–	–	Accusation of evil desires	Accusation of murder
–	–	Accusation of crimes by night	Accusation of sins by night
Confession of adultery / robbery	–	Confession	Shame
Explanation on the souls of the victims	–	–	–
Tortured in hell	Tortured	Thrown down in depth of hell	Thrown down in a body

other versions concerns the status (and the number) of these victims. In the other versions, these are three witnesses, at least by name.²⁹ In reality, they act as plaintiffs, developing the concept of the deeds of a person as witnesses in the judgment.³⁰ In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, however, they are explained as two victims of the murderous soul.³¹

Finally, in a more general way, the *Apocalypse of Paul* recalls the *Testament of Abraham* in its portrayal of death in chapters 11–16 (only partly extant in Coptic). In these chapters, the soul of the dying is disputed by two distinct classes of psychopomps, holy angels and monstrous demons. Which of both will eventually get hold of the soul and bring it up to the tribunal depends on the moral worth of the dying person (see in particular chapter 14, not extant in Coptic). The *Testament of Abraham* knows a single personified Death, with whom Abraham has a long conversation, but this single figure of Death manifests itself in very different forms. He is beautiful to see for the righteous and appears in manifold terrifying forms to the sinners. The figure of personified Death, although shared with other Egyptian sources, such as the Sahidic *Homily on the Investiture of Abbaton*, attributed to Timothy of Alexandria (CANT 26), lacks in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The *Apocalypse* retains, however, the strong emphasis on the moral distinction that becomes manifest in the different reception of the individual soul upon dying and much develops the theme of the monstrosity of the powers that come to fetch the sinner, in particular in chapters 11 and 16.

The theriomorphy of these powers, their representation in animal shapes, characteristic of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, plays already an important role in the portrayal of Death in the *Testament of Abraham*. Thus, in the short recension, chapter 14, Death displays faces of dragons and asps, in addition to swords. In the Bohairic version, these are serpent faces and faces spitting fire.³² The more expansive long recension, chapter 17 (elaborated in 19), describes “seven fiery heads of dragons and fourteen faces”, among which a lion-face and various kinds of snakes and dragons.³³ The *Apocalypse of Paul* follows the *Testament of*

29 For the traditional number of “two or three witnesses,” see for instance Heb. 10:28, citing Deut. 17:6; cf. Rosenstiehl, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 85–86.

30 Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 202–203.

31 For which the author may have followed the example of the *Apocalypse of Peter*; see below.

32 Guidi, “Testo copto,” 178, where for ΝΕΒΟΥΣΙ read ΝΕΣΒΟΥΙ, “serpents,” with Crum, *Dictionary*, 741a. The unpublished Sahidic appears to preserve a longer series of animal shapes; thus Schmidt, *Testament*, 42, on the basis of information provided by Manfred Weber.

33 In the Greek *Testament of Abraham*, the short (14:3–4, Schmidt, *Testament*, 80) as well as the long recension (19:15–16, Schmidt, *Testament*, 160–164), the many terrifying faces of

Abraham in expanding the theriomorphic variety of the powers of death, partly drawing on traditional bestiaris,³⁴ while retaining the morally based differentiation between the beautiful and the monstrous.

1.2 *A Second Apocalypse of Paul*

Our text is not the only *Apocalypse of Paul* from late-antique Egypt. As was mentioned previously, among the fourth-fifth-century Coptic codices discovered in the 1940s near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt, there is another text with the same title (CANT 323; NHC V, 2).³⁵ This brief text is an entirely different composition, otherwise unknown beyond its single Sahidic manuscript. It is, moreover, a clearly Gnostic text, which accounts for a quite specific view of the world and humanity. Yet, as it appears, this Gnostic text has much in common with its “Catholic” namesake, showing that in the domain of literary and intellectual culture boundaries were fuzzier than modern classifications tend to suggest.

The Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* presupposes Galatians 1–2 and begins by describing how Paul is on his way to Jerusalem to meet the other apostles. In “the wilderness of Jericho” he encounters the Holy Spirit in the guise of a child. From that moment onwards, he enters upon a double voyage. Guided by the Spirit and accompanied by the other apostles, he travels to Jerusalem on earth and through a layered cosmos upwards to the tenth heaven. His passage through the three lowest heavens is not described, but in the fourth he witnesses the judgment of the soul of a sinner and in the fifth how souls are being rushed towards the tribunal by cruel angels. In the sixth, he already perceives something of the splendor of the seventh heaven. There, he has to confront a deity, the Old Man, who is very glorious to see, but has a grim side as well. He is the despotic ruler over the lower world, kept in place by the “authorities” under his command (23, 22). He tries to stop Paul, but Paul continues his ascent to heavens eight to ten, where he is met by his fellow spirits and

death are interpreted as references to the various manners of violent death that men may meet. This is almost certainly a secondary rationalization of traditional representations and lacks in the Bohairic. The number seven that plays a role in the long recension, where the seven dragon heads are explained as the seven ages (αἰών) in which Death devastated the world (19:7, Schmidt, *Testament*, 160), may also underlie the description of the powers in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 16, 2 (see our commentary).

34 See our commentary at 16, 2–3.

35 For what follows see, from slightly different angles, Roig Lanzillotta, “The Apocalypse of Paul (NHC V, 2),” and Van der Vliet, “Paul and the Others”; see also Van der Vliet, *Paulus als ruimtereiziger*. We refer to the edition of Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*.

greeted by them. Whether the other apostles accompany him up to the tenth, apparently highest heaven is a moot point.

Similar to its Catholic namesake, the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* belongs to the rather diffuse genre of “tours of heaven and hell” and is more precisely an ascent apocalypse. Compared to other representatives of the genre, it may seem sketchy and poor in descriptions. Yet such traditional apocalyptic themes as the celestial topography, the fate of the souls after death and the splendor of heavens are all present. Only, instead of the habitual *angelus interpres*, it is the Holy Spirit who guides Paul on his journey. As we saw in the previous section, the text’s judgment scene in the fourth heaven has close parallels in both the Catholic *Apocalypse of Paul* (17–18) and the *Testament of Abraham* 10–11 (short recension). In the fifth heaven, Paul witnesses a scene with souls being flogged by angels that recalls similar scenes in the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius*, where the saint has a vision of hell,³⁶ and again in the *Testament of Abraham* 12:1 (long recension).³⁷

The two episodes that concern the fate of the souls after death, situated in the fourth and fifth heavens, are not gratuitous. As in the Catholic *Apocalypse of Paul*, there is an intimate relationship between cosmology and justice. The world below the eighth heaven is the domain of the Old Man, the ruler of the lower world, who tries to stop Paul. It is a huge prison, where the soul is held captive. The soul of the sinner judged in the fourth heaven is punished, not in hell, but by being thrown back in a body, in the “world of the dead,” that is, the material world. Paul, guided by the Spirit, is able to transcend this world and penetrate the heavens beyond the seventh. Whereas the Catholic *Apocalypse of Paul* situates punishment and reward on a primarily horizontal level, opposing east to west, its Gnostic namesake does the same in a vertical perspective, in accordance with a clearly Gnostic cosmology.³⁸ What happens to the souls after death is related to the structure of the cosmos.

As in the Catholic *Apocalypse of Paul*, the picture of an ascending Paul assumes a link with the famous passage in 2 Cor. 12:2–4, obliquely referred to in 19, 20–24. Yet in both apocalypses, Paul’s voyage has another, broader interest than merely “filling in” the sketchy biblical passage. The latter licenses the picture of Paul as a visionary, but hardly plays a significant role in the unfolding of the narrative. In the Gnostic apocalypse, Paul simply overgoes the first

36 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 100, 5–13.

37 Schmidt, *Testament*, 132; compare the short recension, 95; Schmidt, *Testament*, 66–68; Bohairic, Guidi, “Testo copto,” 169.

38 For its cosmology, see in particular Roig Lanzillotta, “The Apocalypse of Paul (NHC v, 2);” see also above, chapter 2. 4.

to third heavens without any comment. Rather than 2 Cor. 12, the principal text behind the Gnostic apocalypse is Gal. 1–2, where Paul looks back upon his sometimes difficult relationship with the other apostles, in particular Peter. Indeed, the relationship between Paul and the other apostles is, next to the structure of the cosmos, the dominant theme of the brief text. Paul is on his way to the apostles in Jerusalem, but the Twelve simultaneously accompany him on his way up. During their double ascent to Jerusalem and the heavens, the Twelve and Paul are depicted as a group, with Paul as the central figure in their midst, and all are guided by the Holy Spirit (in 22, 13–16, and several other passages).

Here yet another point of contact with the great *Apocalypse of Paul* becomes apparent. Both texts are, in an oblique way, for a large part about Paul himself and his status as an apostle. The climax of the Gnostic text is not in Paul's arrival in the highest, tenth heaven, but in his confrontation with the Old Man, where he delivers his mission statement in the terms of Eph. 4:8 ("leading captivity captive"; 23, 12–17). During the following stages of his ascent, he is welcomed and greeted as their equal by the spirits that inhabit the higher heavens, on levels eight to ten.³⁹ In a much similar way, chapters 45–62 of the Catholic *Apocalypse* are almost entirely devoted to the status of Paul and his merits as a missionary of Christ. The purpose of these chapters, explicitly stated in 45, 1, is to describe how Paul, in terrestrial and celestial Paradise, is welcomed and greeted by the righteous. First by the Virgin Mary and a long series of saints of the Old Testament, then by the prophets and martyrs, who all sing his praise. Only towards the end, the other apostles appear. Paul sees their thrones in heaven next to his own (60) and finally finds them all on the Mount of Olives (63–64).

Structurally, both the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*, in the wake of Gal. 1–2, and the entire last part of the Catholic *Apocalypse of Paul* are largely parallel in that they describe an ascent of Paul which has as its primary function to exalt the mission of Paul and his status vis-à-vis the other apostles. Rather than a sign of mutual dependence, however, which would be difficult to prove anyway, we are inclined to judge this parallel focus, following Jan Bremmer, as the illustration of a growing interest in the figure of the Apostle Paul in the fourth century.⁴⁰ Both the Gnostic and the Catholic *Apocalypse of Paul* are for a great deal about Paul.

39 A motif duly highlighted in Dias Chaves, "From the Apocalypse of Paul."

40 See Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 301, on the Catholic *Apocalypse*.

1.3 *The Apocalypse of Peter*

The *Apocalypse of Peter* (CANT 317) can be dated to the second century on the basis of the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, who died in or before 215.⁴¹ It is usually seen as the principal model, if not the direct ancestor of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. This judgment is only partly correct and hardly does justice to the originality and the broad erudition displayed in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It rather reflects a modern scholarly fixation on Paul's description of the punishments of hell, where indeed the similarities with the *Apocalypse of Peter* are most striking. The relationship between the two works has been systematically discussed in the past by Montague Rhodes James and Martha Himmelfarb.⁴² Whereas the first claimed the *Apocalypse of Paul* to be a direct descendant of the *Apocalypse of Peter*,⁴³ the second concluded that there is "no compelling evidence of literary dependence."⁴⁴ From an intertextual point of view, however, the question of "literary dependence," in the sense of a genealogical relationship, is less relevant. We will not attempt, therefore, to reproduce the full argument of these authors, who both offer extensive lists of similarities, but limit ourselves to a discussion of what in our opinion constitutes convincing evidence for a relationship between the two texts.

It is important to emphasize that the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* are two completely different works.⁴⁵ The *Apocalypse of Peter* is a prophecy about the second coming of Christ, the end of the world and the final

41 *Eclogae*, 41.1–3 and 48.1–49.2 (Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus* III, 149–150; cited in Kraus and Nicklas, *Petrusevangelium*, 89–92).

42 James, in Robinson and James, *Gospel according to Peter*, 65–67; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 140–147. For a more general comparison of the depiction of hell in both works, see Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 302–312.

43 Cf. James, in Robinson and James, *Gospel according to Peter*, 77: "plagiarism."

44 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 144.

45 The textual transmission of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is slightly complicated. We cite the complete Ethiopic text after the edition and translation in Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, with his chapter and paragraph numbers; the Greek Achmim codex (for which, see Van Minnen, "Greek Apocalypse") in the critical edition by Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 2–8, using the paragraph numbers in the right-hand margin; the Rainer and Oxford fragments in the re-edition by Van Minnen, "Greek Apocalypse," 34–39. Important secondary witnesses to the text are preserved in Clement's *Eclogae* (see above, n. 41) and in the *Sibylline Oracles*, 2.190–338 (translated in Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 613–615). Other witnesses have been conveniently assembled in Kraus and Nicklas, *Petrusevangelium*, together with the Greek fragments. The *Apocalypse of Peter* may originate from Alexandria. There is, in our opinion, no evidence whatever for a connection with Palestine or the Bar Kochba revolt, *pace* Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, in particular 168–194; cf. Van Minnen, "Greek Apocalypse," 29–31; Tigchelaar, "Is the Liar Bar Kokhba?" See, more recently, Nicklas, "Jewish, Christian, Greek?"; Beck, *Justice and Mercy*.

judgment. It relates a vision revealed to Peter and the other disciples by Jesus in the context of a meeting on the Mount of Olives (chapter 1). Upon Peter's request, Jesus explains the parable of the fig tree (Matt. 24:32–35; chapter 2). Peter asks him for the fate of the sinners (chapter 3) and in answer receives an extensive foretelling of the judgment that awaits them in the end of times. First, the physical resurrection of the bodies is described (chapter 4), the destruction of the creation by fire (chapter 5) and the advent of Christ for the last judgment (chapter 6). Then follow chapters 7–13, which are entirely devoted to a juicy description of the various punishments allotted to the evil-doers. They are counterbalanced by a far briefer description of the blessings that await the righteous (chapters 14–16). A pastiche of the transfiguration scene on Mount Tabor (Matt. 17:1–9 and parallels) brings the work to a conclusion (chapter 17). The *Apocalypse of Peter* is not, therefore, a “cosmic tour” under the guidance of an angel, describing the present realities of hell and heaven in a topographical setting. It is emphatically a prophecy about the end of times.

In spite of these important differences, there are also striking similarities. The structural principle that underlies the greater part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is the opposition between the fate of the sinners and that of the righteous. The very same opposition is the overarching theme of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, clearly stated by Paul in 63, 2, quoted above, and worked out very systematically throughout the text. A statement very similar to Paul's is made in the beginning of *Apocalypse of Peter*, where, in chapter 3, Peter says: “And he (sc. Jesus) ... showed me in his right-hand palm the image which will be fulfilled in the last day, and how the righteous and the sinners will be separated and how the upright of heart will do and how the evildoers will be rooted out forever and ever” (3, 1–2).⁴⁶ Moreover, even if the text is not about present places, it does describe in detail future places and the people who will be living there, the damned and the blessed. And, although there is no *angelus interpretes* in the proper sense, Jesus does provide explanations and occasionally answers Peter's questions.

In spite of the negative conclusion of Martha Himmelfarb, convincing evidence for the interaction of the *Apocalypse of Paul* with the *Apocalypse of Peter* can be found at various instances in the text. As such evidence we count literal echoes that are more than pure formulae as well as perhaps less literal correspondences that are singular enough to be more than incidental. These instances partly overlap with those listed after James in Himmelfarb's discussion. It does not come as a surprise that they are nearly all found in the chapters

46 Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 176–177.

about the punishments of hell. We merely list these instances here; they are in each case discussed in detail in our commentary.

The most conclusive are undoubtedly the paragraphs on the aborting women and their children in chapter 40, 2–3, of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. These two paragraphs present a collapsed version of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, chapter 8.⁴⁷ Distinctive common features are the role of the murdered children as accusers of their parents, the continuous contact between the two groups, which remain within sight of each other, and the role of the angel Temelouchos (in the Sahidic version, Aftimelouchos), who places the infants in a reserved place (*Apocalypse of Peter*: “a place of delight”; *Apocalypse of Paul* 40, 3: “a spacious place”). Besides, there is considerable terminological agreement (for instance, the “flesh eating beasts” in *Apocalypse of Paul* 40, 2, which occur also in Clement’s quote from *Apocalypse of Peter* 8, in *Eclogae* 49.1). As is observed in our commentary, the typical lay-out of this passage served as a model for the structure of the next two paragraphs, about the failed monks and nuns (40, 4–5).

An entirely different but no less compelling instance is found in *Apocalypse of Paul* 40, 1, where the blind pagans surprisingly bear white (Greek) or bright (Latin) garments, which the Coptic changed into black garments.⁴⁸ The white apparel of these pagans goes against the grain of the text’s color symbolism, which consistently opposes black / negative to white / positive, and must reflect their alms giving, a positive quality, mentioned by the Latin, but not by the Coptic. The deliberate inversion of the color symbolism, white instead of black, is likewise found in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, chapter 12, 1–4 (Ethiopic; no Greek surviving), where the blindness of the punished souls, the white color of their garments and their alms giving are likewise combined.⁴⁹

A near literal quote from the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8, 1 (Greek and Ethiopic), is found in the description of “the place into which the punishments ooze down pus (εἰς ἃς / ἰχώρ),” in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 38, 1. For this passage, a general resemblance had been noted already by James and Himmelfarb,⁵⁰ but the specific similarity in phrasing and wording betrays definitely more than borrowing from “a common stock of phrases to describe ... punishment.”⁵¹ Several less dis-

47 Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 202–209; partly preserved in Greek, in the Achmim codex 26; the reliability of the Ethiopic for this chapter is confirmed by the two quotes in the *Eclogae* of Clement of Alexandria (see above n. 41).

48 Also the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (see Appendix 2) has the marked option “white” here, which argues in favor of the primitive character of the white color.

49 See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 104–105; cf. 141–142, under 5.

50 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 146, under 18.

51 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 147.

tinctive similarities in the description of the fate of individual groups of sinners in hell have again been noted already by James and Himmelfarb. These include, in particular, in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 37, 1, the punishment of the usurers (compare also the motif of the oppression of the poor and the orphans, in 39, 2);⁵² the adulterous women hung by their hair, in 39, 4;⁵³ and the girls who defiled their virginity, in 39, 1.⁵⁴ Finally, the scene of the souls of the victims of murder being brought in by an angel to watch the judgment of their murderers (17, 4) strongly recalls the analogous scene in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7, 10–11, Ethiopic (the Greek Achmim codex 25 omits the angel).⁵⁵ Some of these similarities, considered in isolation, might be taken to reflect widely current genre conventions.⁵⁶ Yet, taken together with the precise instances of textual borrowing cited previously, they create a convincing picture of literary dependence, arguing against Himmelfarb's overcautious position.

This is confirmed by the personnel of hell in both apocalypses.⁵⁷ In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the punishments are overseen by the angels Tartarouchos and Temelouchos (for which the Sahidic offers the variant Aftemelouchos / Aftimelouchos). Both occur as well, in similar functions, in the *Apocalypse of Peter*; the first as a chastising angel in 13, 5, Ethiopic (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 18, 2); the second in the chapter on the murdered infants, 8, 10, Ethiopic (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 40, 2–3).⁵⁸ An angel Ezrael, “the angel of his (sc. God's) wrath,” attested several times in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*,⁵⁹ does not appear in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but his name is not found in the Greek witnesses to the *Peter* text either. In the Ethiopic of chapter 7, 10, Ezrael brings in the souls of the murder victims, which is done in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 17, 4, by the angels Uriel and Suriel. Uriel and Suriel are the only other angels mentioned by name in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, apart from Tartarouchos and Temelouchos and Michael and Gabriel. In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, too, Uriel plays an important

52 Discussed by Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 141, under 2, and 145, under 10 (“more impressive [as a parallel] than most”).

53 See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 85–92, and 141, under 4. For the much similar phrasing, see our commentary.

54 See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, in particular 103–104, who discusses several of the relevant motifs, including the association with darkness and chains; cf. 141, under 2; 147, under 22. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 145, under 6.

56 This is what Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 144, seems to imply.

57 On the names of angels in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Nicklas, “Jewish, Christian, Greek?” 32–34.

58 See our commentary at 16, 7.

59 In chapters 7, 10; 9, 1; 10, 5; 11, 4; 12, 3, Ethiopic; for 7, 10; 9, 1, and 10, 5, we have the testimony of the Greek Achmim codex, which nowhere mentions this name, however.

role in the final judgment.⁶⁰ Also the different animal species that torture the sinners may be considered part of the personnel of hell. As was aptly observed by Martha Himmelfarb, in both the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, this fauna appears to consist exclusively of worms and reptiles.⁶¹

The *Apocalypse of Peter* primarily served as a source of inspiration for scenes of hell and judgment. The text's fairly brief description of Paradise, its trees and its smells, etc., in chapter 16, 1–4, with a more extensive parallel in the Greek Achmim codex 14–19, certainly does recall similar descriptions in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, such as in 22, 1, and in particular 58. Yet the picture is too vague and general to be conclusive.⁶² The one surprising exception is in the epilogue of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, chapter 64, 2, where the words with which Jesus summarizes the entire revelation and sends Paul and the other disciples forth, seem literally copied from the *Apocalypse of Peter* 14, 3–4, Ethiopic, preserved in Greek in the Rainer fragment, f. 2.⁶³ A scenario of borrowing is all the more likely since in both cases the words of Jesus serve to introduce the theme of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, that of Peter in Rome, in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, that of both apostles on the same date of 5 Epiphi, in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The possible implications of this borrowing for the question of the status of the epilogue of the Coptic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* have been discussed above, in chapter 2, section 2.

As with other kindred texts, the relationship of the *Apocalypse of Paul* with the *Apocalypse of Peter* is eclectic and instrumental. Even the chapters on hell and infernal punishment (31–44) are not simply a pastiche of those found in the older text, even though some episodes are very close. They are subordinated to the greater plan of the composition and the themes that underlie it, such as human freedom and God's patience. Motifs from the older text are used, but modified to fit the intentions of the text. Thus, the rivers of fire that serve the last judgment in the *Apocalypse of Peter* have become, as a single river, a topographical landmark in Paul's hell, plausibly following 2 *Enoch* 5. The structure of the chapter on the aborted and exposed infants from the earlier apocalypse became the point of departure for a symmetrically laid-out chapter on rotten monks and nuns (40, 4–5). The text is not merely following a tradition, but actively engaging with it.

60 See our commentary at 17, 4; in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Suriel seems to be a mere doublet of Uriel.

61 See the discussions in Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 116–120 (with a comparative table at 117), and our commentary at 31, 3.

62 Thus, too, Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 144, under 2.

63 Quoted in our commentary.

1.4 *The Apocalypse of Zephaniah*

Among the intertexts of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (CAVT 216 / CANT 345) is one of the most interesting.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the fragmentary transmission of the text limits our understanding of its structure and character. The text is only known from two acephalous and very incomplete papyrus manuscripts, one in Achmimic Coptic and the other in Sahidic Coptic, both from the Panopolite region and tentatively dated to about the fourth century.⁶⁵ Speculations about the early composition and Jewish origins of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* find little support in the text itself, which contains several indubitable New Testament echoes.⁶⁶ Its undeniable family resemblance with the *Apocalypse of Paul* suggests that it is not much older than its fourth-century manuscripts. Finally, there is no evidence that the text was ever known beyond Upper Egypt or even the Panopolite nome.

The first systematic study of the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* was undertaken by Martha Himmelfarb, following earlier observations by Montague Rhodes James.⁶⁷ She made a strong and convincing case for the interdependence of both texts, even if some of her arguments are debatable. It should also be noted that she believed the *Apocalypse of Paul* to be composed in the early third century, a date that cannot be maintained anymore.

The kinship between the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is most clearly apparent in the structure of the latter text, as far as its fragmentary state allows a reconstruction. As in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the seer first gets a bird-eye's view of the world of the living, focusing on the different fates of sinners and righteous after death and the different classes of angels that monitor them. Next, the visionary has a frightening experience of the landscape of hell, which sets the scene for the judgment of the individual soul, in a process setting. Other than in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the seer himself appears to be judged, not an arbitrary soul. After the victorious outcome, he is allowed to ferry to the other world on a boat sailed by angels. He has another brief look at hell and gets an explanation of the various kinds of sinners that are being punished there. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

64 The only monograph on the text is Diebner, *Zephanjas Apokalypsen*, who emphasizes its Egyptian character. For a brief *mise au point*, see Van der Vliet, "Thoth or Lady Justice?"

65 Edition: Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 34–65 (Achmimic); 110–113 (Sahidic); in spite of the reservations of Steindorff and others, these are two fragmentary manuscripts of the same text. We refer to the page and line numbers of the manuscripts as assigned by Steindorff.

66 Pace, among others, Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 15–16.

67 See Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 147–151, who at 13–16 and 151–158 provides important discussions of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

are shown to be praying daily for the souls tortured in hell. Finally, the text takes an eschatological turn, when the angel predicts the destruction of heaven and earth on “the day of the Lord.” Apart from this final prophecy, which appears to link the text to the biblical Zephaniah, the sequence of the episodes is largely the same as in the much more circumstantial *Apocalypse of Paul*, chapters 7–44. With these chapters, it shares a number of major themes, such as the contrasted fate of sinners and righteous, both at the moment of dying and after death (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 11–16); the different classes of angels that report about each person’s sins and good deeds (7–10); the *post mortem* judgment of the soul on the basis of a written record (17–18); the visionary’s “crossing at the ferry-place” in a boat sailed by angels (22–23), and the saints in heaven interceding for the sinners in hell (43–44).

Beyond their shared focus on the contrasting fate of the wicked and the righteous after death, there are very close verbal correspondences that link both texts. At two moments in the text, the *Apocalypse of Paul* seems to echo the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* almost literally, to wit in chapters 58, 2, about the never failing light of Paradise (after Isa. 60:19; a parallel not mentioned by Himmelfarb), and 59, where Paul is encouraged by the angel. In particular the latter passage is of crucial interest.⁶⁸ In chapter 59, Paul has been shown the glory of celestial Paradise, but his reaction is one of despondency. He doubts whether he will ever be worthy to dwell there. The angel who guides Paul encourages him with an acclamation built on the verb $\chi\rho\omicron$ ($\mu\mu\omicron\varsigma$), “to win, conquer, prevail”: $\chi\rho\omicron$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\chi\rho\omicron$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\kappa\eta\alpha\chi\rho\omicron$ $\epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\eta$ $\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$, “Be victorious, you who will be victorious, and you will prevail over the accuser who comes up from hell.” In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the same words occur twice in the Achmimic and once in the Sahidic fragments, each time at a different place in the text. The Sahidic uses future tenses, like the Paul text: $\chi\rho\omicron$, $\pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\chi\rho\omicron$, $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\beta\eta$ $\beta\omicron\eta$, $\pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\chi\rho\omicron$ $\alpha\pi\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\kappa\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\eta$ $\alpha\mu\eta$ [τ] ϵ , “Be victorious, you who will be victorious, and be strong, you who will prevail over the accuser, and you will come up from hell” (1:12–15; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 110). The two Achmimic addresses use past tenses: $\chi\rho\omicron$, [σ] η $\beta\alpha\mu$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\kappa\omicron\eta$ $\beta\alpha\mu$, $\alpha\kappa\omicron\rho\omicron$ $\alpha\pi\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\zeta\rho\eta\iota$ $\gamma\eta$ $\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\eta$ $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\eta$, “Be victorious, be strong, for you have been strong. You have prevailed over the accuser and have come up from hell and abyss” (12:12–15; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 54). Similarly in the second Achmimic passage: $\chi\rho\omicron$ $\eta\mu\alpha\kappa$, $\pi\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\chi\rho\omicron$, $\beta\eta$ $\beta\alpha\mu$, $\pi\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\beta\eta$ $\beta\alpha\mu$. $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\omicron$ $\alpha\pi\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\kappa\rho$ $\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$ $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\eta$ $\eta\pi\eta\gamma\eta$

68 As Himmelfarb first argued, *Tours of Hell*, 149–150, after less precise indications by James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 554.

ⲙⲏ ⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ, “Be victorious, you who have been victorious; be strong, you who have been strong, for you have prevailed over the accuser and have escaped from abyss and hell” (13:19–14–3; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 56–57).

It does not need a detailed demonstration to see that we are dealing here with four, slightly varied versions of a single acclamation, using the same words and phrases. Not only the words, but also the situation in which they are spoken is similar in all four cases. The angel that guides him tries to cheer up the despondent seer, who questions his own worth or is simply afraid. A difference between the Paul and the Zephaniah texts may be noted in the last clause. Zephaniah, the seer, comes up from hell himself; in the Paul text, it is the accuser who comes up from hell. Minus this small adaptation, demanded by the storyline, the *Apocalypse of Paul* quite exactly copied the angel’s address from the Zephaniah apocalypse. Proof of this is the mention of the accuser. Acclamations based on the verb ⲭⲣⲟ (ⲙⲙⲟⲥ) are not rare (see the next paragraph), but the references to the accuser and hell are. In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the accuser acts as a terrifying prosecutor in the *post mortem* judgment of the soul. He represents a distinctive feature of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, yet one foreign to the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The judicial system of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is quite similar to that of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, but lacks the figure of the scary prosecutor. Hence, the accuser must have crept in with the typical address of the angel, copied from the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

Himmelfarb attached great weight to the phrasing of the angel’s words of encouragement, ⲭⲣⲟ (ⲙⲙⲟⲕ), which she derives from Josh. 1:6 (and later verses).⁶⁹ In fact, however, this acclamation occurs in a wide variety of biblical and non-biblical contexts (for which see our commentary at 59). Thus it appears two times more in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. In addition to 59, it figures in Coptic in chapter 54, where Adam is encouraging Paul, and it can be reconstructed in 14, not extant in Coptic, where the soul of the dying righteous is addressed (see our commentary at 59). These three instances, which all three seem to echo the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, strongly argue in favor of the unity of the text as preserved in Coptic.

In addition to the precise and near literal quotes in chapters 58, 2, and 59, also other parts of the text bear witness to the close relationship between the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. Thus in chapter 23, 1, Paul crosses the Acherusian Lake on a fairy-tale boat sailed by angels. A similar boat trip is attributed to the seer of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*:

69 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 147–151, under 5.

[Angels?] helped me and brought me on board of that boat. Thousands upon thousands and myriads upon myriads of angels began to sing praise before me. I myself, too, donned an angelic garment. I saw all those angels praying and I too began to pray together with them. I understood their language that they were speaking with me.⁷⁰

This passage has long been recognized as a close parallel to the boat trip of Paul in chapter 23, 1, who in the same manner is ferried over to the City of Christ.⁷¹ What Zephaniah's boat looked like is regrettably lost in the preceding lacuna. The importance of the passage is not in the trappings of the boat, however, but in that his crossing marks the admission of the seer (Paul, Zephaniah) to the world of the angels and the righteous dead. The seer of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* has been acquitted in the tribunal, where his good deeds outweighed his sins. Now he is ferried over to where also the three Patriarchs and Enoch and Elijah as well as David, prototypical inhabitants of heaven in both texts, are said to live and, in the process, himself transforms into an angel, as is apparent in dress, behavior (prayer) and language. Although, due to the lacunary context, we cannot be sure that the water sailed by Zephaniah was formally identified as the Acherusian Lake,⁷² the structural significance of the two crossings is the same. In both cases, moreover, the trip by boat appears to be a privilege, underlining the status of the respective seers as saints.⁷³

Once arrived in heaven, the seer of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* witnesses how the righteous pray for the souls punished in hell (16, 14–17, 15; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 62). This passage is not cited as a parallel by Himmelfarb. Yet, the depiction of this prayer as a collective ritual, performed on a daily basis at the trumpet blasts of an angel, under the direction of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, is strongly reminiscent of the similar scene in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where Michael and the angelic host pray together with Paul for the tortured sinners (see our commentary at 43–44). There can be no doubt that in the intercession of the righteous for the damned souls the *Apocalypse of Paul* shares a major theme with both the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

70 13, 1–11, Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 56.

71 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 538, n. 1; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 150, under 6; cf. Copeland, "Thinking with Oceans," 93–95. For further references, see our commentary at 22, 5, and 23, 1.

72 Copeland, "Thinking with Oceans," 93–95, cf. ead., Mapping, 60–61, is inclined to identify the water as the cosmic Ocean.

73 Another very similar representation, in a Sahidic homily, Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On John the Baptist*, is more likely to be dependent on the *Apocalypse of Paul*; see the discussion below, in section 2.

In the methodic way proper to the author of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and with his characteristic love of symmetry, chapters 11–12 contrast the death of the righteous and the sinner, with particular reference to the two different classes of psychopomps that come to collect the souls and their appearances. Similar distinctions are apparent in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the monstrous psychopomps that come for the sinner are described in 11, a chapter not extant in Coptic, and later and much more extensively in 16. Their first description, in chapter 11 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, runs thus:

And I saw merciless angels, who had no pity at all, whose faces were full of fury, with teeth protruding from their mouth. Their eyes were flashing like the morning star of the east and from the hair of their head and from their mouths sparks of fire went forth. And I asked the angel: “Who are these, Lord?” And the angel answered and said to me: “They are those who are destined to the souls of the impious in the hour of agony.”⁷⁴

Himmelfarb, following James, compares this with similar angels in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*,⁷⁵ which the seer describes thus:

I looked before me and saw a place there with thousands and myriads upon myriads of angels who went in through it, whose face was like a panther's, with their tusks protruding from their mouth like a wild boar's, their eyes bloodshed, their hair floating like women's hair, and who had scourges of fire in their hands. When I saw them, I was frightened and I said to that angel who accompanied me: “What kind are these?” He said to me: “These are the servants of the entire creation. It is they who come up to the souls of impious persons and bring them and leave them here.”⁷⁶

While the comparison is undoubtedly pertinent, the similarities are not as important as Himmelfarb tends to make them. The theriomorphy of the evil psychopomps, much elaborated in chapter 16, 2, of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, is definitely shared by both texts. The feature of the teeth protruding from the mouths of these monsters is singled out by Himmelfarb as a verbal parallel. Yet, for this very feature already Steindorff had referred to the description of

74 After the Latin version L¹, Paris manuscript; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 82, 14–23.

75 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 530, n. 1; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 148, under 2.

76 4, 14–5, 11; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 40–42

the archontic power Taricheas from the *Books of Jeu*.⁷⁷ According to this Gnostic source, Taricheas (or Tarichthas), the son of Sabaoth Adamas, “is the enemy of the kingdom of heavens, whose front bears the face of a swine with his tusks protruding from his mouth, while there is another, lion face at his backside.”⁷⁸ It would seem that such verbal icons drew on a common stock of motifs, with a partly biblical, partly traditional Egyptian background (as argued in our commentary at 16, 2). Compared to the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the description of both good and evil angels in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* appears to be more directly inspired by the Book of Revelation, an inspiration also visible elsewhere in the text.⁷⁹ The most convincing parallel between, the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* remains undoubtedly, on a structural level, the systematic opposition between the *post mortem* fates of sinner and righteous respectively.

Two other motifs shared by the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, both already noted by Himmelfarb, are of a similar general nature. Like Paul in chapters 13 and 14 of the *Apocalypse*, not extant in Coptic, Zephaniah sees the earth from on high in miniature (1, 4–2, 1; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 34–36), and both realize the insignificance and sinfulness of human doings.⁸⁰ This bird-eye’s view vividly recalls Abraham’s vision in the *Testament of Abraham*, in particular chapter 10 of the long recension,⁸¹ where the focus is again on the sinful behavior of humanity. Similarly, in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 3, 1–3, Peter sees in the right-hand palm of Jesus a miniaturized vision of what will happen to the sinners on the final day (Ethiopic; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 176–177, cited above). This miniaturization of human commerce seems therefore a common characteristic of a greater group of visionary texts. Likewise, the scene where the written record (χειρόγραφον) of the seer’s sins and omissions is read (*Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 10, 16–12, 19; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 52–56) does offer an illuminating intertext for the judgment scene in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 17,⁸² but once again the underlying juridical conception of the soul’s judgment is shared with the *Testament of Abraham*, as was argued above.

77 *Apokalypse*, 48, n. 1.

78 The latest edition is Crégheur, *Deux Livres de Jéou*, 196, B17, 22–28, who reads Tarichthas; cf. Fauth, “Seth-Typhon,” 107–108. For the teeth, compare Rev. 9:8.

79 See Van der Vliet, “Thoth or Lady Justice?”

80 Already James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 330, n. 3, linked both passages; similarly, Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 148.

81 Schmidt, *Testament*, 124–129.

82 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 149, under 4; differently than Himmelfarb, we tend to attribute the use of the term χειρόγραφον, in both 17, 3, and the *Zephaniah* passage, to the pervasive influence of Col. 2:14 (see our commentary).

To conclude, there can be little doubt that the *Apocalypse of Paul* presupposes familiarity with the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and, in a general way, Himmelfarb is certainly right in considering the latter text a precursor of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where some of its main themes occur in “a less developed form.”⁸³ At the same time, several of the common themes that Himmelfarb discovered in both texts are obviously borrowed from a common stock of apocalyptic motifs current in Roman Egypt and partly even reflect the influence of New Testament language. Beyond single motifs, both texts have as their central theme the contrasted fate of the wicked and the righteous after death as reflected in different manners of dying, a variegated angelology, a juridical conception of the *post mortem* judgment and a variety of cosmographic settings. In addition to a wealth of thematic assonances, the same structural opposition links both texts to the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. As David Frankfurter already suggested, these four texts and other related ones are best studied together as part of a broader Egyptian apocalyptic tradition that culminated in the fourth-century *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁸⁴

2 Coptic Echoes

In Egypt, as in medieval Europe, the *Apocalypse* must have been widely read. Already quite early, it was translated into both Sahidic and Fayoumic Coptic. Moreover, the text interacted with a large body of visionary literature, transmitted in all of the literary languages of Egypt and Christian Northeast Africa, from Greek and Coptic to Old-Nubian, Ethiopic and Arabic. Alexandria and its African hinterland even produced a number of secondary versions or re-editions that belong, in the words of Martha Himmelfarb, to the “family” of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁸⁵ Some of these re-editions will be discussed in our next chapter, which proposes a model for the text’s transmission. Here we are rather concerned with the echoes of the *Apocalypse* found in other texts from late-antique and early-medieval Egypt.

Quite a number of Coptic texts, including a single iconographic witness, betray in various degrees and in various manners familiarity with the contents and subject matter of the *Apocalypse of Paul* or can plausibly be situated in the same literary tradition. Even though these texts nowhere mention the *Apocalypse* by name, they are valuable witnesses to the authority of the text and its

83 *Tours of Hell*, 147.

84 Frankfurter, “Christian Eschatology,” 544–548.

85 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 19–23 and 158–160.

reception in the various regions and milieus of Christian Egypt and in several cases shed light on the text of the *Apocalypse* itself. Some of them are reasonably well known, such as the vision of hell recorded in the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* or the conversation held by the seventh-century Bishop Pesynthios with a pagan mummy. Others are less familiar, mostly due to the scholarly neglect of Coptic sources.

Below, we first discuss those texts that show a relationship with the Pachomian tradition, including its offshoot centered in Shenoute's White Monastery near Panopolis (modern Achmim). To these we join some other monastic sources. A second important group of texts pertains to the class of what are usually called "Coptic apocrypha," some of which offer quite striking examples of the recycling of literary material from the *Apocalypse* or related sources. Finally, we briefly refer to the Tebtynis wall-paintings of the tenth century and their legends. A single ritual ("magical") text may suffice to illustrate the interaction between so-called Coptic magic and the world of the apocrypha, further examples of which are cited in our commentary.

2.1 *Pachomius, a Visionary in the Footsteps of Paul*

The tradition characterizes Pachomius not only as an exemplary ascetic and an organizer of monastic life, but also as gifted with awesome powers of vision and discernment.⁸⁶ The Coptic *Lives of Pachomius*, Sahidic and Bohairic, illustrate this with various examples, several of which betray their dependence on the *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁸⁷ As has been widely recognized, the *Apocalypse of Paul* was a major source for the literary representation of Pachomius as a visionary.⁸⁸

The so-called vision at Tmoushons is found completely in the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius*, preserved in a single codex from the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wadi al-Natrun, presumably dating from the end of the ninth century.⁸⁹ As with other Bohairic texts from the same monastery, it was translated from a Sahidic original and the Sahidic of the episode in question partially survives

86 On Pachomius as a visionary, see for instance Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 144–146; Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 118–120, 133–134.

87 On the various *Lives of Pachomius* and their complicated interrelationship, see Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 37–55; Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 116–117; Wipszycka, *Moines*, 47–54.

88 Frankfurter, "Legacy," 191, speaks in this context of "conscious intertextuality"; see also, among others, Copeland, *Mapping*, 170–174; Grypeou, "Höllenreisen," 46–48.

89 The codex is incomplete and its leaves are partly dispersed, the greater part of the codex being kept in the Vatican Library; see further Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, i–v. For the monastery of Tmoushons where the vision is situated, see Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 6, 2717–2720.

in a late codex from the White Monastery.⁹⁰ Pachomius' vision at Tmoushons recalls chapters 13–18 of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in its structural opposition of the moment of dying of the righteous and the sinners. In the vision, three angels appear at the deathbed of a holy person and anoint him with oil until his soul escapes. It is received on a spiritual shroud to be given a splendid tour of the entire creation before it reaches the gate of life.⁹¹ Following this vision, Pachomius asked to be shown “how the soul of a sinner comes forth from the body.” An *angelus interpres* then explains to him how such a soul is fetched by two merciless angels who flog the dying person until his soul comes up. Next they plunge “an instrument curved like a hook” into his mouth and pull forth his soul. The soul is then bound to the tail of a spiritual horse⁹² and dragged to the punishments of hell.⁹³ Much more than the details (the two merciless angels, the *angelus interpres*, Pachomius' question), the entire set up of the two contrasted episodes betrays the dependence of Pachomius' vision on the symmetric juxtaposition of the two fates as witnessed by the early chapters of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁹⁴

A more famous episode from the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* describes Pachomius' visit of hell, where he is allowed to have a look at the punishments that await the sinners.⁹⁵ Again, the Bohairic version of the episode is complete, whereas the surviving Sahidic version shows several lacunae. As far as can be judged, there are no huge differences between the two versions. Our translation of the beginning of this passage follows the Bohairic in the edition by Louis Théophile Lefort.

It furthermore happened one day that our father Pachomius was seized by order of the Lord to take a look at the punishments and the tortures with which the children of men are tormented. Whether he was seized in the body or out of the body, God knows that he was seized (cf. 2 Cor. 12:2). After he was carried to the north of the Paradise of delight, far from this world and the firmament, he saw rivers and canals and pits full of fire, in which there were the souls of sinful persons who were being tor-

90 Bohairic: Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 86–93; Sahidic: Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 240–247, his fragmentary *Life S*⁴.

91 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 88–89.

92 For this curious motif, see below n. 114.

93 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 91–92.

94 Other variants of the theme are cited later in this chapter.

95 This is Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 97–101, Bohairic; Sahidic: id., *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 159–162 (*Life S*⁵). This passage was already discussed by Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 28–29, 166–167, and *passim*; cf. Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 88.

tured. And while he was still travelling along with the angel, having a look at the punishments, he saw that those at which he arrived were always more painful than the earlier ones that he had seen. Torturing angels were overseeing them, whose appearance was very frightening and who carried whips of fire in their hands. Whenever some of the souls whom they punished raised their heads from the fire, they whipped them terribly and immersed them even deeper in the fire. They groaned heavily without being able to call out with their voice, owing to their impotence and the way they were weakened by the many tortures they underwent. And the souls who were being punished could not be counted, but were extremely numerous.

He furthermore saw pits and wells full of fire, whose fire was very mighty in its blaze. When he looked down into them, he discovered that there was only one soul in each well, while the two feet of the soul were posed one at one side of the well, the other at the other side, after the likeness of the flesh that they had worn in the world, while the fire devoured each of the members by which they had defiled themselves in the world.⁹⁶

A more detailed discussion of various classes of sinners and their respective punishments follows, which cannot be quoted in full here.

The structure of the entire passage, a tour of hell, under the guidance of an *angelus interpres* who has not even been introduced, its topographical precision and the actual description of the landscape of hell, with its burning pits and flaming rivers, are clearly modeled after the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Even the stylistic influence of the *Apocalypse* can be detected, in particular in such concluding remarks as “because of their slandering, therefore, they were cast into these punishments that are difficult to bear and do not cease,”⁹⁷ that echo similar refrain-like remarks of the angel in chapters 34–42 of the *Apocalypse* (for which see our commentary). And, like Paul, Pachomius is “very sad” about the cruel tortures that he sees in hell⁹⁸ and, in the end, is formally ordered to report about them in order to warn his fellow men that they should repent.⁹⁹

In other respects, however, the vision of Pachomius is definitely no slavish copy of the journey of Paul. A scene that describes how the souls of the sinners are rushed forward as the day’s harvest of hell is not found as such in our

96 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 97, 10–98, 14; Sahidic: id., *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 158, 2.32–160, 1.10.

97 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 99, 6–8.

98 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 100, 1–4.

99 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 101, 7–17.

text,¹⁰⁰ but rather recalls the *Testament of Abraham*, chapters 9 (short recension) and 12 (long recension), and the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*.¹⁰¹ Notable original elements are, for instance, the detailed observations on the behavior of certain lazy and slandering monks¹⁰² and the (understandable) astonishment of Pachomius at the pleasure and proud with which the merciless angels inflict their horrible punishments.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, Pachomius' vision of hell as a whole shows an undeniable kinship with the *Apocalypse*, in both its general style and in particular motifs, such as the youngsters "who in the world had defiled their bodies by fornication, unknown to their parents,"¹⁰⁴ that recall the young girls punished for the same reason in chapter 39, 1, of the *Apocalypse*. The entire passage opens, moreover, with a quote of 2 Cor. 12:2, here applied to Pachomius.

The Coptic *Lives of Pachomius* do not only record visits to hell, however, but also to Paradise. Several of these episodes are of interest for the present purpose. In the Sahidic *Life S*², from a sixth- or seventh-century codex, now in the British Library, we even find what may be called the signature of "Paul." On the brink of death, Pachomius is sent back into the body:

It happened once that he fell ill and suffered a lot so that the messengers who had been sent to fetch him (sc. the psychopomp angels) brought his soul forth from him and he died. Next they took him to the other world. When he reached the gate of life, an order went forth from God that they should return him once more to his body. And when he noticed this, he became sad, since he did not want to return to his body once more, seeing that the light of that atmosphere was so wonderful and so beautiful that it was beyond description on account of its glory. And when he saddened, a man who was standing upon the gate gazed down upon him. The face of that man, on account of its glory, beamed with the intensity of a large paten¹⁰⁵ and the appearance of his body was entirely of light. That man said to him: "Go forth, my son, and return to your body, for a little martyrdom awaits you in the world." When he heard this word, he rejoiced

100 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 100, 4–11.

101 *Testament of Abraham*: Schmidt, *Testament*, 66–69 and 132–135; the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*: NHC V, 2: 22, 2–10, Rosenstiehl, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 108.

102 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 98, 18–99, 8.

103 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 99, 8–100, 1.

104 Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 101, 1–7.

105 Α τράπεζα, usually made of silver, sometimes of glass; see Drescher, "Graeco-Coptica," 98–100.

exceedingly, for this, to become a martyr for the name of the Lord, was a great desire of his. And the angels, who rejoiced with him, told him: "That man who spoke with you is the Apostle Paul."¹⁰⁶

The apparition of Paul on the gate of life evidently serves to underline the kinship between both visionaries, for the text almost immediately continues with the famous quote from 2 Cor. 12 and further visions of Paradise:

Afterwards, he was brought to Paradise several more times. How, God knows, just as the Apostle said: "Whether in the body, I do not know, or out of the body, I do not know. God knows," and: "This person was seized to the third heaven and he heard imperceptible words that it is not allowed to tell" (cf. 2 Cor. 12:2–4). In this way, too, our father Pachomius, when he had been taken to that place, saw the cities of the holy ones, the buildings and the decoration (ἐκτετακῶ) of which defy description, just like their boons, which the Lord prepared for those who love him. (...) ¹⁰⁷ The climate of that world (δαίμων) was very moderate and it appeared to be without limit. The fruit-bearing trees and the vineyards grew spiritual food and were imperishable so that, compared to the variety of those, the fruit of the trees of this world are like worthless and inferior stuff. As for every kind of tree that grows and all the species that grow in Paradise, their fruit does not wither and they spread forth a sweet scent so strong that no human being is able to bear that sweet scent and stay alive, unless the Lord enables him (ms.: them). Now that world is upon this earth, outside of the firmament. That land is much higher than the mountains and not the luminaries of this firmament, those that illuminate the earth, are illuminating that world, but it is the Lord who illuminates it, just like Isaiah said: "It is not the light of the sun that will illuminate you by day nor will the shining forth of the moon illuminate you by night, but it is the Lord who will become for you light eternal" (Isa. 60:19). There is no day there nor night, but an abundant and unfailing light illuminates that world. It was huge without limit so that this world is insignificant by comparison. ¹⁰⁸

As can be easily seen, this passage is a patchwork of traditional motifs, including the rich growth of the grapevine (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 22, 1). Yet the mere

106 Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 17, 1.16–18, 2.25.

107 We omit a quote from Matt. 25:19–23.

108 Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 19, 2.2–22, 1.26, with minor adjustments.

clustering of motifs also found in the *Apocalypse of Paul* and a few almost literal quotes, such as the passages about the decoration of the cities of the saints (cf. 23, 3) or the unfailing light and sweet perfumes of Paradise (58, 2), suggest a more specific creative relation with the *Apocalypse*.

A parallel for the intriguing scene with the trees at the gate of the City of Christ (chapter 24) is found in Pachomius' vision of a spiteful monk, related in Lefort's Sahidic *Life S*⁷, which is partly preserved in a ninth-century codex from the Fayoum.¹⁰⁹ Here, Pachomius again has a vision of Paradise, during which he meets two recently deceased monks, one a simple-minded young monk, the other an older man who had led a very ascetic life, but who always held a grudge against fellow monks who had grieved him:

Afterwards, when they (sc. Pachomius and the younger brother) had ventured a bit outside of the Paradise of delight, they saw the ascetic old man in a scorching place, bound to a tree laden with fruit, like a dog. He lived from its fruit without being able to get away from that tree. When he saw them, he dropped his head out of shame until they had passed him. And when they had seen him, they looked into his face with great sadness. And the simple-minded brother said to our father Pachomius: "Did you see the ascetic old man whom you took (such) trouble in teaching to walk in humility, yet who did not obey you? Now then, look at such a person and the penalty that the Lord inflicted upon him in exchange for his evil disobedience."¹¹⁰

Both here and in chapter 24 of the *Apocalypse*, the tree, although it bears fruit here, symbolizes a single sin, lack of humility, from which the sinner was unable to free himself.

The various passages briefly discussed here do far more than simply confirming that the *Apocalypse of Paul* was widely read among Pachomian monks. They show that the text enjoyed considerable status within the Pachomian literary tradition and served as an authoritative model for constructing the image of the founding father of Upper-Egyptian cenobitic monasticism, Pachomius, as a visionary on a par with the Apostle Paul. The repeated quotes from 2 Cor. 12 and Pachomius' vision of Paul standing on the gate of life explicitly forge a link between both visionaries.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Depuydt, *Catalogue*, no. 131.

¹¹⁰ Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 86, 22–87, 10.

¹¹¹ Cf. Frankfurter, "Legacy," 190–191.

2.2 *More Monastic Reminiscences*

Other texts from the same general milieu, Upper-Egyptian Pachomian style monasticism, in a more remote way reflect the model of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Foremost among these is the so-called *Apocalypse of Shenoute*, which regrettably is too fragmentary to allow an overall assessment. Its extant fragments show a rather loosely connected series of visions reported by a visionary whose name is nowhere preserved. Whereas the (limited) transmission of the work and certain peculiarities of the text suggest a link with the White Monastery near Panopolis / Achmim, the *Apocalypse of Shenoute* is certainly not a composition authored by Shenoute himself.¹¹² It could have been attributed posthumously to him or any other abbot from the sphere of the White Monastery, but there is presently no way of ascertaining this. The text survives in a few damaged pages only.¹¹³ The reported visions, explained by one or more *interpretes*, probably angels, clearly aim at underlining the clairvoyance and powers of discernment of its presumed author. At the same time, they provide information about meteorological phenomena as well as the posthumous fate of sinners and saints. The latter subject is discussed in two extant passages, the first describing the death of a priest, the second that of a monk (?) from the author's community:

I tell you that, one day, a priest was shown to me, whose soul was brought forth from his body. Merciless angels took hold of him with different terrifying faces and fiery smoke blowing from their mouths. I tell you that some of them had two faces, gnashing their teeth against it (sc. the soul). After they had brought it forth from the body, I saw a fiery collar on its neck, and it was fettered at its hands and feet. It was bound to the tail of a black horse and dragged to the west.¹¹⁴ It was not even taken to pay homage to its creator, but thrown into the pit of hell and the powers of darkness overmastered it. I confess to you that I saw the entire air (ⲁⲛⲣ) full of terror-faces making their way to that soul, like a prey upon which birds and beasts pounce. I informed: "Why did they do these things to this soul, although it held this high rank in the Church?" They said: "That

112 Pace Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe*, 206–208; cf. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 903 and 922; Frankfurter, "Legacy," 191–192.

113 Edited in Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* IV, textus, 198–204, after a single manuscript from the White Monastery.

114 The same motif was found already in the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius*, about the vision at T-moushons, cited above, and occurs again in the *Life of Pesynthios*, cited below; see further *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Sahidic, ed. Chaîne, *Manuscrit*, no. 213 (Greek: Guy, *Apophthegmes* III, XVIII, 51), and von Lemm, *Miscellen*, 496, no. 137.

priest that you see has been eating away the possessions of the Church together with prostitutes, without heeding at all that the judgment of God exists.”¹¹⁵

A similar, but even more gruesome story follows, which describes how another sinner:

Was brought forth from the body while his tongue hung out his mouth for (a length of) two palms and a fiery bridle stuck forth from his nostrils and, so they said, he snored through his nose. Those who had come to fetch him did not even allow him to say “have pity on me!” While a fiery flame came out of his mouth, so they said, he kept on uttering foul speech. I saw them taking him away muzzled like a dog. His written record (χειρογραφον) was read out, his angel charging him with the thefts and the obscenities that he had committed.¹¹⁶

The remainder of this episode tells where and how the sinner is punished, but is too fragmentarily preserved to allow a coherent translation. Further fragments likewise deal with divine judgment and the punishment of sinners, but also with saints with luminous faces and vestments “shining like snow.”

The text’s way of representing the death of the sinners and divine judgment certainly betrays familiarity with the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but whether acquired directly or through the filter of other monastic literature is difficult to say. Particular phrases, for instance in the characterization of the sins of the rotten priest (cf. 34) or the observation that the punished sinner was not even allowed to say “have pity on me!” (cf. 35 and 40, 2), seem near-literal quotes of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Also the motif of the sinner’s χειρογραφον being read out to him by his personal angel recalls the *Apocalypse of Paul* (cf. 17, 3). On the other hand, the description of the death of the priest closely resembles that of a famous monk in an anecdote from the systematic collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, quoted below.

If the *Apocalypse of Paul* was probably most directly and consciously received in the Pachomian tradition of Upper Egypt, including the regional centre of the White Monastery near Panopolis, yet other, more northern branches of Egyptian monastic literature likewise preserved echoes of the text. A nice and rather early example is provided by an anecdote from the Sahidic version

115 Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* IV, textus, 199, 17–200, 12, with the emendations by von Lemm, *Miscellen*, 495–496, no. 137.

116 Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* IV, textus, 200, 14–201, 6.

of the so-called systematic collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The story is Chaîne's saying no. 212, which already Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl convincingly linked to the *Apocalypse of Paul*.¹¹⁷ Similar to Pachomius' vision at Tmoushons, briefly discussed above, it reproduces the parallel juxtaposition of the dying hours of a sinner and a righteous person found in the early chapters of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, here treated in a more novelistic manner. The story was popular, for in addition to its occurrence in the various collections of *Apophthegmata*,¹¹⁸ it is retold in the *Life of Euthymius* by Cyril of Scythopolis, written in mid-sixth century Palestine.¹¹⁹ The Sahidic, which we translate here, is extant in a ninth- or tenth-century dismembered manuscript from the White Monastery, but quite certainly represents an early, pre-seventh-century form of the text.¹²⁰

A brother asked a senior: "Is it the name that saves or the work?" The senior said to him: "I knew a brother and once while he prayed the thought occurred to him: 'I wish to see the soul of a righteous and a sinner when they depart from the body.' And God did not want to grieve him in his wish."¹²¹ While he was sitting in his cell, a wolf entered and seized his garments and pulled at him. The senior rose and followed him.

When he had come near to a city, he (sc. the wolf) went away and left him sitting outside of a monastery. A man was living there whose name was famous as that of a great anchorite. He was ill, biding his hour. The brother looked and saw a lot of candles and lamps and how they were being prepared. And the whole city wept and said: 'God, it is him who gives us bread and water and our entire city owes its safety to him. When something happens to him, we will all die with him.' The moment of death approached. The brother looked and saw the Tartarouchos of hell who had come with a three-pronged spear of fire in his hand and he heard a voice saying: 'Just as this soul did not give me ease for a single hour, thus

117 Rosenstiehl, "Tartarouchos–Temelouchos," 33, with n. 25.

118 Thus, it corresponds to the Greek no. 187d in Nau's anonymous collection and to III, 13 in the sixth-century Latin translation of Pelagius and John; cf. Hopfner, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, 77; Guy, *Apophthegmes* III, 184–189, no. 17.

119 CPG 7535; chapter 24.

120 See Bagnall and Gonis, "Early Fragment," 267 and 277, with n. 39; for other Sahidic manuscripts, Hagen, "Fragmentary *bifolium*," 62–64.

121 Cf. Lefort, *Pachomii vita boharice*, textus, 91, 22–26: "After he (sc. Pachomius) had seen the righteous coming forth from the body, he asked to see also how the soul of a sinner comes forth from the body. And the angel told him: 'The Lord will gratify you in everything'" (from the vision at Tmoushons, discussed earlier).

do not give it any relief when you take it out of the body.' And he drove the spear of fire down into his heart for about an hour and tortured him and brought his soul up.

Following these events, the brother entered the city and he found a foreigner lying ill for whom nobody cared and the brother stayed with him for a day. At the moment he was about to pass away, the brother saw Michael and Gabriel who had come, wishing to fetch his soul. One sat at his right side, the other at his left. They kept praying the soul to depart from the body, but it did not want to come forth. And Michael said to Gabriel: 'Bring that soul out and let's go!' And Gabriel said to him: 'God told us not to torment it and bring it out by violence. Now then, I am unable to bring it out by force.' And Michael called out and said: 'God, what do you want to do with this soul, as it does not want to depart?' A voice rang out to him, saying: 'Wait, I will send David with his lyre and all the singers of Jerusalem, so that it will hear their lovely sound and come forth.' And right away they all descended and surrounded it and sang hymns to the soul.¹²² It came forth and settled in the hand of Michael and was taken up joyfully."¹²³

The story is about the relative value of the "name" or outward status of the monk and his real inner worth, which is also a theme in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 40, 4–5 (see our commentary). Similar to chapters 13–16 of the *Apocalypse* and Pachomius' vision at Tmoushons, discussed earlier, the story contrasts two ways of dying. The wish of the monk who is the protagonist of the story is literally that of Paul in the beginning of chapters 13 and 14 (Latin and Greek): *volebam uidere animas iustorum et peccatorum exeuntes de mundo* (13, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 84, 20–21; not extant in Coptic). The verdict over the soul of the rotten ascetic: "This soul did not give me ease for a single hour," is again a literal quote from chapter 16, 1 and 4, where the sinner's spirit uses the same words (see our commentary). In addition to other significant motifs, such as the Tartarouchos of hell with his three-pronged spear of fire (see chapter 34, the punishment of a rotten priest; for the name, 18, 2) or David with his lyre as the choir-master of the liturgy of celestial Jerusalem (cf. 29, 3–4, and 61), this

¹²² Compare the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, describing the dead of a righteous man: "[---] die, we will prepare him for burial like all men. When he dies, we (sc. the angels?) will carry him out and play the lyre for him and sing hymns over his body" (Achmimic 1, 1–4; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 34); cf. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 530, n. 3; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 147–148, but note that the context is damaged.

¹²³ Chaîne, *Manuscrit*, 60–61.

state of affairs clearly shows that the author of the story knew the *Apocalypse of Paul* and used it to good effect for making his point about the “name” of the monk.

A presumably somewhat younger text, the *Life of Cyrus*, attributed to the priest Pambo, may originally stem from the Scetis, present-day Wadi al-Natrun.¹²⁴ This monastic travelogue betrays familiarity with both the cosmology of the *Apocalypse*, which situates hell in the extreme west of the earth, and its idea of a weekly day of respite for the sinners (as found in chapter 44, 4–6). It describes how Pambo, in his quest for a holy monk, Cyrus, travels westward, into the inner desert, “near the Ocean” (ἐν πᾶ ἵππορεᾶνος).¹²⁵ Upon finding Cyrus, he asks him whether there are other monks living still further in the desert, but Cyrus answers: “Beyond where I live, there is nothing but darkness and the punishments which the sinners suffer. For the moment, rather stay here, O my brother, and you will see great marvels.” Pambo does so and the next morning at sunrise, a Sunday morning, he hears voices crying aloud: “Thanks to your charity, Christ, that you have pitied us!” He is terrified and asks Cyrus: “What happens to us? Is the desert going to give way under us?” But the holy man answers: “Do not be afraid, my son. God has descended to the punishments and has ordered the torturers who are in charge of the souls to give them rest (ἀναπαύσις), for today is the Lord’s Day and the Resurrection of the Lord.”¹²⁶

The Sunday’s respite for the sinners is also found in a text that was originally at home in the southernmost part of Egypt, the *Life of Pesynthios* (*Pisentius*). Pesynthios was a holy monk-bishop of the city of Koptos, north of Thebes, who died in or around 632.¹²⁷ A hagiographic tradition, recounting his life and miracles, sprang up immediately after his death, if not already during his lifetime, yet the episode in question is only extant in much later Bohairic and Arabic sources, not in the extant Sahidic texts about Pesynthios. The Bohairic *Life* survives in an early ninth-century manuscript from the Wadi al-Natrun, ancient Scetis. The famous story, in which Pesynthios engages in a conversation with the mummy of a pagan, belongs to a widespread genre, attested for a number of monastic saints from all over Egypt, for instance in a not less famous anecdote about Macarius the Great from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (quoted

124 A complete Sahidic text, after another codex from the Esna-Edfu find, was edited by Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 128–136, translation: 381–389. It must postdate the miaphysite schism of the late sixth century.

125 Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 128.

126 Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 133.

127 For the saint and his *Life*, see Wipszycka, *Moines*, 30–33; Dekker, *Episcopal Networks*, 92–98 and *passim*.

in our commentary at 43–44).¹²⁸ The mummy resuscitated by Pesynthios confesses how he and his parents worshiped Poseidon and goes on to relate what happened to him after his death.

When I went into the agony of death, it happened to me that first the world rulers surrounded me and related all the evil things that I had done and said to me: “Let them (sc. your sins) now come and save you from the punishments in which you will be cast!” They carried iron spears and also iron spikes branching into prongs like lances and these they stabbed in my sides, gnashing their teeth against me. After another while my eyes opened and I saw Death suspended in the air in a multitude of forms. At that moment the merciless angels brought my wretched soul forth from my body and tied it to the tail of an immaterial black horse and I was dragged to hell.¹²⁹

O, woe to every sinner of my kind that was born in the world! O, my lord and father, I was delivered into the hands of so many merciless punishers, each different from one another in their form. O, how many wild beasts I saw on the road! O, how many punishing powers! When they had taken me to the outer darkness, I saw a huge place, more than hundred cubits deep, full of reptiles. Some of them had seven heads while their entire body was hairy like scorpions. And there were other great worms in that place that were very big and terrible to see and that had tusks in their mouth like iron stakes. And they took me and passed me on to that worm that never sleeps and he gnawed at me all the time, while all the beasts were assembled near him. And when he had taken a mouthful, all the beasts that surrounded me took a mouthful from me.

Answering a question of Pesynthios, the dead man continues:

Mercy is shown to all those who are undergoing the punishments on every Saturday and the Day of the Lord. When the day of the Lord's Day is finished, we are cast again into the punishments like before and we forget the years that we passed in the world.¹³⁰

Several features connect this story with the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The terrors of agony, the words of blame of the psychopomps (here called “world rulers,”

128 For the genre of “skull stories,” see Grypeou, “Talking Skulls.”

129 For the motif, see n. 112 above.

130 Amélineau, *Étude*, 147–150.

νικοςμοκρατωρ), upbraiding the soul, the hell-cape with its pit full of reptiles and the monsters that chew on the soul of the sinner to pass it on to each other all recall passages from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in particular its chapter 16. A further echo is to be found in the period of respite that is granted to the inmates of hell every week on Saturday (that is, the eve of Sunday) and Sunday. As is noted in our commentary, the single day of rest found here and in the *Life of Cyrus* confirms the assumption that the fifty days period after Easter, mentioned as an extra favor in chapter 44, 4, of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*, is a secondary addition.

A much similar story is told in a passage from the Bohairic *Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch*, which is not a monastic source. The *Martyrdom* cannot be precisely dated, but certainly originates from the Egyptian Delta.¹³¹ Here again the saint resuscitates a pagan, who tells the horrifying story of his death and subsequent transmission to hell. It includes the nice chewing scene from the *Apocalypse of Paul* 16, 2, but does not mention the Sunday as a day of respite. The main interest of this story and those about Pambo's meeting with Cyrus and the mummy raised by Pesynthios, cited previously, is that they show how in fairly late texts motifs from Paul's "tour of hell" freely merge with elements from other genres, such as hagiographic resurrection stories or monastic travelogues. They illustrate how deeply the *Apocalypse of Paul* had penetrated the scribal imagination of late-antique and early-medieval Egypt. The same fertilizing process can be seen at work in the next class of writings that will be discussed here, texts that are usually dubbed apocryphal or angelological and some of which are among the most characteristic products of the literary culture of Christian Northeast Africa.

2.3 *Windows on the Invisible*

Similar to the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself, the "apocryphal" texts briefly presented here serve various purposes. They usually combine a moralizing message with a discussion of selected cosmological and theological questions. In treating such questions, they go far beyond "filling in the gaps" left open by Holy Scripture. Rather, they seek to situate their audiences in what is broadly conceived of as the world of the divine. This world has historical dimensions, but also cosmological ones and is, of course, the scene of an ongoing struggle between the powers of evil and the holy ones.

131 We follow the edition by Hyvernât, *Actes des martyrs*, 40–77, at 54–57, after an early tenth-century Vatican manuscript from the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wadi al-Natrun, which lacks the beginning of the martyrdom.

These Coptic apocrypha are no theological treatises and in trying to engage their audiences story-telling is their principal tool. Like the *Apocalypse of Paul*, they seek to instruct, edify and entertain, all at the same time. Here no study of the cited texts is intended. They will be introduced only briefly in as far as they are relevant for the study of the reception of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It must be observed preliminarily that it is usually very difficult to date them or to situate them socially or topographically. Some of the texts in question have been long recognized as valuable intertexts of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, others are less known.

The interest of the Vision of Siophanes from the *Book of Bartholomew* was already recognized by James, a century ago.¹³² The *Book of Bartholomew* (CANT 80) is a long and rambling composition known through four Sahidic Coptic manuscripts, all of which are incomplete.¹³³ Although generally inspired by the events related in John 20 about the resurrection of Christ and his subsequent meetings with his disciples, it contains a variety of heterogeneous narrative and liturgical material. The book has been variously dated in recent scholarship, mostly on fairly subjective criteria, to the fifth-sixth centuries, by Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Pierre Cherix, and the eight-ninth centuries, by Matthias Westerhoff,¹³⁴ yet none of the manuscript witnesses pre-dates the tenth century.¹³⁵ It is unknown whether the text ever circulated beyond Upper Egypt and Nubia.

The Vision of Siophanes is told in a part of the book that is concerned with the Apostle Thomas and aims to explain his absence during the apparition of the risen Christ as described in John 20:19–24. This is chapter 7.1, par. 68–70, in Westerhoff's edition, corresponding to chapters 21–22 in the translation by Kaestli and Cherix; it survives only in Westerhoff's manuscript C, a damaged manuscript from the Esna-Edfu find, originally written for a church in Lower Nubia.¹³⁶

The text relates how Thomas received the news that his son, Siophanes (ϣⲓⲱⲫⲁⲛⲛⲥ), had died. He departs and finds him when he is already dead for seven days. Siophanes is resuscitated by the prayers of his father and then reports the

¹³² *Apocryphal New Testament*, 554.

¹³³ For all further information, see Kaestli and Cherix, *L'évangile de Barthélemy*, 143–252: introduction and annotated translation; Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, a critical edition with rich commentaries; Suci, "Recovery": discussion of title and manuscript tradition; cf. id., "Book of Bartholomew."

¹³⁴ Kaestli and Cherix, *L'évangile de Barthélemy*, 172; Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 226–227.

¹³⁵ As Suci, "Recovery," 244, aptly observes.

¹³⁶ British Library, Or. 6804; Layton, *Catalogue*, no. 80.

events of his death and his brief visit of heaven. At the moment of dying, his soul is received by the Archangel Michael, "the angel of mercy," accompanied by many other angels. Michael smoothes his death and guides him unharmed over the river of fire and now both ascend to heaven.

After we had crossed it (sc. the river of fire), we ascended to the heavens.¹³⁷ He (sc. Michael) took me to the shore of the Acherusian Lake and washed me three times in it. Afterwards a voice went out from the height, saying: "O angels, bringers of good tiding, bring this soul to the places of immortality and the Paradise of celestial life, so that it may see the places of the apostles and their crowns and their thrones!" And right away Michael took me to a place that is called the tabernacle of the Father and I saw your twelve thrones of shining pearl, and your twelve crowns were studded with precious stones and topaz and emerald, illuminating the entire City of Christ. I saw also twelve white robes that were placed upon the spiritual thrones and furthermore twelve trees at all times laden with fruit that overshadowed each of the thrones while also twelve eagles with human faces were spread out over them with their wings, an eagle for each throne. And the name of (each of) the twelve apostles was written upon each of the thrones and furthermore there were twelve veils drawn before each of the thrones. And a diadem of precious stone was spread over the throne at its top. And a thousand angels were singing to each of thrones.

I, Siophanes, spoke and said to Michael, the archangel: "To whom belong these thrones and [...]?" And he told me: "These are the twelve thrones of the twelve holy disciples who have followed Jesus, the Son of God, in the world. Therefore God has designated these thousands of angels to sing to them until they complete their course and come and seat upon them and reign together with the Son of God in his kingdom."

I replied and said to Michael: "My Lord, show me the throne of my father," for I was unable to read the texts that were written upon the thrones. Michael took me to the middle of the thrones and showed it to me. And at the very moment I approached it, the light of the pearl and the thousand angels and their glory kept glowing in my face and I wanted to sit down upon it. The angel stopped me and said: "Besides your father, no

¹³⁷ Note that the river of fire here has its usual function in Christian Egyptian literature, a liminal means of trial, not a place of infernal punishment, as in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

one will be able to sit upon it. It is not allowed for any flesh and blood to sit upon these thrones, but his apostles alone.” And I drew near and greeted the thrones and the thousand angels blessed me with great blessing from heaven, in peace, amen.

And right away Michael brought me to Paradise [...] and Paradise enticed me and said: “Come in that you may be consoled and find comfort, O apostle son!” I and the archangel Michael [...] Paradise. At the moment you (sc. Thomas) prayed to God Jesus Christ, Michael took my soul and put it back in my body and I got up alive.¹³⁸

Michael and Siophanes enter Paradise, but then Siophanes is called back to life. The rumor that Thomas had resuscitated his son spread quickly and for the crowd that had gathered Siophanes briefly restates his adventures:

When I had died, I was taken to a tomb and buried. My soul was taken up to the heavens and I was shown the places of immortality, spending seven days there, under the trees of the Paradise of celestial Jerusalem, overshadowed by their branches.¹³⁹

This miniature “tour of heaven” can be read as the positive counterpart to the story of the pagan returning from hell in the Bohairic encomium of Bishop Pesynthios, cited above. More importantly, it even more clearly than the Pesynthios story draws its inspiration from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in particular chapters 56 and 60, with their description of the thrones of Paul and the other apostles. Here, these thrones are situated in the “tabernacle of the Father,” in the *Apocalypse*, in a “tabernacle of light” (56, 3). Almost all of the details of the description, the eagles, the veils, the singing angels, etc., have their counterpart in the text of the *Apocalypse*. These are more than mere reminiscences and suggest that the *Apocalypse* was a direct source of the Vision of Siophanes.¹⁴⁰ This is confirmed by other details that betray familiarity with the text of the *Apocalypse*, most notably the seven days intermediate period (cf. 17, 1) and the baptism by Michael in the Acherusian lake (cf. 22, 5). The weight of this cumulative evidence forbids speculation about a common *Vorlage*, which would be difficult to pinpoint anyway, or a common inspiration on the basis of more

138 Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 176–180.

139 Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 182.

140 Thus also Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 255: “zumeist nach dem Vorbild der koptischen Apk-Paul hinzukomponiert.”

remote models, such as the biblical Book of Revelation, the *Life of Adam and Eve* or the *Ascension of Isaiah*.¹⁴¹

These observations have their importance, given the fact that the Vision of Siophanes clearly echoes a part of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, to wit chapters 55–62, that is transmitted only in the Sahidic Coptic version, not in any of the other versions of the text. While this cannot count as proof that these last chapters of the *Apocalypse of Paul* were part of its primitive form, it does show that the long version of the Coptic was known beyond its single surviving manuscript and enjoyed sufficient authority to inspire other Egyptian authors. We have to assume that the chapters in question were an integral part of the text as known to the authors / redactors of the *Book of Bartholomew*. Even though the *Book of Bartholomew* cannot be dated with any precision, the Vision of Siophanes offers crucial evidence for the circulation of the complete *Apocalypse of Paul* in late-antique Egypt.

Material mainly from earlier chapters, most notably 22–23, has been re-worked in a Sahidic homily *On John the Baptist*, attributed to John Chrysostom (CANT 184). This composite work is laid out in the same manner as a number of other homiletic compositions, such as the better known *Homily on the Investiture of Abbaton*, the angel of death, attributed to Timothy of Alexandria (CANT 334), mentioned in chapter 2, section 2. In a similar way, it presents its message in a threefold fictional wrapping: a homily, a story of book discovery and a revelation dialogue. The part of the work that interests us here is a dialogue between the risen Christ and his disciples that culminates in a revelation about the favors bestowed upon the devotees of John the Baptist on their way to the third heaven. There are at least two manuscripts, one of them complete, from the Esna-Edfu find and dated to AD 987;¹⁴² another, fragmentary, from the White Monastery.¹⁴³ To judge from Budge's mediocre edition, the text of the complete London manuscript, which we follow here, is not in a very good state.¹⁴⁴

In the course of the revelation, Jesus transports his disciples on a cloud to the third heaven, where they meet John the Baptist and his parents. John has

141 Which seems to be the position of Kaestli and Cherix, *L'évangile de Barthélemy*, judging from the footnotes at 228–234.

142 London, British Library, Or. 7024; Layton, *Catalogue*, no. 159.

143 Winstedt, "Coptic Fragment."

144 Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 128–145 (text), 335–351 (translation); for all further details: Tite, "Encomium," 217–232, who offers a new translation at 233–246, with a useful division in chapters. The text is briefly discussed in Hagen, "Anderer Kontext," 357–358, and Suciu, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 81–82.

received the third heaven as a gift from Jesus and there he receives his followers. Those who honor John the Baptist on earth will be richly rewarded after death and ferried over the terrifying river of fire by John himself in a golden ship. Jesus adds that he himself will baptize them in the same river:

The expanse of the river of fire is thirty waves from one shore to the other and from wave to wave there are thirty stadia for each wave. But I give the golden ship to my kinsman John in order to cross the river of fire, so that he may ferry in it those who will commemorate him upon the earth, even with a small piece of bread or a cup of cool water. When they arrive at the last wave, I will baptize them (ϩⲁⲓⲃⲁⲡⲧⲥⲉ ⲙⲓⲟⲟϥ) in the river of fire. As for everyone who commemorates John, when the moment arrives that they will be baptized (ⲉϥϩⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲃⲁⲡⲧⲥⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ), the river of fire will be like water from the baths and like hot water for them, except for the very spot in the river of fire where the person will be washed (ⲭⲱⲕⲏ). Therefore, as for all people who will commemorate you upon the earth, O John, my friend and my kinsman, either with a sacrifice or with an offering of first-fruits or whatever gift they will donate to your sanctuary in remembrance of your holy name, I order you to ferry them across the river of fire in the golden boat that I bestowed upon you and that you will receive them in the third heaven so that they enjoy the boons that are prepared for them and that will endure till eternity.¹⁴⁵

John's boat is of gold, similar to the one that ferries Paul in chapter 23, 1, of the *Apocalypse*. Unlike the latter, however, it is not beset with precious stones, but with lamps, for reasons that the text itself explains:

There is a lamp for each oar and there are seven wick-holes in each lamp, seven wick-holes burning brightly. Everybody who will light the lamp of the sanctuary of Saint John or even before his icon will be ferried over the river of fire in the golden boat that I bestowed upon my beloved John, and these lamps will be burning before them and illuminate them until they have passed the dark roads and are received in the third heaven that I granted to my beloved John as a gift and will inherit the boons that are there till eternity.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 141 (Tite, ch. 17).

¹⁴⁶ Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 143 (Tite, ch. 19).

Following these revelations, Jesus shows the apostles around in “the Paradise of the third heaven”:

And he made us walk through the fragrant herbs of that place that were all bearing fruit according to their species and exhaled a sweet scent. And likewise also the fruits and all the trees in that place that were bearing fruit according to their species from their roots up to their tops, of mint, cinnamon, amomum, mastic and nutmeg, they exhaled a sweet scent, each more delicious than the other.

Thomas said to the Savior: “Lord, now you have shown us all the sweet-smelling trees in Paradise and also the fruits and the dates. Tell us how many clusters there are on each date palm and how many single dates there are on each tree and each cluster and how many bunches there are on each grapevine.”

And the Savior said: “I will hide for you nothing of what you inquire about. As for the vineyard you asked me about, in each bunch there are a myriad of grapes and from each grape it produces six jars (of wine). And again, as for the dates of Paradise, there are a myriad in each cluster and their length is the size of a man. The figs too are likewise a myriad on each branch and three men may eat a single fig and be sated. As for a single ear of wheat of Paradise, there are a myriad of corns in each ear and four measures of wheat in each. The citrons too are similarly a myriad on each tree that is very high. The apples and the peach are of this same size and they are a myriad on each branch and three men may eat from it and be sated.”¹⁴⁷

In spite of a different conception of the river of fire, which here has a liminal function, the cited passages show a significant clustering of motifs reminiscent of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, chapters 22–23. This is particularly obvious in the grossly exaggerated description of the grapevine and other fruit trees in Paradise, where the author seeks to emulate the already superlative vision of Paul in 22, 1. The insistence on the scents of Paradise and the enumeration of its aromatic herbs vividly recall 58, 1–2.

The principal interest of the homily, however, is in its description of the river of fire. Structurally, the text’s river of fire takes the place of the Acherusian Lake in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It is on the way to the Paradise of the third heaven and sailed in a golden ship that recalls Paul’s in 23, 1. In particular, it is the site

147 Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 141–142 (Tite, ch. 18, 1–4).

of a *post-mortem* baptism of the soul before it is received in Paradise, as in 22, 5. The baptismal terminology of the homily (βαπτίζε, ἄρκυ) shows that this is a real baptism, no purification by fire.¹⁴⁸ As it appears, the author or a redactor of the homily *On John the Baptist* substituted the Acherusian Lake for the river of fire in order to bring his text in line with the prevailing concept of a fiery barrier that everybody, even the saints, have to cross when dying (see our commentary at 22, 5, and 31, 4).¹⁴⁹ Its model here is not the river that flows before the throne of God, as in Dan. 7:10, though, but the Acherusian Lake, as described in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 22–23. Note, however, that baptism is administered by Jesus himself (ϣαῖβαπτίζε ἡμοῦ, “I will baptize them [sc. the devotees of John]”), as in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 14, not by Michael, as in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, or by anonymous angels, as in the text that will be discussed next.

The *Book of the Investiture of Michael* is a composite late-antique revelation dialogue, with elements of a guided “tour of hell and heaven,” focused on the celestial status of Michael. In its original Greek form, it must predate the end of the sixth century, when it was condemned by Bishop John of Parollos, on the Mediterranean shore.¹⁵⁰ It nevertheless remained a popular text for many centuries, preserved in complete Sahidic and near-complete Fayoumic manuscripts from Hamuli in the Fayoum.¹⁵¹ In addition, various fragments are extant from elsewhere in Egypt and Nubia, also in Greek and Old Nubian.¹⁵² A detailed comparison of this long text with the *Apocalypse of Paul* is obviously beyond the scope of the present chapter. Below we briefly look at some of the more striking parallels, to highlight the interest of the text for the history of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. We follow the edition of the Sahidic in Müller, *Einsetzung*, who offers the Sahidic and the Fayoumic texts from Hamuli, in as far as extant, on facing pages. Readings adopted from the often superior Fayoumic version (“Fay.”) are given within pointed brackets.

In chapter 11, the apostles follow Jesus to the Iron Mountain, situated in the very west of the world. The mountain is glowing with fire, but Jesus quenches the fire.

148 The text emphasizes that where the deceased is baptized, the water is cool.

149 “Without any exception,” as the White Monastery fragment emphatically adds; Winstedt, “Coptic Fragment,” 243.

150 See van Lantschoot, “Fragments coptes,” 298–299, cf. 303.

151 Depuydt, *Catalogue*, nos. 111 (Sahidic, AD 892/93) and 271 (Fayoumic, probably 9th cent.). Edited in Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 2–60

152 Cf. Suci, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 97–98; Tsakos, “*Liber Institutionis*”; the most recent study of the text is Lundhaug, “Textual Fluidity”; Müller, *Engellehre*, 187–208, offers an extensive German summary.

Then the Savior opened their eyes. And we, the apostles, looked from upon the Iron Mountain and we saw a huge good-looking field, laden with fruit, so (large) that the apostles said: "Lord, this field that we see may have the size of the entire world!" <Afterwards he showed us another field that was gloomy to see.>¹⁵³ That field was burrowed with lake after lake and pit after pit. One was full of brimstone, one full of pebbles of fire, light-green in color, one was full of evil worms and seventy cubits deep, and yet another was filled with evil dragons, seven cubits (long), one was full of ice like poison and pit after pit was filled with pus that was sticky like glue.¹⁵⁴ There was a pit that one would find to be three-hundred cubits deep, <full of scorpions>, and there was a pit that one would find to be overseen by a hundred punishing decans.¹⁵⁵

And we, the apostles, wept loudly and said: "Our Lord, what are these harsh places where you have brought us? Woe to us, O our Lord!" Thereupon Jesus said to us, the apostles: "O my chosen apostles, who have done the will of my good father, these are the punishments that I have prepared for the sinners, those who have deserted me from the beginning and who lived in numerous sins and crimes of the devil, and those who partook from my body and my blood and turned away and sinned in impure acts of fornication."¹⁵⁶

The apostles' vision of a gloomy field at the western end of the world, after a brief view of a more inviting landscape, seems copied almost literally from Paul's vision of the parched field the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* 31, 3. The description begins and ends almost identically in both texts, suggesting a cut-and-paste job. Both descriptions share an interest in the exact depths of the various pits, an unmistakable fingerprint of the author of the *Apocalypse*.¹⁵⁷ Slight lexical differences can be explained by different translations from Greek, which was the original language of both texts. The pits "filled with pus that was sticky like glue" (Fayoumic: "filled with pus like sticky tar") may be an innovation of the present text or, perhaps, an element that dropped out of the description in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. This state of affairs, in conjunction with the indubitable other reminiscences of the *Apocalypse of Paul* found in the *Book of the Investi-*

153 Fay; a phrase apparently omitted by the Sahidic.

154 Thus Fay; for the text's MHTPA , read $\text{MHTP}\{\Delta\}$ or MA TP , "glue" (Crum, *Dictionary*, 196a).

155 Müller's Sahidic text requires a minor correction here, for which see our commentary at 31, 3.

156 Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 36, 24–38, 11; Fayoumic: 37, 25–39, 8.

157 See Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*," 175–176.

ture of *Michael*, allows the important conclusion that the vision of the parched field as found in the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*, chapter 31, 3, which lacks in the other versions, must have been part of the text as it circulated in Egypt in late antiquity. It quite likely, therefore, belonged to the original *Apocalypse*, as our analysis of the Coptic version argues on structural grounds.

As in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, hell is situated, not in heaven or below the earth, but upon the earth, in the very west, which receives a moral underpinning (chapter 14). As Jesus replies to a question of Peter:

My father did not create anything bad in the heavens, but since it is the world that is full of all kinds of evil on account of the evil deeds that are perpetrated there, therefore, O my blessed apostles, did my father establish the punishments upon the earth, so that those who have sinned be punished there.¹⁵⁸

This then solicits a question of Philip about what happens when a person dies (chapter 15). Jesus informs him:

When someone has completed his days that were ordained for him, and falls asleep in order to be completed and lay down the body, I will send my angels to fetch him. The bad angels together with the good ones will come and stand beside him. When the good ones find room in him, they will throw out the bad ones. When the bad ones find room in him, they will throw out the good ones and they will seize him to take him to the firmament. The gatekeepers of the gates of darkness will open (their gates) for him and take him to the punishments. O woe, woe, to that person, that he was born in the world, for that hour will be worse for him than the entire period that he spent in this world. Afterwards, he will pass from this eon of darkness, which is the first firmament, and he will be taken to the eon where a mighty fire burns like a huge river, and they¹⁵⁹ will be ferried across so that the fire eats away at them and scorches them and melts away the terrible stench that envelopes them, until they arrive at the tribunal and pay homage. And at that moment a voice will come from inside the veil, saying: "Take them and throw them into that-and-that punishment until they have requited their sins that they committed in the world." When the angels of wrath have snatched

¹⁵⁸ After Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 42, 30–34; Fayoumic: 43, 27–31.

¹⁵⁹ The manuscript switches from a generic singular to the plural.

him, they will cast them into the river of fire and plunge them in it for twenty-four months and afterwards they will bring them to this eon of darkness, where the Ocean is <Fay.: the valley of darkness, to the west of the Ocean>, and lead them to the punishments in order that they will be punished in the punishments and tortured for the entire time they spent sinning.¹⁶⁰

The text situates the punishments in the extreme west of this world, “where the Ocean is,” $\bar{\pi}\mu\alpha \bar{\mu}\pi\omega\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ or, more precisely, with the Fayoumic, “to the west of the Ocean,” $\varsigma\alpha \pi\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\tau \mu\pi\{\pi\}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.¹⁶¹ It apparently denounces the view that situates them in heaven as erroneous, against for instance 2 Enoch 5. That it adheres specifically to the cosmology of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is confirmed by the sequel, which presents a description of the death of the righteous and the sinners that as a whole neatly summarizes the much more elaborate chapters 11–16 of the *Apocalypse*. There are, of course, differences as well. One is terminological, the characterization of the world below the firmament as “this eon of darkness.” The other, more cosmological, is the role assigned to the river of fire as a liminal site, where the soul is cleansed. This is the standard representation, already discussed above, about the homily *On John the Baptist*, attributed to John Chrysostom. That this river of fire is to be clearly distinguished from the Acherusian Lake, even though both are liminal sites with a purificatory function, is shown by a later passage in the *Book of the Investiture of Michael*, chapter 17c, cited below.

Still pertaining to the domain of hell in the west is the theme of the periodical suspension of the punishments for a brief respite. This too is evoked in the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* in terms that betray the direct inspiration of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Seeing the punishments in the west, Peter, in chapter 12, is astonished to find no souls in them and he wonders whether God’s mercy had made them cease. Jesus replies that the punishments cannot stop till the end of the world, but the souls are absent because relief ($\mu\omicron\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\varsigma$) was granted to them on the occasion of the feast of Michael, on 12 Hathor (8 November).¹⁶² This theme is taken up in chapter 18. After a long chapter (17) in which Michael successfully pleads in favor of an entire series of souls before the divine tribunal (one episode, 17c, is cited below), Jesus prepares to depart, together with the apostles, in order to show them celestial Paradise:

160 Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 44, 16–46, 4; Fayoumic: 45, 13–47, 4.

161 Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 46, 1; Fayoumic: 47, 1–2.

162 Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 38, 18–28; Fayoumic: 39, 15–26.

Then the souls (of the tortured sinners) came and cried out: “Jesus, king of glory, remember us!” Michael gave a sign to the apostles that they should throw themselves down and pay homage and plead. And right away the apostles threw themselves down together with Michael and all the angels. They cried out and said: “Lord, may your mercy reach them, merciful Jesus, our king!” And the Savior raised the apostles and Michael and told the souls: “For the sake of my apostles and Michael, because they saw you, I will grant you three days of relief (ἡσυχίαν) annually at this time, on the twelfth of Hathor, when all who are undergoing the punishments will have rest and, on account of the prayer of Michael and my brothers, the apostles, you may eat today from the good things that Michael brought out of the heavens today.”¹⁶³

The scene in which Jesus grants the souls of the sinners a three days respite from the punishments on the occasion of the feast of Michael is clearly a feeble and much reduced echo of the similar scene in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 43–44. In particular the words of Jesus, ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΔΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΜΕΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΓΗΝΑΥ ΕΡΩΤΗ, †ΝΑΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΗΤῆ ..., “for the sake of my apostles and Michael, because they saw you, I will grant you ...,” are an almost literal quote of those in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 44, 4: ΕΤΒΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Μῆ ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΠΑΥΛΟC, ἡ†ΟΥΩΩ ΑΝ ΕΛΥΠΕΙ ἸΜΟΟΥ ..., †ΝΑ† ΝΗΤῆ ..., “for the sake of Michael and my beloved Paul, whom I do not want to grieve ..., I will give you ...,” and betray the dependence of the text on the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

The parallels are not limited to scenes of hell, however. In chapter 17c, which is too long to quote *in extenso*, Michael presents the case of two righteous souls, one a charitable and innocent heathen, the other his fellow, a Christian workman. As a result of Michael’s convincing plea, both are received in heaven, following Jesus’ orders:

“O angels, obedient to their lord, receive these two souls under the tree of life (cf. Rev. 22:2), so that they may eat from it until the day of the true judgment, and take the heathen to the Acherusian Lake (ΤΑΡΧΙΕΡΟΥCΑ ΛΙΜΝΗ) and baptize him in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and leave them both near each other, for mercy was found in them.” Immediately the angels raised them both and took them to the celestial regions of the light. And they took the gentile man to the Acheru-

¹⁶³ Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 58, 19–31.

sian Lake and baptized him. They took him to the Church of the Firstborn that is in the heavens (cf. Hebr. 12:23) and he received Communion. And both were taken under the tree of life and they ate from it.¹⁶⁴

Although this passage is definitely not copied from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, it offers an illuminating intertext for the baptism in the Acherusian Lake as described in chapter 22, 5, for which see our commentary. Note that the baptism of the pagan is not only a liminal rite preceding admission into heaven, but also a real rite of initiation into the Church, sealed by Holy Communion. This ecclesiastical bias lacks in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

A final echo of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, is found in the very end of the *Book of the Investiture of Michael*, chapter 20. There, the apostles return to the Mount of Olives where they find their disciples, whom they had left asleep upon an olive tree. Much to the astonishment of the apostles, they too appeared to have made a voyage.

The disciple of Peter said: "Angels took us from the olive tree and brought our souls forth from our bodies and took us to the river of milk. They showed us the infants that Herod killed because of the name of Christ and brought our souls (back) and restored them to their former place in our bodies."¹⁶⁵

The vision of a celestial river of milk associated with the Holy Innocents clearly recalls chapter 26 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Together with most other echoes of the *Apocalypse*, which in several cases are real borrowings, it shows that the interest taken by the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* in the *Apocalypse of Paul* is primarily focused on issues of cosmology, in particular the situation of hell and certain features of heaven, such as the river of milk or the Acherusian Lake. But even in these domains, the text often goes its own ways and its view of the disposition of heaven and hell appears to be different from the *Apocalypse of Paul* in various respects. Also the *Book of Michael* does not share pseudo-Paul's interest in classifying sinners and their tortures in hell. Apparently, the *Apocalypse* served as a reservoir of motifs from which later visualizations of heaven and hell freely drew their inspiration.

For the vision of hell, this is confirmed by the *Testament of Isaac* (CAVT 98), preserved in Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic, as well as in Arabic and Ethiopic,

¹⁶⁴ Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 53, 23–35.

¹⁶⁵ Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 60, 23–29.

but not in Greek.¹⁶⁶ The text is clearly an offshoot of the more ancient *Testament of Abraham*, but with original elements. Before dying, Isaac gets a guided tour of heaven and hell, of which only the part about hell interests us here.¹⁶⁷ Our translation follows the Sahidic version, preserved in a late ninth-century manuscript from the Fayoum.¹⁶⁸

He (sc. Isaac) saw (powers of) fear and confusion raging at all sides and it meant fear and confusion and terror to see them. Some had the face of a camel, others the face of a lion; some had faces of dogs, others had only one eye and tongs in their hands that were three cubits long and entirely of iron. I looked and suddenly someone was brought in a rush and when they had reached the beasts, those who accompanied him withdrew. The lion came up to him and tore him up over his middle and chewed at him, devoured him and vomited him up, and he (sc. the victim) returned to his former state. And again the (beast) that came next treated him in the same way—in short, they passed him on to each other and each would chew at him, devour him and vomit him up and he would return to his former state.¹⁶⁹

We omit the explanation of the angel and continue in his footsteps:

He led me on and brought me at the river of fire whose waves were a cubit high and that produced a sound like thunder in the sky. I saw a multitude of souls immersed in it and those who were near that river were shouting and weeping with much uproar and confusion and groaning, yet that fire was a wise one, which did not touch the righteous, but burnt the sinners and melted away the stench that enveloped them. I also saw the well of the abyss, with its smoke rising very high. I saw the (place of) gnashing of teeth in which men were plunged who each in their groaning cried and wept. The angel said to me: “Look and see these others!” And when I had seen them, the angel said to me: “These are the ones who committed the sin of Sodom,” and indeed these were greatly in distress. I also saw pits

166 See Dochhorn, “Testament Isaaks.”

167 Discussed earlier in Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 26–28, 167–168, and *passim*.

168 Edited by Kuhn, “Sahidic Version”; Dochhorn, “Testament Isaaks,” provides an annotated synopsis of the Sahidic and Bohairic versions; an English translation of the Sahidic by K.H. Kuhn, with variant readings from the Bohairic in the footnotes, is found in Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament*, 423–439.

169 Kuhn, “Sahidic Version,” 234, 1–11; Dochhorn, “Testament Isaaks,” 302–304.

full of worms that do not sleep. I saw Abdemerouchos, who is in charge of the punishments and who is all fire and threatens the torturers of hell, saying: "Hit them, so that they realize that God exists!"¹⁷⁰

Following this brief view of hell, the angel takes Isaac up to the heaven.

As can easily be seen, the passage about hell, partly translated above, consists of a rather careless patchwork of motifs taken from various parts of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. A relatively original element is the "wise fire" of the river, which melts away the stench of the sinner, a motif shared with the *Book of the Investiture of Michael*, chapter 15, quoted above.¹⁷¹ Otherwise, the description of the monsters and its introduction, the motif of the chewing beasts that pass on their victims to each other (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 16, 2), the soul being rushed in (by whom is not even specified; cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 35 and 36, 2), the hell-scape with its pits full of worms (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 31, 3 and 37, 1), the multitude of souls immersed in the river of fire (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 31, 4) and the figure of Abdemerouchos (Bohairic: Abtelmolouchos) as the one in charge of the punishments (cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 16, 7 and more often) all suggest direct or indirect dependence on the *Apocalypse of Paul*. For another motif shared between the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Testament of Isaac*, the covenant of the three patriarchs, see our commentary at 47, 2.

Hell is also the focus of the Tebtynis wall paintings. These are a set of wall paintings discovered in a church at Tebtynis, in the Fayoum, in 1899, which among other themes comprised a complex scene depicting the punishment of various classes of sinners in hell. The paintings date from the middle of the tenth century. They are now lost and were published only in 1989, by Colin C. Walters, after notes and photos taken by the discoverers.¹⁷²

The meager documentation that survives regrettably does not allow an overall reconstruction of the scene, which seems to have been dominated by the figure of Abbaton, $\kappa\iota\rho\epsilon\ \alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omega\omicron\nu$, $\pi\alpha\rho\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\tau\chi\iota\lambda\omicron$, "Lord Abbaton, the angel of death, who shows no partiality." His gruesome appearance, which was literally believed to scare the soul out of the body of a dying person, is extensively described in the well-known Sahidic *Homily on Abbaton*, attributed to Timothy of Alexandria.¹⁷³ Another important figure, familiar from Egyptian

170 Kuhn, "Sahidic Version," 234, 22–235, 4; Dochhorn, "Testament Isaaks," 306–309.

171 For this motif, of Stoic origin, see Van Unnik, "Wise Fire."

172 Walters, "Christian Paintings"; some of the legends are quoted in Crum, *Dictionary*; for the context, see Boutros, "Christian Monuments." More recently, see Zellmann-Rohrer, "Woman."

173 *CPG* 2530. Briefly discussed, with the relevant literature, above in chapter 2, section 2.

scenes of celestial judgment, from the *Testament of Abraham* onwards, and who also appears in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (20, 1), is Enoch, the “scribe of righteousness,” here described in a legend as ΕΙΝΩΧ ΠΕΓΚΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΕΦΕΡΑΙ ΝΗΕΝΟΒΕ ΝΗΕΡΩΜΕ, “Enoch the scribe, who records the sins of the humans.”¹⁷⁴

Similarities with the *Apocalypse of Paul* are particularly apparent in the depiction of the various categories of sinners and their punishment. The process seems to be dominated by ΑΒΔΙΜΕΛΟΥ[ΧΟΣ], ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΗΕΚΩΛΑCIC, “Abdimelouchos, the angel of the punishments,” who is similarly described in chapter 40, 2, of the *Apocalypse of Paul* as “the angel in charge of the punishments” (ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΡΙΧΝ̄ ΝΗΚΟΛΑCIC; cf. 16, 7, with our commentary, and 34). The classes of sinners and their torments overlap only partly with those of the *Apocalypse*, however, and show clear signs of innovation, reflecting the concerns of the tenth century, when Egyptian Christians had to cope with Muslim rule, rather than those of the fourth. Thus, there is a woman “who cohabits with a gentile husband” (ΕCΖΗΟ[ΟC ΜΗ] ΟΥΖΑΙ ΝΖ[ΕΘ]ΝΟC), undoubtedly a Muslim. Sexuality is also involved in the case of those who “fornicate with hired (?) women” (ΠΕΤΠΩΡΝΕΥΕ ΜΕ ΝΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝΛΕΖΙΜΕ) and a woman “who suckled (a child) at a charge (?)” (ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΤΑC† ΤΕCΚΙΒΕ ΗΠΛΕΖΙΜΕ).¹⁷⁵ Such sexual offenses are punished by snakes that are coiled around the necks of the sinners and attack their breasts, in the case of the women, or the penis of the man, recalling chapters 39, 4, and 40 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

Other sins are more general in nature, such as swearing a false oath (ΠΕΤΟΡΕΚ ΝΗΟΥΧ), slandering (ΠΕΤΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΙ, cf. *Apocalypse of Paul* 31, 4, and 37, 2) and tampering with measures (ΠΡΕΦΩΙ ΚΑΚΩC ΖΗ ΤΜΑΩΕ ΕΪΕ ΤΑΙΠΙ, “somebody who measures falsely with the balance or the *oipe*”). A demon with crocodile-like jaws who seems to draw the intestines out of someone who “robs the workmen of their salary” (ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΒΙ ΜΠΒΥΚΗ ΝΗΕΡΚΑΤΗΣ), is reminiscent of both the crocodile faced power in chapter 16, 2, and Aftemelouchos who punishes a priest in 34.¹⁷⁶ In the *Apocalypse of Paul* 31, 3, “a hundred decans are in charge” of the pits of hell. Such decans were depicted in the Tebtynis paintings, too, where they greedily devour the souls (ΠΤΕΚΑΝΟC ΕΦΟΥΩΝΓ ΤΕΨΥΧΗ, “the decan who swallows the soul”, ΠΤΕΚΑΝΟC ΕΦΩΙΝΙ ΝCΑ ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΦΒΑΚΖ, “the decan who searches out the soul to swallow it”).¹⁷⁷ These scenes vividly recall the scene where the animal faced powers of darkness swallow the souls and

174 See our commentary at chapter 20, 1.

175 For the word λEΖΙΜΕ, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 150a, but cf. Garel, “Titres et fonctions,” 208–210; Zellmann-Rohrer, “Woman,” 298–299.

176 Thus already Walters, “Christian Paintings,” 201.

177 The second of the two legends after Crum, *Dictionary*, 483b, s.v. ΟΥΩΝΓ.

chew them for while, then to pass them to their fellows, in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 16, 2. Finally, the sinner who “broke the fast before it was its time” (ΠΕΤ-ΒΑΛ ΝΗC†Α ΕΒΟΛ ΗΠΑΤΕCΘΩΠΠ) has his counterparts in the souls who are not allowed to eat or drink, for the same reason, in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 39, 3.

The Tebtynis painting, with its lively depiction of the terrors of agony and the judgment of the souls, reflects a broad Christian Egyptian interest in these themes, as is apparent for instance in several of the textual sources quoted above. Yet, as Walters had already observed in his edition of the photographic documentation, the entire intricate composition as well as many of its details, in particular in the punishment of the sinners, vividly recalls the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

Instead of hell, a Coptic magical ritual preserved on a pottery ostrakon from Middle Egypt, now in Cairo (O. Cairo 49547), evokes celestial Jerusalem. The ritual demands various celestial powers to descend upon a chalice and impart their protective power to its contents. The text’s relationship with the *Apocalypse of Paul* 29, 3, was already noted by its first editor, Louis Saint-Paul Girard.¹⁷⁸ The following excerpts are taken from his *editio princeps*.¹⁷⁹

Hail, David, the father of Christ, who sings in the Church of the firstborn in heaven (cf. Hebr. 12:23)!

Hail, Davidthea, with the two-hundred-and-twenty-stringed lyre,¹⁸⁰ who sings within the veil of the altar of joy!

Hail, Hormosiel, who sings within the veil of the Father, while those upon the gates and those upon the towers all respond after him, and who is heard by the assembly (?) of those within the twelve worlds of delight and who respond after him: Holy, holy, One Father, Holy! Amen, amen, amen. (...) ¹⁸¹

Hail, four winds of heaven!

Hail, four corners of the earth!

Hail, host of heaven!

Hail, Land of Inheritance!

Hail, garden of the saints of the Father! ¹⁸²

178 “Fragment de liturgie magique,” 67, and after him by Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* III, 36, par. 58.

179 “Fragment de liturgie magique,” 64, 19–39. Complete translations are also found in Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* II, no. XXXI (German), and Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, no. 113 (English, by D. Frankfurter).

180 The author apparently multiplied the ten strings of Ps. 32:2 and 143:9 by three and by seven.

181 We omit an invocation of the sun and its assistants that takes up ll. 28–34.

182 A following acclamation of the Holy Trinity (ll. 39–41) concludes the ritual.

The cited passage evokes the liturgy of celestial Jerusalem in terms that are clearly reminiscent of the descriptions of David in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* 29, 3, and 61. In the ritual, the figure of David as a celestial liturgist and singer is doubled (or rather, tripled) by Davithe (Davidthea) and Hormosiel, two of the four “Gnostic” luminaries.¹⁸³ The role and the trappings (lyre, veil, altar) of this triple David and, in particular, the impressive image of “those upon the gates and those upon the towers” echoing the celestial singer seem to be borrowed directly from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which in turn was inspired by Rev. 19:1–6. The final series of *chairetismoi*, which address elements of celestial topography, confirm the reading of the Coptic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* 21, 3 (“the Land of Inheritance”), against the Latin and the Greek.

3 Conclusions

Our review of the principal intertexts of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, however brief and selective, allows several interesting conclusions. First of all, it brings out the key-position of the text in the literary landscape of late-antique Egypt, both as a recipient of earlier apocryphal traditions and as a model for later visionary literature. Whereas many of the general ideas and even specific motifs that make up the world of the *Apocalypse* can be traced to pre-Christian antiquity, the text marks the culmination of an apocalyptic tradition indigenous in Egypt in the second to fourth centuries, primarily in Christian milieus. At the same time, the witnesses reviewed above and the numerous more detailed references cited in our textual commentary show how profoundly the *Apocalypse of Paul* shaped later Christian Egyptian visions of other worlds.

Echoes of the *Apocalypse of Paul* are found in a wide range of genres, from hagiographies and homilies to revelation dialogues and ritual (“magical”) texts. As in medieval Europe, the text even inspired the visual arts. The interests of a later readership focused on the different fates of the human soul after death, and on cosmography, in particular the landscapes of heaven and hell. In fact, almost any Egyptian description of the terrifying circumstances under which the sinner’s soul leaves his body seems directly or indirectly indebted to the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Yet the *Apocalypse* also informed much more specific representations of, for instance, the periodical suspension of the tortures suffered by

183 For which see Van der Vliet, “Gnostiek en magie,” who cites the ostrakon at 183; Burns, “Magical, Coptic, Christian,” on Davithe in particular 152–156, mentioning the ostrakon at 155, n. 71.

the sinners in hell or the role of David as a celestial musician. Another expression of the text's considerable status and in-depth reception in Egypt and its Christian hinterland are what may be called its "pirate editions," revisions of the original text, published under the names of other saints, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The conclusion seems justified that more than any other single text, apart from the Bible and the *Life of Saint Anthony*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* stirred the scribal imagination of late-antique Egypt.

Secondly, our discussion of its Egyptian intertexts allows important inferences about the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself. The focus of the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* on the status of the Apostle Paul increases the likelihood that the final chapters of our text, 45–62, which share a similar interest, are part of the original text. If our interpretation can be accepted, both apocalypses would reflect a fourth-century surge of interest in Paul. The Vision of Siophanes in an even more precise way attests to the positive reception of Paul's vision of the celestial tabernacle, where the thrones of the apostles are prepared, in chapter 60. Far from being an "otiose appendix" (James), the later chapters of the *Apocalypse* had a relevance of their own in late-antique Egypt. Indirectly, the witnesses quoted above attest to the reliability of the long Sahidic Coptic version and justify the conclusion that our principal tenth-century manuscript represents a form of the text very close to the primitive *Apocalypse of Paul*, closer than any other version, including the curtailed Latin version L¹.

Finally, the monastic inspiration of the *Apocalypse of Paul* has been long acknowledged, mainly on the basis of internal criteria.¹⁸⁴ Ascetics are clearly present in the text, in both positive and negative settings. Among external witnesses, already Sozomen, writing in the 440s, noted the popularity of the text among monks.¹⁸⁵ A study of the character of the text on the basis of its intertextual connections was first undertaken by Kirsti Copeland in her doctoral dissertation.¹⁸⁶ She concluded that the reception of the text in Pachomian sources is strongly indicative of a link with Pachomian monasticism, a conclusion that received support in more recent studies.¹⁸⁷ Our review of the Egyptian intertexts of the *Apocalypse of Paul* massively confirms Copeland's conclusion. In particular, in shaping the literary tradition about the founder figure of Pachomius that arose after his death in 346, the *Apocalypse of Paul* acquired an importance that it had nowhere else in a similar degree.

184 For instance by Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 8 and *passim*; see also the discussions by Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 18–19; Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 310–313.

185 *Historia ecclesiastica* 7.19.10–11; cited below, chapter 4, section 1.

186 *Mapping*, 170–178; but see already Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 19.

187 For instance Fiori, "Death and Judgment."

The *Apocalypse of Paul*: Time and Place

1 Date and Place of Origin

We do not know with certainty when, where and by whom the *Apocalypse of Paul* was written. The work is pseudonymous and external witnesses are few.¹ The testimonies from patristic authors cited in modern literature about the *Apocalypse* are almost all highly debatable and, hence, too uncertain to be taken into account.² Most frequently cited, since Casey's 1933 article, is the authority of Origen, who died in 253. The first of his alleged testimonies is taken from a passage in a work by the thirteenth-century Syriac polymath Barhebraeus, his *Nomocanon* 7.9.³ It appears to state that Origen accepted an *Apocalypse of Paul* "together with other apocalypses." This contradicts what we know otherwise about Origen's positions and is, in a general manner, to be distrusted on account of the late date of the source.⁴ A passage in Origen's *Homilies on Psalm 36*, 5.7, on the destiny of the sinners and righteous after death, written around 240 and known in a Latin translation by Rufinus, certainly does offer a valuable parallel for the colorful description in chapters 11–19 of the *Apocalypse*.⁵ Yet Origen mentions neither Paul nor any revelation and cites only biblical texts. These he uses to illustrate the very general concept that sin gives the powers of darkness a hold over the soul of the evildoer after death. This was a widespread idea for which a variety of contemporaneous and even earlier sources, Christian as well as non-Christian, may be invoked,⁶ and nothing in Origen's argument presupposes familiarity with the text of the *Apocalypse*.

1 A short list, reflecting the *communis opinio*, is given by Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 617. Several of these real or presumed testimonies have been briefly referred to in our Introduction, on previous scholarship.

2 For extensive discussions, reaching often very different conclusions, see in particular Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 26–31; Copeland, *Mapping*, 25–35; Touati, "Origène, Athanase et Augustin." Our brief remarks here focus on those witnesses that played a critical role in previous scholarship.

3 Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 26–27; cf. Touati, "Origène, Athanase et Augustin," 174.

4 See Piovaneli, "Origines," 45–46; Roukema, "Paul's Rapture," 279–280; Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 300, and, in particular, the detailed refutation by Copeland, *Mapping*, 29–35.

5 Cited in Touati, "Origène, Athanase et Augustin," 174–176; cf. Casey, "Apocalypse of Paul," 27–28; Piovaneli, "Origines," 46–48; Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 300.

6 See our commentary at chapter 16.

Epiphanius, who died in 403, mentions a Gnostic revelation attributed to the Apostle Paul, yet neither the title that he cites, Ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου, or *Ascension of Paul*, nor what he says about its contents betray a connection with our text.⁷ Ever since James, the witness of Augustine, *Treatises on John* 98.8, dated to around 416, has been taken to refer to the present *Apocalypse*.⁸ Yet the words that Augustine devotes to his rejection of a certain *Apocalypsis Pauli*, *quem sana non recepit ecclesia*, are vague and banal in the extreme and strongly reek of hearsay. They hardly attest to more than that, by Augustine's time, revelations attributed to Saint Paul were "in the air."⁹ By contrast, the famous testimony of the church historian Sozomen, who wrote in Constantinople in the 440s, is both precise and pertinent (*Historia ecclesiastica* 7.19.10–11). Beyond a clear and indubitable *terminus ante quem*, this passage provides valuable information on the text as we know it and deserves to be cited here in full.¹⁰ Sozomen writes:

What is nowadays presented as an Apocalypse of the Apostle Paul, which was unknown to any of the ancients, is praised by a great number of monks. Some maintain that this book was discovered during this reign (sc. of Theodosius I).¹¹ For they say that, by divine revelation, in Tarsus of Cilicia, in the house of Paul, a marble chest was discovered underground and that it contained the book. When I inquired about this, a Cilician, a priest of the church in Tarsus, told me it was a lie. His grey hairs showed that the man was of advanced age and he said that he was not aware that such a thing had happened among them and that he wondered whether the affair had not been made up by heretics.¹²

Sozomen's report shows that a Greek text of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, including its characteristic Tarsus prologue, was popular among monks in Constantinople by the middle of the fifth century. When we try to go beyond Sozomen's precise statements, only text-internal criteria can direct us to the times and places of its author.

7 Pace Touati, "Origène, Athanase et Augustin," 174–176; cf. Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 300. It is even highly doubtful whether it could refer to the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* from Nag Hammadi; see Rosenstiehl, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 8–9.

8 James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 525, followed by several other authors.

9 See the critical discussion in Touati, "Origène, Athanase et Augustin," 178–179; slightly more positive: Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 300–301.

10 Several earlier discussions are cited in chapter 2, section 2, n. 32.

11 Cf. Copeland, *Mapping*, 26, n. 57.

12 After the text of J. Bidez and G.C. Hansen, reprinted in Sabbah, *Sozomène*, 172–175.

Based on admittedly often subjective criteria, a broad scholarly consensus situates the genesis of the text in Egypt.¹³ This is indeed highly plausible. Disregarding more debatable arguments, the depiction of the Archangel Michael as the great intercessor for the stability of the world and the wellbeing of humanity in chapter 43, a passage that is generally reckoned to belong to the original core of the text, would alone be a very strong indicator of an Egyptian background. The discussion of the intertexts of the *Apocalypse* in the previous chapter confirms the widely accepted thesis of its Egyptian provenance. It shows how the *Apocalypse of Paul* is connected in multiple ways with the literary landscape of Christian Egypt, on both the receiving and the giving end. The review also confirms its intimate connection with the literary traditions that sprang up around the Upper-Egyptian father of cenobitic monasticism, Pachomius, after his death in 346. We therefore follow Kirsti Copeland in situating the *Apocalypse of Paul* within the ambiance of Pachomian monasticism.

More speculatively, Copeland identified the author of the *Apocalypse of Paul* as a Pachomian monk from a monastery near Alexandria, writing in Greek.¹⁴ She even, in a footnote, connected the Acherusian Lake of chapters 22, 5-23, 1, with the famous Lake Mareotis, west of Alexandria. Attractive as this picture may be, the evidence points at a different regional background. The various intertexts of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the terminological tags and analogies noted in our commentary converge topographically on the region of Panopolis in Upper Egypt, modern Achmim. In late antiquity, Panopolis was a vibrant center of learning and literary production, in both Greek and Coptic.¹⁵ It was home to renowned Greek-language authors such as the alchemist Zosimus (fourth century) or the poet Nonnus (fifth century), as well as to several early Pachomian monasteries.¹⁶ From the later fourth century onwards, on the west bank, facing the city, the monastic confederation of Shenoute started to grow around the White Monastery, itself an important bilingual centre of literary activity. In Panopolis itself, Pachomius' early followers had to face the opposition of the

13 Thus already Casey, "Apocalypse," 26; more recently, for instance, Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 301–302; Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, 225, cf. id., "Christian Eschatology," and in particular Copeland, *Mapping*, 40–46.

14 *Mapping*, 178. Copeland inaccurately writes "Greek-speaking"; this, of course, we cannot know.

15 For a comprehensive cultural history of late-antique Panopolis, see Geens, *Panopolis*. On Panopolis, the Pachomian federation and Nag Hammadi, see Bull, "The Panopolis Connection."

16 Zosimus: Dufault, *Early Greek Alchemy*; Nonnus (and other poets): Cameron, *Wandering Poets*, in particular 1–35; Pachomian monasteries: Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 162–163; Bull, "The Panopolis Connection," 139–143; cf. Palladius, *Historia lausiaca* 32.9.

“philosophers” who were a proverbial hallmark of the city’s intellectual life.¹⁷ Finally, some of the more persuasive literary models of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, such as the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, discussed in the previous chapter, are known to us in manuscripts, Greek and Coptic, precisely from Panopolis, in the case of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, only from Panopolis.¹⁸ In the absence of more precise geographical pointers or external testimonies, all evidence must count as circumstantial. Yet a combination of historical and textual indications militates in favor of a Panopolitan background.

The final question, when our presumed Panopolite monk composed the *Apocalypse*, has in recent years been most convincingly discussed by Jan Bremmer. In a seminal essay of 2009, reprinted in 2017, he situated the text in the history of the conceptions of hell and sin as they evolved within mainstream Christianity, against the background of developing Church institutions.¹⁹ His analysis shows that the text as we have it can hardly have been written before the middle of the fourth century.²⁰ It is important to emphasize that Bremmer’s argument builds on features that have always been considered distinctive core elements of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, such as its description of the specific categories of sins and sinners punished in hell and their punishments, its ascetic bias and the granting of the Sunday as a day of respite for the tortured souls. Together with the text’s indubitable unity of form and contents, which we argued in chapter 2, this leaves no room for theories about pre-fourth-century forms of the text, as have been advocated intermittently from Casey’s 1933 study onwards.²¹ The *Apocalypse of Paul* that was popular among monks in the days of Sozomen cannot have been a very old text, as Sozomen himself was the first to observe, who explicitly wrote that it “was unknown to any of the ancients.”

17 See Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 162–169; Van der Vliet, “Spätantikes Heidentum,” 121–123.

18 On the Achmim fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, see Van Minnen, “Greek Apocalypse,” in particular 17–19; on the provenance of the manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 1–4.

19 Bremmer, “Christian Hell”; cf. Van der Vliet, “Embroidered Garment,” 187–189, on the link with fourth-fifth-century monastic controversies; see also our commentary at chapters 41–42.

20 A late fourth-century date was, of course, already proposed by James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 525, and (re-)gained wide acceptance following Piovanelli’s rehabilitation of the Tarsus prologue in the 1990s; see Piovanelli, “Miraculous Discovery,” 47–49, and our Introduction.

21 Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul.” On the presumed testimony of Origen, often cited in support of an early date, see above; for the different argument by Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, proposing a second-century date, see our Introduction.

2 A Model of Transmission

2.1 Two Recensions

Assuming that the original *Apocalypse of Paul* was composed sometime in the later fourth century, in or near Panopolis, in a monastic, most likely Pachomian milieu, we will finally attempt to situate the Sahidic version in a model of the text's transmission over time and place. This hypothetical model aims at accounting for the transformations that the text underwent in the early stages of its transmission as well as during its later history in Christian Egypt and its hinterland in Africa.²² The diffusion of the text in the Near East and in medieval European Christianity, both eastern and western, is beyond the scope of this publication. Even though our model is due to remain somewhat speculative, it seeks to offer an explanation of the scarce facts known that is both economical and adequate and to steer clear of the colonial prejudice that adheres to some of the earlier literature.²³

In our chapter 2, on the structure of the text, we have maintained that the long Sahidic text generally preserves the original lay-out of the *Apocalypse* and that its paratextual frame, the Mount of Olives narrative, was modeled after the earlier *Apocalypse of Peter* and likewise stands a good chance to be original. The text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* that conquered the late-antique world, however, had a different paratextual introduction, the much debated Tarsus prologue, and a different shape.

The Tarsus prologue, although not extant in Coptic, is reported in various forms in Latin, Greek, Syriac and Arabic and is certainly ancient.²⁴ It situates the discovery of the manuscript in Tarsus in the twin consulate of Theodosius I and Maternus Cynegius, that is, in the year 388. This date is confirmed by the testimony of Sozomen, quoted in the previous section. The prologue assigns an active part in the subsequent publication of Paul's manuscript to the emperor himself and was therefore most likely written shortly after his death in 395. Theodosius had declared Christianity the official religion of Egypt by the edict of Aquileia in 392. Maternus Cynegius, the *praefectus praetorio per orientem* had visited Egypt in 384 and 388, the year of his death, and was known for his

22 For the concept of a Christian Northeast Africa, geographically coinciding with the Alexandrian patriarchate, as a region that for the greater part of the late-antique and medieval periods was culturally and religiously strongly connected, see Van der Vliet, "Coptic," 78–79.

23 See for, instance, James, "Some Coptic Apocrypha," 166, for whom "an admixture of native Egyptian stuff" is the principal argument against the authenticity of the text's later chapters.

24 See our discussion of the text's prologue and epilogue, in chapter 2, section 2.

active anti-pagan policy and support of the monastic movement.²⁵ Including their names prominently in the Tarsus prologue was a masterstroke of publicity, associating the text with the very persons who had orchestrated the recent victory of Christianity in Egypt. It undoubtedly favored the rapid dissemination of the *Apocalypse of Paul* soon after 395, when both politicians were still within living memory. The Sozomen passage cited above shows that the text circulating in Constantinople in the 440s included this prologue.²⁶

The text of the *Apocalypse* that was made illustrious by the Tarsus prologue was a mutilated text, however. It lacked the final part of Paul's celestial journey and his return to the earth, the Sahidic chapters 52–64, and breaks off abruptly in the middle of chapter 51, in flat contradiction with the logic of the narrative.²⁷ It is not only incomplete, therefore, of the last chapters of the body of the text, which hence lacks a formal conclusion, but also of any kind of epilogue. Yet, logically, the Tarsus prologue must have been mirrored originally by a final chapter that linked Paul's report to its fictional deposition in his house in Tarsus, adumbrated in the prologue. This epilogue would typically provide a description of the circumstances under which Paul, possibly encouraged by his guiding angel, first wrote down and then hid the text. Precisely such an epilogue is provided by the redactor of the published Syriac text, where it is followed by a version of the Tarsus prologue.²⁸ It lacks in both the generally very reliable Latin version L¹ and the much reworked Greek. These versions and also the Syriac do not continue beyond chapter 51 and the Syriac "Tarsus epilogue" is therefore most likely a secondary addition, born out of dissatisfaction with an open ending. Hence all three versions must derive from a lost Greek archetype that lacked any kind of formal conclusion or, to be more specific, from a Greek exemplar that had somehow been robbed of its last quire.²⁹ The Tarsus paratext, as it is incomplete in its present form, necessarily predates the text's mutilation, which—given its lack of logic—must have been accidental.³⁰

25 See Jones, Martindale and Morris, *Prosopography* 1, 235–236, and the further literature mentioned in Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 19, n. 3, and Bremmer, "Christian Hell," 299, n. 25.

26 As was argued above, Augustine's *Treatises on John* 98.8, from around 416, cannot be taken to show that the *Apocalypse of Paul* was already known in the Latin West by that time.

27 See our commentary at chapters 51–52.

28 Syriac chapters 50–51 (epilogue) and 52 ("prologue"); Ricciotti, "Apocalypsis Pauli," 144–147.

29 This conclusion is now shared by Bremmer, "Apocalypse of Paul," 440.

30 Such "accidents" happened more often; for instance, the Sahidic Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Apocalypse of Elijah* (Sa³) ends abruptly at an arbitrary point in the text,

It is attractive to situate both the composition of the Tarsus paratext and the subsequent loss of the text's last quire in Alexandria. As the country's capital, Alexandria may have entertained more vivid memories of the political celebrities mentioned in the prologue than its southern provinces. It was most likely from Alexandria, too, that the text set out to conquer the wider Christian world. However, even within Egypt, as will be shown below, the curtailed text with its missing chapters stayed in circulation. Given this pattern of diffusion, the conclusion is inevitable that the loss of the work's last quire must have occurred very soon *after* the revision that replaced the traditional Mount of Olives frame with the politically more topical Tarsus frame, but *before* it left Alexandria. The curtailed text, in other words, is an early, Egyptian form of the text, but it cannot be its primitive form, which we tentatively situate in Upper Egypt, at Panopolis.

This state of affairs imposes the conclusion that at an early date after its composition and still on Egyptian soil the textual transmission of the *Apocalypse* branched out into two recensions, a northern one, called Alexandrian here, which derives from an imperfect exemplar, and a southern or Theban recension, which preserves the complete text and the original Mount of Olives paratext.³¹ The former, the Alexandrian recension, knew a wide diffusion in numerous languages, whereas the latter, the Theban recension, is extant in Sahidic Coptic only. This reconstruction of the text's development concurs with the one proposed by Casey in 1933 in postulating an early form of the text on the basis of the Coptic version. Contrary to Casey, however, we do not situate this primitive text in the third century, but assume that only a relatively brief lapse of time separated the text's genesis from its first revision, viz. the insertion of the Tarsus frame soon after 395, and the subsequent loss of its entire last quire. That this is indeed the case is confirmed, independently of the dating criteria brought forward by Bremmer and others, by the strong textual kinship between the Coptic and the long Latin version. The latter, which may date from the late fifth or early sixth century,³² represents the curtailed text of the Alexandrian recension, but is otherwise textually very close to the Coptic version, based upon the Theban recension. The principal difference between the two recensions, apart from the accidental loss of the last chapters of the text, may have consisted in the adopted paratextual frame.

showing that it was most likely copied from a materially defective exemplar; cf. Pietersma and Comstock, *Apocalypse of Elijah*, 6 (with 58 and 88).

31 Cf. Bremmer, "Apocalypse of Paul," 440.

32 Cf. Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 12.

2.2 Further Developments

The Greek fragments from Oxford (van Haelst 620) and the Sahidic ones of our manuscript 1C show that by the early sixth century the text circulated in Upper Egypt in both languages.³³ By the seventh century, witness our manuscript FL, also a Fayoumic translation had been produced, probably in the rich Fayoum province and possibly after a Greek model. Whether the manuscripts in question represented the Alexandrian or the Theban recension cannot be ascertained on the basis of these tiny snippets. Yet the textual form represented by these early Greek and Coptic fragments, both Sahidic and Fayoumic, seems close to that of the tenth-century Esna manuscript. This does not come as a surprise, since it has long been recognized that the Greek version published by Tischendorf is the product of a later, abridging revision.³⁴ The existence of a more pristine Egyptian Greek text, branching out into various Coptic translations at an early date, may therefore be postulated in any case.

A Sahidic translation of this Greek model must have been produced already in the fifth century. Judging from the language of manuscript 1C, which appears to be a standard Sahidic, this translation was made in Upper Egypt, presumably in the bilingual Panopolite milieu where the text had originated. Nevertheless, the Sahidic manuscript from Esna remains the only certain witness to the complete Theban recension and at the same time the last extant offshoot of this southern branch, copied in AD 960.

Meanwhile, the curtailed Alexandrian recension had reached Constantinople, and presumably other parts of the Mediterranean as well, sometime before the 440's and it subsequently became the model for the Latin and Syriac translations of the *Apocalypse*. Yet the Alexandrian recension was also at the basis of inner-Egyptian developments. The most striking and relevant of these is undoubtedly the re-edition of the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* as an *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, fragmentarily extant in Sahidic, in our manuscript AA, and completely though rarely attested in Arabic.³⁵

33 See the discussion of the manuscripts in chapter 1, sections 5–6. Theoretically these fragments could come from anywhere in Egypt or Nubia, though hardly from the humid Delta; see e.g. the statistics in van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 420.

34 Thus already James, *Testament of Abraham*, 20–21. Casey, “Apocalypse,” 2, dates this revision to the fifth or early sixth century, which seems far too early. A medieval date is more likely; see Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*, 80–81, and the general background that she sketches of the Byzantine reception of the text. It seems unlikely, at first sight, that this revised Greek version was at the basis of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (for which, see below) or that it was published in Egypt at all. Yet a thorough study of the Greek tradition remains outstanding and it is hence difficult to be more categorical.

35 The manuscript evidence is discussed in our chapter 1, section 5. The Coptic leaf is re-edited in Appendix 1; the Arabic in Appendix 2.

The reattribution of a pre-existing text to Athanasius was not an isolated phenomenon. It fits into a broader literary movement, historically associated with the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch Damian of Alexandria (578–607).³⁶ Following the creation of a separate miaphysite hierarchy in Egypt during Damian's episcopacy, the literary heritage of Egyptian Christianity was being reshaped and partly rewritten, in response to the needs of the newly established oppositional church.³⁷ In the process of the formation of an anti-Chalcedonian identity, Athanasius had become more than ever a model of orthodoxy Egyptian-style. This resulted in an intense literary production of a mainly homiletic nature centering upon the figure of Athanasius, in which story-telling takes a predominant place.³⁸ Another expression of the same tendency is the reframing or reattribution of existing apocryphal literature. The best known example is undoubtedly that of the triple *Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*.³⁹ In the Bohairic version, preserved in a mid-tenth-century manuscript from Scetis, these are reframed and linked to Athanasius, their presumed discoverer.⁴⁰ The reframing, which takes the classic form of a brief book-discovery story, bolstered both the authority of these clearly apocryphal texts and the reputation of Athanasius.

Something similar happened to the *Apocalypse of Paul*, though in a more drastic way. The figure of Paul was systematically replaced by that of Athanasius to produce a full-fledged *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, yet the rewritten text retained the narrative structure and many of the more detailed descriptions of the original. As in the case of the *Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*, the redaction process served a double purpose. A venerable, but clearly apocryphal text was saved by vesting it with the authority of Athanasius, while the revised text completed the image of Athanasius as a spiritual hero, by portraying him as a visionary on a par with Paul and Pachomius.⁴¹ The efficacy of this strategy is proven by the often far later compositions that capitalize on the fame

36 It is the merit of Tito Orlandi, for instance in "Letteratura copta," 113–120, to have recognized the critical importance of the intense literary activity under Damian; that it took place principally in Coptic, as he assumes, is far from certain, however; see the cautious remarks in Emmel, "Coptic Literature," 94–96.

37 For the rise of this miaphysite or "Severan" church, the forerunner of the Coptic Orthodox Church, see Dekker, *Episcopal Networks*, 4–9; Booth, "Towards the Coptic Church."

38 About this so-called Athanasian cycle, Saweros, "Tito Orlandi's Concept of 'Cycle'."

39 See Van der Vliet, "Coptic," 82.

40 On the frame story, see Hagen, "Diaries," 349–352.

41 Yet in stories staging Athanasius and Pachomius, it is usually the former who admires the extraordinary visionary gifts of the latter; cf. Saweros, "Tito Orlandi's Concept of 'Cycle,'" 146–149.

of Athanasius as a visionary in order to claim his foreknowledge of the Islamic conquest of Egypt in the mid-seventh century.⁴²

The literary movement associated with Patriarch Damian probably had its centre in the influential monasteries dotting the suburbs of Alexandria and the new cut-and-paste *Apocalypse of Athanasius* may originate from one of them.⁴³ Sometime in or after the late sixth century, the rewritten text was translated from Greek into Coptic and in its Sahidic form it was still read in the White Monastery near Panopolis / Achmim as late as the tenth-eleventh century.⁴⁴ The miaphysite re-edition of the *Apocalypse of Paul* as an *Apocalypse of Athanasius* may in turn explain the limited currency of the original text, the Theban recension of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in the main Coptic centers after the sixth century, except for the somewhat peripheral south.

In the two pages from Vienna where we can compare the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* with the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*, chapters 47–49, the differences, textual and lexical, are considerable. At the same time, both reproduce a largely similar text. In some details, the Vienna leaf even seems closer to the Latin version L¹ of the *Apocalypse of Paul* than the Sahidic Esna manuscript. It is the complete Arabic version of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* that provides a clue to the relationship between both Sahidic texts. It was demonstrably translated from a Coptic *Vorlage* and loosely follows chapters 10–51 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It breaks off in the middle of 51, showing that it is based upon the curtailed Alexandrian recension. Yet the same Arabic version retains several original details lost in the Vienna leaf, such as the angels singing before Moses (48, 1) and the number of twelve prophets (49, 1). We already concluded in chapter 1, section 5, that the Arabic appears to derive from a longer and more original form of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* than the Vienna leaf and hence cannot have been based upon the Sahidic text represented by the latter. Rather than postulating two Coptic texts of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, one based upon the Alexandrian recension and another one upon the Theban recension of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, we prefer to derive both the Arabic and the Sahidic of the Vienna leaf from a common model. In this view, the Vienna fragment would represent a secondary abridgment of this original, which was most likely translated from a Greek *Vorlage*, elaborated in the miaphysite milieu of Damian on

42 For these compositions, preserved in Sahidic Coptic and Arabic, see Graf, *Geschichte* I, 277–279, nos. 2 and 3; Van Lent, *Koptische apokalypsen*, 18–20 and 33–34, and, more recently, id., “Prophecies”; Witte, “Apocalypse.”

43 For the monasteries near Alexandria, see Wipszycka, *Moines*, 412–417. Damian himself resided at the famous Enaton monastery; cf. Gascou, “Enaton.”

44 The approximate date of our manuscript AA; see above chapter 1, section 5.

the basis of the Alexandrian recension of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.⁴⁵ In any case, the Arabic shows that it is highly improbable that the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* might be based directly upon the Sahidic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

A presumably still later development is represented by another text attributed to Athanasius. In the medieval period, his reputation as a visionary was such that original material from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, was recycled, perhaps via the intermediary of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, in an Arabic text that parades as his *Homily CXII*.⁴⁶ In this homily, the apocalyptic material is embedded in a curious story about Saints Anthony and Paul, which is suggestive of an Egyptian background. Yet, like the published Syriac text, it omits chapters 45–47. The text is as yet unpublished and demands further study in order to establish its textual affinities.

Another “pirate edition” of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* (CANT 330).⁴⁷ The latter claims to be the Apostle John’s written account of an oral report by the Virgin Mary, in which she relates a revelation granted by Jesus himself, who takes the place of Paul’s *angelus interpres*. The body of the text follows chapters 13–44 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, though with considerable liberties. Little is known about its background, but since much of medieval Ethiopic literature derived via Arabic models from Coptic Egypt, the same may apply in the present case as well.⁴⁸ If this would be correct, the reattribution of Paul’s original vision to the Virgin Mary might have taken place in the fourteenth–fifteenth century in Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ, a large monastic centre not far from Asyut in Upper Egypt that housed an important Ethiopian community and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁴⁹

45 As was argued above, in n. 34, it is unlikely that this *Vorlage* reflects the revised Greek text edited by Tischendorf.

46 See Graf, *Geschichte* 1, 315; we owe all our knowledge of this interesting text to the expertise of Jos van Lent, Rome.

47 The text is published, with a Latin translation, by Chaîne, *Apocrypha*, edition 51–80; translation 43–68; an English translation, after manuscript British Library Or. 605, is given by Budge, *Legends of Our Lady Mary*, 245–278; for a beautifully illuminated 18th–19th-century manuscript, see Mazzei, “An Illustrated *Apocalypse of Mary*.” See furthermore Himmelfarb, *Tours*, 19–21, cf. 158–159, 178; Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 338–340; Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 54–59. This Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* is to be distinguished from the like-named Greek composition of Middle-Byzantine date (CANT 327); cf. Himmelfarb, *Tours*, 23–24; Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 333–338, and, in particular, Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium*.

48 Pace Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 55; cf. Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 339–340; generally, van Lantschoot, “Abbā Salāmā”; Piovaneli, “Ethiopic,” 38–39; Van der Vliet, “Coptic,” 78.

49 See Meinardus, “Ecclesiastica Aethiopica,” 28–29; Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* 2, 753; cf. Monneret de Villard, *Deyr el-Muḥarraḡah*, 27–28, on the local redaction of the Ethiopic *Miracles of Mary* in the fifteenth century.

The *Apocalypse of Mary* and the other Ethiopic representatives of Martha Himmelfarb's "Apocalypse of Paul family" still await more thorough study.⁵⁰ The same is regrettably true of the Arabic tradition of the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself. The known manuscript evidence shows that one or more Arabic translations were transmitted within Egypt until well in the nineteenth century, but what their date and textual affinities are remains to be investigated.⁵¹ Alessandro Bausi's preliminary review suggests that part of the Arabic evidence continues a genuine Egyptian tradition, yet depends on the Alexandrian rather than on the Theban recension.⁵² Against the background of the great cultural and linguistic shifts that affected Egyptian Christianity after the turn of the millennium,⁵³ it would not be surprising if the Alexandrian recension had become the standard text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in the urban centers of northern Egypt, spreading southward in due time.

2.3 Conclusion

The complete Theban recension of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is only known through the Sahidic Esna manuscript and, indirectly, through echoes in other apocryphal texts preserved in Coptic. In particular, the Vision of Siophanes from the *Book of Bartholomew*, discussed in the previous chapter, offers valuable evidence for the circulation of the complete *Apocalypse of Paul*, including its long ending, in late-antique and early-medieval Upper Egypt. Yet the Theban recension apparently did not travel beyond the Thebaid, the Pachomian heartland.⁵⁴ As far as can be judged from the tenth-century Sahidic manuscript from Esna, the text of this recension survived the centuries relatively unscathed. At

50 For these other members of the family, see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 21–23 (*Apocalypse of Baruch*, CAVT 237), 23 (*Apocalypse of Gorgorios*), with 158–159 and 178–179 (bibliography). Both texts are easily accessible in the translation by Leslau, *Falasha Anthology*, 57–76 and 77–91; they cannot be discussed here.

51 Bausi, "First Evaluation," 160–164, lists the Arabic manuscripts known to him, most of which appear to have a background in Syriac; see now La Spisa, "Recensione araba antica," for a version with a possible background in Greek.

52 Bausi, "First Evaluation," his Ar(abic) 2, described on the basis of a 19th-century Egyptian manuscript. It has neither the Tarsus prologue nor the Mount of Olives narrative.

53 Church leadership shifted to the urban, arabophone elites of, in particular, Cairo, with Arabic and Bohairic (the northern form of Coptic) ousting Sahidic and Greek; see Van der Vliet, "Coptic Documentary Papyri," 200–208.

54 The text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* seems so far unattested in Nubia. It is worth mentioning, however, that a boat scene in a fragmentary wall painting from a church in Nag' as-Sheima (Sayala district, Nobadia; perhaps 10th–11th cent.) may be inspired by chapter 23, 1. It is thought to represent the souls of the righteous being ferried over the Acherusian Lake by angels in a golden boat; see Łaptaś, "Archangels as Protectors," 678–679, with figs. 7–8.

the same time, reviewing the textual heritage of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in its entirety, the southern, Theban branch of the tradition apparently proved a dead end. As both the Arabic and the Ethiopic traditions are seriously understudied, however, it is difficult to be categorical. New manuscript discoveries may change the picture sketched above at any moment and to dramatic effect.

A Note on the Edition

Two principles have guided the following critical edition of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Paul*. The first is that we are editing a text, not a manuscript. The second, that our edition should make this text easily accessible to a wide audience of students and scholars interested in the *Apocalypse*. These principles dictated a number of choices briefly presented below.

In accordance with modern reading practices, we have introduced in our text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* a word separation, largely based upon the sensible guidelines advocated by Walter C. Till, and Greek-style punctuation, marking clause and sentence division.¹ No effort has been made to reproduce the clause division and punctuation of the manuscripts.² The superlineation of the manuscripts has largely been respected, though, but in a simplified form (brief strokes above single letters only) that does not attempt to copy the flourishes of the medieval scribes nor to add strokes where they were not written.

For the sake of easy reference, the text and the translation are divided into chapters, numbered in bold, and paragraphs. For these divisions, we stuck as conservatively as possible to the existing ones, in order to avoid confusion. For the chapters, we followed the numbers introduced by Tischendorf in his 1866 edition of the Greek text and, for the later chapters, extant in Coptic only, those of Kirsti Copeland; for the paragraphs, the numbers assigned by Claude Carozzi. The text additionally records, within round brackets, the ancient pagination and the modern folio numbers of codex Or. 7023, in order to allow the reader easy reference to the original manuscript as well as to the previous editions.³ A vertical stroke marks the transition between the two columns of the Coptic pages.

In order to account for our text, which is largely based upon a single manuscript, BL, we used the symbols of the so-called Leiden system, current in papy-

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- 1 To be clear, this word separation is a practical tool to allow easier processing of the text by a reader who is used to modern ways of parsing a text for silent reading. It is not, for instance, a means to illustrate theories about what constitutes a prosodic word in Coptic, as Till correctly emphasized: “La division d’un texte en mots ne peut avoir d’autre but que de rendre le texte transparent et faire qu’il soit vite et sûrement compris. Il ne saurait y en avoir un autre et aucune autre considération ne doit intervenir” (“La séparation des mots,” 152).
 - 2 For discussion of these features and other graphic devices used by the scribe of Or. 7023, see chapter 1, section 4, above.
 - 3 For the status of the modern foliation, see the discussion of the manuscript in chapter 1. 2.

rological publications. Thus, square brackets are used to mark material lacunae in the manuscripts and subscript dots to signal characters that cannot be read with certainty (see the list given below). In conformity with the practice current in the edition of Greek patristic texts, we silently resolved all abbreviations, including so-called *nomina sacra*.

The critical apparatus at the bottom of the text pages is kept minimal. It serves two purposes. In the first place, it records the *variae lectiones* of the earlier editions. In rendering these, we have as a rule limited ourselves to real textual differences, neglecting differences in word separation or superlineation. Secondly, the apparatus corrects simple scribal errors and clarifies orthographic oddities. Disturbing errors and obvious textual corruptions are corrected in the text, with the reading of the manuscript given in the apparatus (as ‘ms.’); inhabitual or potentially confusing spellings, are clarified in the apparatus (after ‘read’). Our corrections and emendations have been limited, however, to the bare minimum required for the easy processing of the text by a modern educated reader. The textual and linguistic form of the text as transmitted in the manuscript has been respected as much as possible. The discussion of more complicated text-critical or interpretive issues is assigned to the commentary. General matters of language and orthography are discussed in chapter 1, section 4.

Greek loanwords are an integral part of the Coptic lexicon and hence are normalized in the apparatus only if they do not occur in Hans Förster’s dictionary of Greek words in Coptic documentary texts⁴ or pose particular problems of reading or identification.

In our translation, round brackets are used for the original page numbers of codex Or. 7023 (BL) and, sparingly, for other additions that are indispensable for a correct interpretation of the text. The headings that appear in the translation (in italics) mark the principal stages of Paul’s voyage; they are obviously not part of the text. For a more detailed analysis of the text, see chapter 2, section 3.

4 Förster, *Wörterbuch*.

Text-Critical and Other Signs Used In the Edition of the Coptic Text

($\bar{\alpha}$)	Page numbers or other extraneous information
[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]	Text in a material lacuna in the manuscript, restored by us
[---]	A material lacuna of indeterminate length that cannot be restored
[...]	A brief material lacuna that has not been restored
< $\alpha\beta\gamma$ >	Letters omitted by the scribe or evident errors restored by us
{ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ }	Letters erroneously written by the scribe and deleted by us
[[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]]	Letters erroneously written and then deleted by the scribe
$\alpha\beta\gamma?$	Letters, the reading of which is uncertain
	Transition between the first and second column of a manuscript page

Abbreviations Used In the Apparatus

app.	Reading of the apparatus
corr.	Correction
corr. ex	Corrected by the scribe from
ex corr.	Corrected by the scribe from an unidentified letter or word
ms.	Reading of the manuscript (BL, unless stated otherwise)
om.	Omitted / not filled in by
read	Interpret manuscript as

Sigla of Manuscripts

AA	Vienna Papyrussammlung K 9653 (<i>Sahidic Apocalypse of Athanasius</i>)
BL	British Library Or. 7023
FL	Fayoumic fragments Leipzig, P.Lips. inv. 3702–3704
IC	Sahidic fragments, Ilves Collection

Text and Translation



Manuscript BL lacks the title, the prologue and chapters 1–15.

- 16, 1. [αγω ντερογენტс εβολ ρ̄ν σωμα, α πεσαγγελος (00, f. 24a) σω]κ ρα
 τεσρην εφχω ἡμος нас хе ω τταλαιπωρος ἡψγхн, νουπεθοογ ε̄τρεψε
 ἡμοογ ἡπερ<ο>ογ μ̄ν τεγωη †χι ἡμοογ μ̄νннне ерат̄ ἡπνογτε, ετβε
 π<α>ογωω αν, αλλα ε̄τβε πογωω ἡπνογτε, εφρων ε̄τοот хе ἡπ̄λο
 5 εκδιακονει εροογ, μεωак ἡσεκτοογ ἡсеμετаноι. εисρннте ай ω̄μмо ε̄ρο
 ἡпоογ. μαρον ерат̄ ἡπεкритнс нне. αγω α πεспнеγμα ει εβολ ρнтс εφχω
 ἡμος хе ω τταλαιπωρος ἡψγхн, ἡπ̄† ἡ[т]он нαι ἡпакογ [ἡ]ογ̄οειω
 ἡтааа [ει]σάλλωογ еро. εие ἡ[п̄]сei ἡто, ω τта[λαι]πωρος ἡψγхн,
 [ерт]ωογн ρα νογ[с†в]ωων ἡ ἡ<πε> πογ|ρнт ктоγ хе ογ̄н ние ἡниче
 10 н̄он̄ ἡте πноγте ἡρнте; μαρον ерат̄ ἡπεкритнс нне. ἡ†наκω ан ne
 εβολ, ай ω̄μмо еро ἡпоογ αγω ареψε ерои. α πεспнеγμα χпос, α πεсаг-
 геλος ολιβε ἡμος. 2. ἡтеγνογ ἡтастаρε незоγсiа еγнахитс ерpai етпе,
 ρисе ех̄н ρисе· α тево̄е ει εβολ ρнтс μ̄н ткаτάλλαῖα μ̄н πεπнеγμα ἡторгн
 μ̄н незоγсiа ἡпкаке· ρоине ἡзо ἡμογι ере ρенρωк ἡпенипе еγμογρ̄ ἡκωρ̄т
 15 то ρиωογ, ере ρенснче ἡκωнс ρ̄н неγсiх. ρоине ἡзо ἡнас̄ ере ρенсiх
 ἡμοογ ἡ̄е ἡнеирωме, ере ρеннос̄ ἡтап ἡκωρ̄т ρих̄н неγапн̄е, (π, f. 24b)
 ере ρенμερερ̄ ἡтоотог̄ еγκωнс̄ ннеψγχοογ̄е ἡ̄нреφ̄рнове ἡρнтоγ. ρоине
 ἡзо ἡар̄з̄ ере неγβαλ нех̄ κωρ̄т εβολ епегтоγ са, ере торгн ωооп ρ̄н
 пег̄зо, ере ρеннос̄ ἡтос̄ мпенипе ἡтоотог̄, еγс̄втωт̄ е̄рите ἡпсωма ἡна-
 20 севнс̄ ἡпатоγ̄еи εβολ ρ̄н σωμα, еγ† ρисе наγ ρ̄н тапагкн ἡпмоγ. ρоине
 ἡзо ἡδpакон ере ογκαπнос̄ ннγ εβολ ρ̄н рωογ μ̄н ογελρω<в> μ̄н ογκωρ̄т,
 ере ρенкоpаз̄ еγ̄о̄ нла ἡβαωογρ̄ ρ̄н неγсiх̄̄ еγβαзапize ἡнеψγхн ἡρнтоγ.
 ρоине ἡзо ἡρβογι ере ρенсат̄ ἡρнтоγ ἡ̄е ἡнеιογ̄ω̄ре, еγс̄втωт̄ | еλωсс̄
 ἡнеψγх[н] еγβαзапize ἡμογ ρ̄н ογн̄н̄тапна. ρоине ἡзо ἡе̄иω ере ρен-
 25 ρωк̄ ἡкаке то ρӣωογ, ере ρенωлис̄ ἡκωρ̄т̄ ρ̄н неγсiх̄, еγс̄ωλ̄х̄ ἡнеψγ-
 χοογ̄е ρ̄н ογоргн. ρоине ἡзо немсаρ̄ ере ρеннос̄ ἡс̄орте нтоотог̄, еγс̄ωλ̄п̄
 εβολ ἡ̄н̄μελος ἡтеψγхн ρ̄н ογρωп. ρоине ἡзо ἡ̄н̄pион ере неγλас̄̄̄ ἡκωρ̄т̄,

1 σω]κ: [---]к Budge, [βω]к Copeland 4 π<α>ογωω: πογωω ms., Budge, π(ογ)<ογ>ωω
 Copeland 8 [ει]σάλλωογ: Copeland, [α†]сάλλωογ Budge || ἡ[п̄]сei: Copeland, ἡ[. .]сei
 Budge 9 [ерт]ωογн: Copeland, [...]ωογн Budge || νογ[с†в]ωων: Copeland, νογ[...]ωων
 Budge 13 ἡторгн: ἡ торп Budge, Copeland 22 нла: read нpa or нpo || еγβαзапize: βαπα-
 νίζω 24 ἡнеψγх[н]: ἡнеψγ[хноογ̄е] Budge, ἡнеψγ[χο(ογ)е] Copeland 26 немсаρ̄: ἡ мсаρ̄
 Copeland 27 ρ̄н ογρωп: read ρ̄н ογρоте?

Manuscript BL lacks the title, the prologue and chapters 1–15.

Paul Witnesses the Judgment of Two Sinners

16, 1. And when it (sc. the soul) had been brought forth from the body, its angel (79) preceded it and told it: “O wretched soul, I daily report to God your evil acts that you commit by day and by night, not because I desire so, but because it is the will of God, who orders me: ‘Do not stop ministering to them. Perhaps they will convert and repent.’ But today I have become a stranger to you. Let us go to the righteous judge.” And its spirit came forward to meet it and said: “O wretched soul, you have not given me ease in the short time that I have been dwelling with you. Did you not get fed up, O wretched soul, with bearing your stench? Did you not come to realize that there is breath of God’s breath of life within you? Let us go to the righteous judge. I will not forgive you and I have become a stranger to you today and you to me.” Its spirit rebuked it and its angel vexed it. 2. As soon as it reached the powers that should bring it up to heaven, one torment followed another. Oblivion came forward to meet it and slander and the spirit of wrath and the powers of darkness. Some with faces of lions, dressed in iron armor blazing with fire, with slaughtering swords in their hands. Some had faces of bulls and hands like men’s, with great horns of fire upon their heads, (80) carrying lances with which they massacred the souls of the sinners. Some had faces of bears, their eyes spitting fire in all four directions, with wrath upon their faces, holding huge iron razors, ready to lacerate the body of the impious before they come forth from the body, harassing them in the agony of death. Some had faces of dragons, with smoke coming forth from their mouths along with steam and fire, carrying saw-edged hooks in their hands with which they torture these souls. Some were serpent-faced and had tails like scorpions, ready to sting the souls, torturing them in a ruthless manner. Some were donkey-faced, dressed in tenebrous armor, with fiery spears in their hands, hooking the souls with wrath. Some were crocodile-faced, carrying great daggers and cutting up the limbs of the soul secretly. Some had faces of beasts and tongues of fire, protruding from

- 5 εὔσαβολ ἡ τε γ τ α π ρ ὀ, ἐρε ζενναχ ἡ π[ε]νιπε ἡ μοογ. ὠ[α]ρε νετῆμαγ
 αἡ[αζ]τε ἡ νεϋχхн ἡ[се]ογεσογσογ зῆ т[εγ]тапро, ἡ σεом[коγ] ἡ α ογνογ,
 η[nn]сωс ἡ сека в[о]λ η[мооγ] зῆ τεγ[тапро. (ἡ, f. 25a) ὠ]аре ζενκοογε
 ογεσογσογ он ἡ σεомкоγ, ἐρε зoine † ημοογ ηζενκοογε, εγ[ο] ἡ ατ[на] ἐзоγн
 5 енеϋчхн ἡ ἡρεϋр[нове]. 3. тоге незоγcia ἡ πκαке αγ† πεγογ[οι] ἐзоγн ете-
 ϋчхн пexаγ нас хе ервнх ет[ωн], ω тталаип[ω]рос ἡ ϋчхн; ервнх ет[пе];
 с[ω] ἡ тῆнаγ хе оγнтан ἡ з[н]те, ηмон ἡ ἡ вон[е]ос е[с]ογ[а]ав моо[ѡ]е ἡ ἡме.
 4. а[с]ωт[η] еγснн з[р]аи зῆ п[х]исе ес[х]ω ἡ мос хе а[н]и[е] ἡ те[и]талаип[ω]рос
 [η]ϋчхн е[р]аи хе ес[η]а[е]и[е] хе п[н]ογ[те] [ω]οοп, п[а]и н[т]аска[т]а[ф]р[он]еи
 10 ἡ мо[ѡ]. ἡ τεγ[η]ογ ἡ тас[р] проγн ἡ т[пе], а[с]ωт[η] е[р]ен[аг]гелос ἡ ἡ зена[р]-
 хаг[гелос] еγ[е]и[ре] η[р]ент[в]а ἡ т[в]а. пexаγ хе м[и]ω аη, ω теϋчхн, зῆ н[ογ]-
 з[вн]γ[е] т[η]роγ ἡ тарааγ зῆ п[к]осмос. н[теγ]ноγ а[е] а р[ω]с т[ω]м, ἡ п[е]с[е]ω[х]ω
 ἡ ογ[ω]а[х]е ἡ π[η]то евол ἡ п[н]ογ[те]. пexе п[е]саггелос хе р[и]не ἡ ἡmai, ω н[а]ω-
 в[н]р а[г]гелос, хе ἡ πογ† ἡ тон <ηαι з>ῆ теϋчхн е†[с]αλλογ е[р]ос. аγ[ογ]ω[ѡ]β
 15 ἡ β[и] ἡ а[г]гелос хе қ[и]т[с], қ[и]т[с] зῆ т[е]нмн[н]те, хе з[и]н ἡ п[н]аγ н[т]ан[н]аγ е[р]ос,
 а[γ]но[с] ἡ с†[в]он ω[ѡ]п[е] зῆ т[е]нмн[н]те. 5. аχ[и]т[с] ет[р]с[ογ]ω[ѡ]т ἡ π[η]то евол
 ἡ п[н]ογ[те], п[а]и ἡ т[а]γ[т]а[и]ос ка[т]а п[е]ϋеи[е] ἡ ἡ те[ϋ]κ[и]ωн. (ἡ, f. 25b) а п[е]саг-
 гелос сγ[η]а[н]е е[с]х[ω] ἡ мос хе п[х]οе[и]с, п[н]ογ[те] п[п]ант[ω]крат[ω]р, а[н]ок п[е]
 п[а]ггелос ἡ те[и]ϋчхн· е[и]еи[е] н[а]к ἡ нес[р]вн[γ]е, н[а] п[е]зоογ ἡ ἡ н[а] теγ[ω]н. к[р]и[н]е
 20 ἡ мос ка[т]а п[е]с[р]ап. пexе п[е]сп[н]еγ[ма] хе а[н]ок п[е] п[е]п[н]еγ[ма], п[н]и[ѡ]е ἡ ω[н]ῆ
 е†[с]αλλογ е[р]ос. к[р]и[н]е ἡ мос ка[т]а п[е]с[р]ап. 6. а т[е]с[м]н ἡ п[н]ογ[те] ω[ѡ]п[е]
 ес[х]ω ἡ мос хе еγ[т]ωн ἡ п[е]т[η]на[н]ωογ т[η]роγ ἡ тарааγ; ἡ α[и]п[ο]р[х]е евол
 ογ[а]е н[а]δ[и]ка[и]ос ἡ ογ[з]οογ н[ογ]ωт; ἐре п[а]р[η] ω[а] е[с]ω аη ἡ ἡ н[а]δ[и]ка[и]ос аγ[ω]
 н[а]с[ω]т[η] т[η]роγ; а т[е]ста[п]ро оγн т[ω]м ἡ п[е]с[с]н ω[а]х[е] е[с]ω. 7. а т[е]с[м]н
 25 ἡ п[н]ογ[те] ω[ѡ]п[е] ес[х]ω ἡ мос хе ἡ ἡ з[и]зо ἡ π[η]то евол ἡ п[н]ογ[те] аγ[ω] ογ[з]ап
 ἡ ме п[е]ω[а]ѡ[ѡ]п[е]. п[е]ω[а]ѡ[р] т[η]е ω[а]γ[р] т[η]е ἡ ἡма[ѡ], п[е]ω[а]ѡ[р] п[η]а ω[а]γ[р] п[η]а
 ἡ ἡма[ѡ]. еγ[η]на[г]а[с] е†[ο]οт[ῆ] ἡ а[ѡ]те[м]ε[л]ογ[х]ос, п[а]ггелос ет[р]и[х]ῆ ἡ н[к]ο[λ]α[с]и[с],
 н[ῆ]но[х]с е[п]каке ет[р]и[в]ол, п[η]а ет[е]ре п[р]и[м]е ἡ з[η]т[ῆ] ἡ ἡ п[с]а[р]с[ῆ] ἡ ἡов[з]е, ω[а]
 п[е]зоογ ἡ т[н]ο[с] ἡ к[р]и[с]и[с]. а[н]ок а[е] а[с]ωт[η] е[п]е[р]зоογ ἡ з[е]нагг[ε]лос ἡ ἡ
 30 зена[р]х[а]г[гелос], еγ[х]ω ἡ мос хе ἡ т[κ] ογ[а]и[ка]и[ос], п[х]οе[и]с, аγ[ω] з[е]н[и]е н[е]
 нек[р]ап.

1 ζενναχ: read ζενναχ[ε] or ζενναχ[ε] 2 αἡ[αζ]τε: α[γ[η]ι]те Budge || ἡ[се]ογεσογσογ: ἡ[τε]ρ[ο]γεσογσογ Budge || ἡ α ογνογ: ἡ τεγ[η]ноγ Copeland 3 в[о]λ: в[о]л Copeland, в[ω]λ Budge || τεγ[тапро. | ω]аре: τε[---]е Budge, τε[γ]тапро | ε[ре] Copeland. 9 [η]ϋчхн: Copeland, [η]ϋчхн Budge || ес[η]а[е]и[е]: Copeland, ес[. . .]еи[е] Budge 14 ἡ тон <ηαι з>ῆ теϋчхн: ἡ тон ἡ теϋчхн ms., Budge, Copeland 22 ἡ π[е]т[η]на[н]ωογ: read ἡ π[е]т[η]на[н]ογογ 23 ογ[а]е: read ογ[те] || ω[а] е[с]ω: ω[а]с[х]ω Budge 30 з[е]н[и]е: η ex corr.

their mouth, and iron teeth. These latter seized the souls and chewed them in their mouth and devoured them for about an hour. Then they would spit them out of their mouth and (81) others would chew them in turn and swallow them, while some passed them on to still others, who knew no mercy for the souls of the sinners. 3. Then the powers of darkness went up to the soul and told it: "Where are you going, O wretched soul? Are you on your way to heaven? Wait, so that we may see whether we own something inside of you, for no holy helper accompanies you." 4. I heard a voice up in the heights, saying: "Bring this wretched soul up, so that it may know that God exists, whom it has despised." At the very moment it entered heaven, I heard angels and archangels, numbering myriads and myriads. They said: "No welcome to you, O soul, for all your deeds that you did in the world." Immediately its mouth shut and it was unable to say a word in the presence of God. And its angel said: "Weep with me, O my fellow angels, for no ease was given to me in the soul with whom I was dwelling." The angels answered: "Take it away, take it from our midst. For since the moment we saw it, a strong stench reigned in our midst." 5. And it was taken, so that it might do homage before God, who had created it according to his likeness and his image. (82) Its angel reported and said: "O Lord, God almighty, I am the angel of this soul and I bring you its deeds, those of the day and those of the night. Judge it as it deserves." And its spirit said: "I am the spirit, the breath of life that dwelt with it. Judge it as it deserves." 6. The voice of God rang out and said: "Where are all the good things that you have done? Did I even for a single day make a difference between you and my righteous ones? Does not my sun rise over you as over the righteous and all my chosen ones?" Then its mouth shut and it did not find a word to say. 7. The voice of God rang out and said: "There is no partiality before God and a fair judgment is rendered. With him who practiced justice, justice is practiced. With him who practiced mercy, mercy is practiced. It (sc. the soul) will be handed over to Aftemelouchos, the angel in charge of the punishments, so that he may cast it into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, until the day of the great judgment." And I heard the voice of angels and archangels, saying: "You are righteous, Lord, and just are your judgments."

- 17, 1. $\mu[\eta]\tilde{\nu}\sigma\omega\varsigma$ $\omicron\eta$ $\alpha\iota\sigma\omega\tau\tilde{\iota}$, $[\alpha]\nu\omicron\kappa$, $\mu\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $[\alpha]\nu\alpha\gamma$ ($\overline{\mu\mu}$, f. 26a) ϵ] $\kappa\epsilon\psi\chi\eta$
 $\epsilon\alpha\chi\epsilon\tau\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$, $\epsilon\gamma\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$ $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$. $\epsilon\varsigma\rho\tilde{\iota}\mu\epsilon$ { $\epsilon\varsigma$ } $\epsilon\varsigma\omega\omega$
 $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\tilde{\iota}$, $\overline{\omega}$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$. $\mu\alpha\varsigma\omega\tilde{\iota}$ $\langle\mu\epsilon\rangle$ $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\chi\iota\eta$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\gamma$,
 $\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\alpha\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\tilde{\iota}$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$. $\alpha\chi\chi\iota$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\iota$ $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\tilde{\nu}$ $\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\alpha\eta$.
5 $\alpha\phi\omicron\gamma\overline{\omega\omega\tilde{\nu}}$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\tilde{\rho}$ $\omicron\gamma$ $\xi\tilde{\mu}$ $\mu\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$; $\mu\alpha\eta\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\eta\alpha$
 $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\tilde{\nu}\gamma\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\eta\alpha$. $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\eta$, $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\tau$ -
 $[\varsigma\omicron]\gamma\tau\omega\eta$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\tilde{\alpha}\eta\alpha\gamma\kappa\eta$. $\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\xi\tilde{\mu}$
 $\mu\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$. | $\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\overline{\omega\omega\tilde{\nu}}$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$ $\tau\epsilon\psi\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\iota\tilde{\rho}$ $\eta\upsilon\epsilon$. 2. $\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ -
 $\rho\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\iota\tilde{\rho}$ $\eta\upsilon\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$
10 $\mu\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\tilde{\alpha}$ $\tilde{\rho}$ $\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon\psi\gamma\omega\mu$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tilde{\mu}\epsilon\tau\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$; $\epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota$ $\Delta\epsilon$
 $\tilde{\mu}\mu\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\eta\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\eta\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$, $\omega\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\gamma\tilde{\alpha}$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\tilde{\mu}\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\eta$
 $\omicron\gamma\overline{\omega\eta\tilde{\nu}}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$. $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\tilde{\mu}\eta\alpha\gamma$ Δ $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\mu\mu\omicron$ $\tau\omega\mu$, $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tilde{\sigma}\tilde{\eta}$ $\lambda\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\tilde{\nu}\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\chi\omega$. 3. $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\alpha\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\tilde{\iota}$ $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\psi\chi\omega$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ -
 $\psi\chi\eta$, $\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$. $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\mu\omicron\gamma$ { ϵ } $\epsilon\tau\tilde{\mu}\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\psi\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$ $\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$,
15 $(\overline{\mu\alpha}$, f. 26b) $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\omicron\chi\chi\epsilon\iota\tilde{\rho}\omicron\gamma\gamma\alpha\phi\omicron\eta$ $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\tilde{\iota}$, $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\psi$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\tilde{\mu}\mu\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\psi\chi\eta$
 $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\chi\iota\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\tau\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\kappa\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$, $\overline{\omega}$ $\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\tau\gamma\tau\alpha\gamma\tilde{\omicron}$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\varsigma\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\chi\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\tilde{\nu}$
 $\eta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\mu\omicron\mu\mu\epsilon$; 4. $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\psi$ $\eta\alpha\psi$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ ω $\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $\eta\epsilon\iota\chi\eta\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\kappa$
 $\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\chi\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\tilde{\nu}$ $\eta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\mu\omicron\mu\mu\epsilon$ $\tilde{\eta}$ $\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\eta}\tau\eta$, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\tilde{\omicron}\tau\tilde{\kappa}$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\alpha\alpha\tau\epsilon$
 $\tilde{\nu}\varsigma\alpha$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\eta\upsilon\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\mu\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\tilde{\varsigma}\eta\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\tilde{\nu}\gamma\eta\tau\tilde{\varsigma}$. $\tau\tilde{\omega}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\kappa}$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\iota$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\iota\eta$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\iota$
20 $\tilde{\mu}\eta$ $\eta\alpha\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\eta}$ $\tau\alpha\varsigma\omicron\mu$ $\tau\eta\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota$ $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\tau\epsilon\mu\omicron\mu\mu\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$
 $\tilde{\nu}\gamma\eta\tau\tilde{\varsigma}$, $\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho$ $\mu\omega\omega\tilde{\omega}$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma$ $\tau\eta\rho\gamma$ $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$. | $\alpha\psi\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$
 $\mu\eta[\omicron\gamma]\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\omicron\gamma\rho\iota\eta\lambda$ $\tilde{\mu}\eta$ $\varsigma\omicron\gamma\rho\iota\eta\lambda$, $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\psi$ $\eta\alpha\psi$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\omega$ $\epsilon\tau\gamma\tau\epsilon\tau\tilde{\eta}\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\iota$ -
 $\psi\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$.
- 18, 1. $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\tau\tilde{\mu}\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\chi\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$. $\alpha\varsigma\eta\alpha\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$, $\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\overline{\omega\omega\tilde{\nu}}$. $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$ -
25 $\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\alpha\rho\varsigma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\eta$ $\mu\alpha\iota$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\gamma\tilde{\mu}\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$; $\alpha\varsigma\omicron\gamma\overline{\omega\omega\tilde{\nu}}$ $\chi\epsilon$
 $\alpha\gamma\epsilon$, $\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\alpha\psi$ $\eta\alpha\gamma$; $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\varsigma$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$ $\tau\epsilon\psi\chi\eta$
 $\chi\epsilon$ ω $\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\mu\mu\epsilon$ $\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\chi\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota\gamma\omega\tau\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\iota\mu\omega\gamma\tilde{\tau}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ -
 $\varsigma\eta\omicron\psi$ $\xi\iota\chi\tilde{\mu}$ $\mu\kappa[\alpha\gamma]$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\tau\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\alpha\iota\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma$ $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\rho\eta\alpha$, $\alpha\iota\psi\iota$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\tau\tilde{\mu}$ -
 $\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\xi\tilde{\nu}$ $\omicron\gamma\chi[\iota\eta-$ ($\overline{\mu\epsilon}$, f. 27a) $\varsigma\omicron]\eta\varsigma$, $\alpha\iota\tau\omega\omega\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\gamma\epsilon\eta\alpha\omega\eta$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma$
30 $\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha$ $\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha\omega\gamma$ $\tau\eta\rho\gamma$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\alpha\iota$. 2. $\alpha\phi\omicron\gamma\overline{\omega\omega\tilde{\nu}}$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$
 $\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\alpha\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\chi\iota$ $\omicron\gamma\tilde{\alpha}$ $\tilde{\nu}\omicron\varsigma\omicron\tilde{\nu}$ $\eta\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\gamma$, $\omega\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\psi$ $\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\tilde{\mu}\tau\alpha\psi$
 $\mu\chi\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\tilde{\nu}$ $\epsilon\iota$ $\tilde{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\tilde{\alpha}$
 $\mu\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\chi\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon\psi\eta\eta\epsilon$. $\alpha\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\tilde{\iota}$ $\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\omega$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ τ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\psi\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\tilde{\iota}$
 $\tilde{\mu}\mu\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\eta\tilde{\mu}\tau\epsilon$. $\mu\alpha\rho\tilde{\nu}\alpha\gamma\alpha\eta\iota\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\omega\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\tilde{\nu}\tau\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma$.

1 $[\alpha]\nu\alpha\gamma$: om. Budge, Copeland 3 $\langle\mu\epsilon\rangle$: Copeland, om. ms., Budge 6 $\tilde{\nu}\gamma\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\eta\alpha$: $\tilde{\mu}\gamma\epsilon$ -
 $\eta\alpha\tau\eta\alpha$ Copeland app. || $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon$: Copeland, $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ ms., Budge || $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$: $[\tilde{\mu}]$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ Bud-
ge, Copeland 7 $\xi\tilde{\mu}$: η ex corr. 20 $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$: $\epsilon\eta$ Budge 27 $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota$: $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ Budge 28 $\alpha\iota\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$
 $\tilde{\mu}\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma$: $\alpha\iota\gamma\omega\tau\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ms., Budge, Copeland 30 $\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha\omega\gamma$: read $\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ 31
 $\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\eta$: $\kappa\alpha\eta$ ms., Budge, Copeland 34 $\tilde{\nu}\tau\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$: second n cor. ex ς

17, 1. Afterwards, I, Paul, looked once more and I saw (83) another soul that had been brought forth from the body, while two angels were in charge of it. And it wept and cried out, saying: "Have pity on me, O judge. Today it is seven days since I died and was handed over to these two angels. And they took me to places that I did not know." The judge answered: "What have you done in the world? Probably you were merciless, for you have been handed over to merciless angels. As you did not do what is right, they did not do what is right to you in the hour of your agony. Confess your sins that you committed in the world." The soul answered and said: "Lord, I did not sin." 2. When it said "I did not sin," the judge told it: "Do you imagine that this is the world, where everybody sins and hides his sin from his neighbor? When one appears before the throne of God, however, the sins of each person as well as his good deeds come to light." Immediately its mouth shut and it did not find a single word to say. 3. I heard the righteous judge say: "Angel of the soul, come forward." Right away the angel stepped forward (84) with a written record in his hand and said: "My Lord, the sins of the soul since its childhood are in my hand. Do you want me, O my Lord, to relate its sins since it was ten years old?" 4. The judge told him: "O angel, I do not ask you for its sins since it was ten or fifteen years old, but I ask you only for the sins that it did in this year, in which it was going to die. I swear by myself and my angels and my entire host that if it had repented in the year in which it died, I would have forgotten all those of the past and I would have granted it forgiveness of them." God called Uriel and Suriel and said to them: "I would like you to bring those souls forward."

18, 1. Immediately they brought them. It (sc. the soul) saw them and recognized them. And God, the judge, spoke to it: "Did you recognize those who were brought into your presence?" It answered: "Yes, my Lord." And God said to it: "What have you done to them?" The soul said: "O my Lord, not yet a year has passed since I murdered this one and shed its blood upon the earth and with that other one I lived together in adultery. I took all that it possessed by violence (85) and repaid it with a lot of evil for all the good things that it had done for me." 2. The judge answered: "Whenever someone does violence to a person so that he dies, the latter is being kept until the moment the perpetrator comes, and they will both be brought before the righteous judge and each receives according to his deeds." I heard a voice saying: "Hand the soul over to the Tartarouchos of hell. Let him torture it until the day of the great judgment."

ἀνοκ ΔΕ αἰς ωτῇ ἐρεντβα ἡτβα ἡαγγελος, εὔως ἀγω εὔσμογ ἐπνογτε, εὔχω ἡμος | ἔε ἡτῆ οὔδικαιος, πῃοεις, ἀγω ῥενμε νε νεκρᾶπ.

- 19, 1. ἀφογῶωβ ἡβι παγγελος πεχαq ναῖ ἔε παγλος, πῶωτῇ ἡπνογτε, ἀκναγ ἐναι τηρογ; πεχαῖ ἔε ἀρε, παῃοεις. πεχαq ναῖ ἔε οὔαρεῖ ἡσῶι τενογ
 5 ἡταχῖτῆ ἡτατσαβοκ ἐπμα ἡωωπε ἡνετογααβ τηρογ. τότε αἰμοοωε ἡῖ παγγελος, ἀqῃ ἡμοι ωα τηερωομτε ἡπε, ἀqταροι ἐρατ ρῖχῇ οὔπγλων. αἰναγ ἐτπγλων ἐτῆμαγ {εὔ} ἐγνογβ τηρῶ τε· αἰναγ ἐснаγ ἡστγλλος ἡνογβ ρῖρῇ τπγλη, ἐρε ῥενπλαζ ἡνογβ (πς, f. 27b) ρῖχῇ νεστγλλος εὔμεε ἡς<ρ>αι. ἀqκοτῆ ἐροι πεχαq ναῖ ἡβι παγγελος ἔε ναῖατῆ, ῶ παγλος, εὔωανχῖτῆ
 10 ἐρογν ρῇ τεπγλη. ἡπογταας ἡογон нм ετρῶωκ ἐρογн ἡρηтῶ, εἰμηтеῖ наκαῖρεос ἡῖ ἡβαλρηт ἡῖ нете ἡῖтаγ каκῖᾶ επτηрῆ. 2. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγε-λος ἔε ῥεноγ не ναῖ εтснэ ἐνεῖπλαζ; πεχαq ναῖ ἔε ναῖ не ἡран ἡῖδικαιος τηρογ εтῶωωε ἡπноγте ρῇ πεγρηт τηрῆ. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε παῃο-εις, неγран ρῇ тпе ἡпатоγεί ρω εвол ρῇ пекосмос; ἀφογῶωβ ἡβι паг-
 15 гелос πεχαq ναῖ | ἔε οὔ μονон неγp[ан] ρῇ тпе ἡмаате, ἀλλα нетῶωωε ἡпноγте ρῇ πεγρηт τηрῆ пегсмот он ρῇ тпе ἀγω ἡαγγελος соогн ἡмоq ἔε παῖ пе ρῶωε εтῶωωε ἡпноγте ρῇ пегρηт τηрῆ ἡпатῆει εвол ρῇ пкосмос.

- 20, 1. ἀγω ἡτεγνογ ἡтаqογων ἡтπγλη, εἰς οὔγλλο ἡρῶωε ἐρε пегро ῖ οὔοειн ἡοε ἡпρη ἀqρων ἐρογн ἐροι εqῃω ἡμος ἔε χαιρε, παγλος, пме-рит ἡпноγте. ἀγω неqῶωе пе εq† п[1] ἐροι. ἡῖῡсῶс ἀqло εqῶωе ἀqрῖме. ἀνοκ ΔΕ, παγλος, αἰωτορτῆ πεχαῖ наq ἔε παεῖωт, ἀρрок екpῖме; (πз, f. 28a) [а]qογῶωβ εqῃω ἡμος ἔε εἰμοκῆ ἡρηт εтве пειран ἔε ρῶωе, εвол ἔε наωе неρηт ἡпноγте ἡῖ неqагаθон, ἀλλα ἡῖ ραэ ἡρῶωе наωῃῖ εвол ἡρη-
 25 тоγ. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε нм пе παῖ, παῃοεῖ; ἀφογῶωβ πεχαq ναῖ ἡβι παγγελος ἔε παῖ пе ἐνωх, пеграннатеγс ἡтδικаῖосγнн. 2. ἡτεγνογ ἡтаῖр προγн ἡпма εтмаγ, αἰναγ ἐпкеρηλιαс. ἀqει ἀqаспазе ἡμοι ἀqῶωе. ἡῖῡсῶс он ἀqло εqῶωе, ἀqрῖме. πεχαq ναῖ ἔε ῶ παγλος, ραμοι нῖнаγ ἔε ἀγῃ некpῖе ἡтоотῆ, ναῖ ἡтакааγ ἡῖ | тнῖтρῶωе. наωе нагаθон γар
 30 ἡпноγте ἡῖ неqернт, ἀλλα ἡῖ ραэ ἡρῶωе наωῃῖ εвол ἡρηтоγ. ρῖтῇ ῥен-οὔοεῖω γар ἡῖ ῥенхронос ωαγен ῥεноγᾶ οὔа ἐρογн ἐнеῖтопос.

7 ἡστγλλος: γ added as scribal corr., στυλος 8 ἡς<ρ>αι: ἡσαι ms., Copeland, ἡς[ρ]αι Budge
 11 наκαῖρεос: ἀκέραιος 16 пегсмот: text switches from plur. to sing. 21 п[1]: [п] Copeland,
 [пе] Budge 28 ραμοι: αμογ ms., Budge, Copeland

And I heard myriads upon myriads of angels singing and praising God, saying: "You are righteous, Lord, and just are your judgments."

Paul Is Taken to the Third Heaven

19, 1. The angel spoke and said to me: "Paul, chosen of God, have you seen all these things?" I said: "Yes, my Lord." He told me: "Now follow me and I will take you and show you the abode of all the saints." Then I went along with the angel and he took me to the third heaven and placed me near a gateway. I saw that that gateway was entirely of gold and I noticed two golden pillars at the entrance to the gate. Upon the pillars there were golden tablets, (86) full of letters. The angel turned to me and told me: "Blessed are you, O Paul, when you are taken inside this gate. Not everybody is allowed to enter it, only the guileless and the simpleminded and they who are entirely free of malice." 2. I said to the angel: "What is it that is written upon these tablets?" He told me: "Those are the names of all the righteous who serve God with the whole of their heart." I said to the angel: "My Lord, are their names in heaven even before they come forth from this world?" The angel answered and told me: "Not only their names are in heaven, but also the likeness of those who serve God with the whole of their heart is in heaven, and the angels recognize such a person as one who served God with the whole of his heart before leaving the world."

20, 1. As soon as he opened the gate, an old man came up to me whose face shone like the sun and he said: "Hail, Paul, beloved of God." And he was laughing and kissed me. Then he stopped laughing and wept. I, Paul, was shocked and told him: "My father, why do you weep?" (87) He answered and said: "I am sad because of this name of 'man.' For numerous are the promises of God and his favors, but not many human beings will be able to enjoy them." I said to the angel: "Who is that, my Lord?" The angel answered and told me: "That is Enoch, the scribe of righteousness." 2. As soon as I entered that place, I also saw Elijah. He came and greeted me and laughed. Then, he stopped laughing too and wept. He told me: "O Paul, if only you could see that your pains that you took for humanity were accepted! For numerous are the favors of God and his promises, but not many people will be able to enjoy them. Indeed, only from time to time a few are admitted to these places."

21, 1. αφοῦϰωβ̄ ἄβι παγγελοc πεχαϰ ναι κε νεπτακναϰ εροοϰ ρῆ πει-
 τοποc ἡπ̄ρογονροϰ εβολ ρῆ τcαρ̄ζ, ἀλλὰ οϰαρ̄ξ νcωι ἡτατcαβοκ επ̄ετκ-
 ναογονρο̄ εβολ. 2. αϰεντ̄ εβολ ρῆ τειπ̄γλη, αϰχι ἡμοι ετμερ̄cῆτε <ἡπε>,
 αϰεντ̄ εβολ εχ̄ῆ πεcτερεωνα, αϰχιτ̄ εῆμα ἡωα ἡπρη. αἰωωτ̄ αἰναϰ (πῆ,
 5 f. 28b) εῆcῆτε ἡτπε εγ̄ιχ̄ῆ οϰειερο ἡμοοϰ, ερε πειερο ἡμοοϰ κωτε ετοῖ-
 κοϰμενη τηρ̄c. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελοc κε παχοειc, οϰ πε πειερο ἡμοοϰ ετκωτε
 επ̄εικοcμοc τηρ̄c; πεχαϰ ναι κε παι πε ποϰκεανοc πιερο. 3. ἡτεϰνοϰ ἡταιρ̄
 πβολ ἡποϰκεανοc, αἰcῆτ̄c ποϰοειν ἡπρη πετ̄ρ̄ οϰοειν επ̄καρ̄ ετῆμαϰ αϰω
 νερε πκαρ̄ ετῆμαϰ οϰωωτ̄ ἡθε ἡπρ̄ατ̄ ἡcαωτ̄ ἡcωβ̄ ἡcοπ. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελοc
 10 κε οϰ πε πειτοποc; πεχαϰ ναι κε παι πε πκαρ̄ ἡτεκληρονομια. ἡπεκcωτῆ
 ντοκ κε | ναιατοϰ ἡῆρηραω κε ἡτοοϰ νετνακληρονομει ἡπκαρ̄; νεϕ̄γχη
 δε ἡἡδ̄ικαιοc εϰωανει εβολ ρῆ cωμα νcεαπα<ῆ>τα ε̄π̄νοϰτε, ωαϰκααϰ ρῆ
 πεικαρ̄. 4. ανοκ δε πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελοc κε εἰε πεικαρ̄ ναοϰωῆρ̄ εβολ ἡἡῆcα
 οϰῶειω; αφοῦϰωβ̄ ἄβι παγγελοc πεχαϰ ναι κε ερωαν πεχριcτοc οϰωῆρ̄
 15 εβολ ρῆ τεϰμῆτερο, πεικαρ̄ ρωωϰ ναοϰωῆρ̄ εβολ εχ̄ῆ παι ἡθε ἡοϰνιϰε
 ἡειωτε, ἡῆcοϰεν νεϰπετοϰααβ̄ τηροϰ ἡβι πνοϰτε, ἡτε πεχριcτοc ῖ ῖρο
 εχ̄ω<οϰ> ἡοϰμνηωε ἡρομπε, ἡcεοϰωῆ ἡἡαγαθον ἡπκαρ̄, ναι ετ̄νατcαβοκ
 εροοϰ τενοϰ.

22, 1. (πῆ, f. 29a) αἰωωτ̄ εβολ ρῆ πκαρ̄ ετῆμαϰ, αἰναϰ εϰειερο εϰcωκ
 20 ἡερωτε ρῆ εβ̄ω. ρῆ πειcα ἡπειερο ἡἡ παῖ ἡμοϰ ενεϰρητ̄ ἡωην εϰῶτ̄π̄ ἡκαρ-
 ποc. ανοκ δε αἰωωτ̄ ε̄π̄cα ἡπ̄εβ̄τ̄, αἰcῆνε ἡcωῆτ̄ νιμ ἡτε πνοϰτε ρῆ πμα
 ετῆμαϰ. αἰναϰ ε̄ρενβ̄ῆνε εϰρητ̄ ρῆ πμα ετῆμαϰ, οϰετ̄ τcοτ̄ ἡτοϰει τοϰει,
 εοϰῆ οϰον ἡρητοϰ εϰναρ̄ μααβ̄ ἡμαρε ἡωην, οϰῆ οϰον εϰναρ̄ ϰοϰωτ̄, οϰῆ
 οϰον εϰναρ̄ μηт. πκαρ̄ ετοϰρηт ριχ̄ωϰ νεϰοϰῶβ̄ ἡροϰῶ επ̄ρ̄ατ̄ ἡcαωτ̄
 25 ἡcοπ. ϰιν̄ τνοϰνε ντοϰει τοϰει ωαρ̄ραῖ επ̄εcρηт οϰῆ οϰτβα ἡρ̄ωπ̄ω ριχ̄ῆ
 οϰτβα ἡλωοϰ, εοϰῆ οϰτβα ἡλωοϰ ρῑ πρ̄ωπ̄ω | πρ̄ωπ̄ω, εοϰῆ οϰτβα ἡβ̄ῆνε
 ρῑ πλωοϰ πλωοϰ. αϰω τβω νελοολε οη κατ̄α τεῖρε, εοϰῆ οϰτβα ἡωλ̄ ρῆ
 τβω νελοολε αϰω <οϰτβα> ἡcμαρ̄ ρῆ πωλε̄ρ̄ πωλ̄ε, εοϰῆ οϰτβα ἡβ̄β̄ιλε
 ρῆ πεcμαρ̄ πεcμαρ̄. ἡκεωηн̄ τηροϰ ρενтβα ἡтβα νε αϰω πεϰκαρ̄ποc κατ̄α
 30 τεῖρε. 2. ανοκ δε οη πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελοc κε ω παχοειc, εтβε οϰ νεωηн̄
 ρενтβα ἡтβα νε νεϰκαρ̄ποc; αφοῦϰωβ̄ πεχαϰ ναι κε ω παϰλοc, πμεριт̄
 ἡπεχριcτοc, ερε πνοϰτε † ἡπ̄ρ̄ηт̄ τηρ̄c ἡнетнп̄ εκληρονομει ἡμοοϰ κε

3 <ἡπε>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 5 ἡτπε: π corr. ex η 7 ποϰκεανοc: Ὀκεανός 9 cωβ̄:
 read κωβ̄, thus *passim* 12 ἡἡδ̄ικαιοc: ἡἡδ̄ικαιοc Copeland || νcεαπα<ῆ>τα: Copeland,
 νcεαπατα ms., Budge 17 εχ̄ω<οϰ>: Copeland, εχ̄ω ms., Budge || ἡοϰμνηωε: ἡοϰμνηωη
 ms., Budge, Copeland (app.: -μνηωε) 23 οϰον εϰναρ̄: οϰα νεϰναρ̄ Budge 24 ριχ̄ωϰ:
 ριχ̄ωc Budge. 28 <οϰτβα>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland || πωλε̄ρ̄: λ added above e as scribal
 corr, πωλε̄λ̄ Copeland, πωλε̄ρ̄ Budge 30 ω: οϰ ms., Budge 32 εκληρονομει: ι added
 above the line as scribal corr.

Paul Visits the Land of Inheritance and the City of Christ

21, 1. The angel spoke and said to me: "Do not make known what you have seen in this place as long as you live. But follow me and I will show you something that you may make public." 2. He led me away from that gate, took me to the second heaven, brought me from there on top of the firmament and took me to where the sun rises. I looked and saw (88) the foundations of heaven resting upon a water flood and the water flood surrounded the entire inhabited world. I said to the angel: "My Lord, what is the water flood that surrounds this entire world?" He told me: "That is the River Ocean". 3. As soon as I went beyond the Ocean, I realized that it was the light of the sun that illuminated that land, and that land was seven times brighter than silver. I said to the angel: "What place is this?" He told me: "This is the Land of Inheritance. Have you not heard: 'Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth' (Matt. 5:5)? When the souls of the righteous come forth from the body to meet God, they are deposited in this land." 4. I said to the angel: "Will this land be revealed after a while?" The angel answered and told me: "When Christ appears in his kingship, this land too will be revealed upon the present earth as a dewy breeze and God will recognize all his saints and Christ will reign over them for many years and they will eat of the good things of the land, the things that I am going to show you now."

22, 1. (89) I looked around in that land and I saw a river flowing with milk and honey and at both sides the river was grown with trees laden with fruit. I looked to the east and there I found all things created by God. I saw date palms growing there, each of them different in size, some of them about thirty cubits in height, some about twenty, some about ten. The land where they were growing was seven times brighter than silver. From the root of each of them up to its crown, there was a myriad of branches over a myriad of clusters and there were myriads of clusters on each branch and in each cluster there was a myriad of dates. And thus it was with the grapevine too. There was a myriad of shoots on the grapevine and a myriad of bunches on each shoot and there was a myriad of grapes in each bunch. All the other trees numbered myriads upon myriads and their fruit grew in the same manner. 2. Again I spoke to the angel: "O my Lord, why do these trees bear myriads upon myriads of fruits?" He answered and said to me: "O Paul, beloved of Christ, God devotes himself entirely to those who

ἀρχιτοῦ ἡβονῆς γῆν πκοσμος εἴτβε πεφραν. 3. πεχαῖ ον ἡπαγγελος ἔε πχο-
 εις, νερητ ἡπποῦτε νε ναι ἡταφσῶτωτοῦ (q̄, f. 29b) ἡνεφπετοῦααβ; πεχαῖ
 ναι ἔε οὔν νετοῦῶτῶ εἶναι ἡσαῶῃ ἡῶωβ ἡσοп. †р нн̄тре наκ, ѿ παγλος,
 ἔε ерѡан оудикаιος εἰ εβολ γῆν сѡма, н̄маγ енеρηт ἡπποῦτε ἡταφсῶ-
 5 τωτοῦ наγ, ѡаγѡ аѡм аγѡ ἡсєрime ἔε εἴтβε оγ рѡ аγѡа.ἔε εἰ εβολ γῆ
 тагапро ἡ αἰῶωνт̄ епетγитоῦѡι ἡογзооγ ἡοῦѡт; 4. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε
 па.χοεις, οὔн еρηт ἡмаγ еφοῦотῶ εἶναι; πεἔε паггелос ναι ἔε νεἰέρηт ναι
 на ἡкошikon не, ναι ἡтаγѡреѡ εἰπεγгамос еφοῡааβ. негѡрѣ Δε ἡтооγ
 нн̄ ἡпарѡenos сена.χῖ ἡнетгаинγ εἶναι ἡсаῶῃ ἡῶωб ἡсоп. не|т̄маγ Δε οн
 10 †нагсаѡок ерооγ тнроῦ. 5. аχхит οн ἡса πевт̄ ἡпєiero ἡагаѡон, αἰῶѡт̄
 аинаγ еγiero ере пєчмооγ оῡῶбѡ ἡзоγє перѡте. πεχαῖ οн ἡπαγγελος ἔε
 па.χοεις, оγ пе пай; πεχαῖ ναι ἔε таῖ те тагхнєроῡса λγμнн, ере тпolic
 ἡнеτοῡааβ, таῖ ἡта пєѡт̄ котῆ ἡпєчмоногеннс нѡнре, инсоγс пєхрис-
 15 тос, зῖ певт̄ ἡнаῖ тнроῦ. ἡпоγгаас ἡογон ним еѡк езоγн ерос. εἴтβε пай
 ере тагхнєроῡса λγμнн зῖ теγiн̄. еѡѡпе оγпорнос ἡрѡме <пе> ἡ оγρεѡ-
 рнове н̄котῃ н̄метанοи н̄т̄ карпос еѡ- (q̄а, f. 30a) ἡпѡа ἡтметанοӣа,
 н̄ѡε εβολ γῆн сѡма, ѡаѡоῡѡѡт̄ ἡпποῦте ἡѡор̄п̄, ἡсетааῖ εтоотч мн-
 ханл н̄χокмєѡ γῆн тагхiє<роῡса> λγμнн, ἡсєхитῃ езоγн етпolic εἰратоῡ
 20 ἡнетє нпоγр̄ nove. анок Δε, паγλος, аἰр ѡпнре аγѡ аисмоῡ еппоῡте ε.χῆ
 нентайнаγ ерооγ.

23, 1. πεἔε паггелос ναι ἔε ογαγῆ ἡсѡι, паγλος, ἡта.χῖт̄к̄ езоγн εἴтпolic
 ἡпєхристос. неἰἡзραι пе зi.χῆн тагхнє<роῡса> λнмнн. аѡтало мμοἰ еῡχοἰ
 ἡноῡѡ еѡχῖ ἡογзтн ἡзат, неѡноῡз зєннοῡѡ не, теѡлаѡ оγзат те, ере
 25 зєнѡне ἡме тосῆ ерос, еογῆ ѡон̄т̄ ἡѡῶ ἡаггелос таλнγ ероѡ. | тоте
 ἡаггелос аγзγннеγє еροι, аχхит езоγн етпolic ἡпєхристос, а нетѡооп
 γῆн тпolic εἰ εβολ знт̄ γῆн оγноῶ ἡраѡє. 2. аинаγ εἴтпolic ἡпєхристос еср̄
 оῡῶεἰн пага ποῡῶεἰн ἡпн нсаῶῃ ἡῶωб ἡсоп, ескнт̄ ἡноῡѡ тнрῆ еγῆ
 нн̄тснооγс ἡсѡт̄ ἡѡне ἡме кѡте εἴтпolic, εῶγῆ зєнпγгос кнт̄ ἡпзоγн
 30 ἡпсѡт̄ псѡт̄, ере псѡт̄ псѡт̄ ὁ ἡѡє ἡста.Δῖон еῡκѡте. πεχαῖ ἡпаг-
 гелос ἔε па.χοεις, оγнр пе пєс.Δ.Δῖон ἡппоῡте; πεἔε паггелос ναι ἔε
 ѡаре пєста.Δῖон р̄ оγмонн. 3. ἡпзоγн Δε ἡтпolic ере εἰεпса ним ἡте пєἰ-
 косμος ἡзнтῆ аγѡ оγн ѡтооγ ἡєiero кѡте ерос. (q̄б, f. 30b) пєм̄т̄ ἡтпolic

1–2 πχοεις: π[α]χс Budge 6 тагапро: тєнтапро ms., Budge, Copeland 8 ἡкошikon:
 ἡкошikos Copeland 11 еγiero: епiero ms., Budge, Copeland || ере: р corr. ex п? 12 таг-
 хнєроῡса λγμнн: ἡ Ἀχєρουσία λίμνη 15 <пе>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 18 тагхiє<роῡса>
 λγμнн: тагхiєλγμнн Budge, тагхiє λγμнн Copeland 22 тагхнє<роῡса> λнмнн: тагхнє-
 λнмнн Budge, тагхнє λнмнн Copeland 23 теѡлаѡ: read теѡлаѡо or теѡлаѡѡ 27 пага
 ποῡῶεἰн: om. Copeland 29 ере псѡт̄: ере псѡсѡт̄ Copeland 30 пєс.Δ.Δῖон: а ex corr.,
 στάδιον 31 оγмонн: н corrected from н

are due to inherit them, because they took pains in the world for the sake of his name.” 3. Again I said to the angel: “Lord, are these the promises of God that he prepared (90) for his saints?” He told me: “There are such that surpass these sevenfold. I assure you, O Paul, that whenever a righteous person comes forth from the body and sees the promises of God that are prepared for them, they will groan and weep, saying: ‘Why did I even for a single day speak a word in anger against my neighbor?’” 4. I said to the angel: “My Lord, is there a promise that surpasses these?” The angel told me: “These are the promises destined for the secular people who have kept their marriage pure. The solitaries, however, and the virgins will receive things that are seven times more splendid than these. These, too, I will show you all.” 5. Next he took me to the east of the good river. I looked and saw a river, the water of which was whiter than milk. And again I spoke to the angel: “My Lord, what is this?” And he told me: “This is the Acherusian Lake. The city of the holy ones, which the Father built for his only-begotten son, Jesus Christ, is to the east of all this. Not everybody is permitted to enter it. For this reason, the Acherusian Lake is on the way. If someone is an adulterer or a sinner and he converts and repents and bears fruit (91) worthy of repentance and comes forth from the body, he will first pay homage to God and then be handed over to Michael, and he will wash him in the Acherusian Lake so that he will be admitted into the city, to join those who have not sinned.” I, Paul, was amazed and blessed God for the things I had seen.

23, 1. The angel said to me: “Follow me, Paul, and I will take you inside the City of Christ.” I was standing on the shore of the Acherusian Lake. He brought me on board of a golden ship that had a silver mast, while its ropes were of gold, its sail of silver, inlaid with precious stones, and three thousand angels were sailing it. Then the angels began singing hymns to me and took me into the City of Christ, and the inhabitants of the city came forward to meet me with great joy. 2. I noticed that the City of Christ was shining seven times brighter than the sun and was built entirely of gold. Twelve walls of precious stones surrounded the city and there were towers built inside each wall and each wall measured hundred stadia in its circumference. I said to the angel: “My Lord, how much is the stadium of God?” The angel said to me: “The stadium equals a day’s journey.” 3. Inside of the city, there were all kinds of decorative art of this world and four rivers surrounded it. (92) To the west of the city, this was a river of honey;

to the south of the city, a river of milk; to the east of the city, a river of wine; to the north of the city, a river of oil. I said to the angel: "What are these rivers that surround this city?" The angel answered and told me: "Those four rivers that surround this city correspond to the four rivers that are upon the earth. The one that flows with honey corresponds to the Phison; the one that flows with milk corresponds to the Euphrates; the one that flows with wine corresponds to the Gihon; the one that flows with oil corresponds to the Tigris. Because the righteous have not been able to enjoy their freedom upon earth, since they were suffering hunger and thirst and persecution for the sake of God, for this reason God gives them the good things that are in this city, ten thousand fold."

24, 1. When I entered that city, I found huge trees growing at the entrance of the city gate that bore no fruit at all, but only leaves. And under the trees there were some men, who were naked. Whenever the trees saw a man, they bowed down and raised themselves again. 2. Now when I saw them, I wept and said to the angel: "What kind of people (93) are these, who are not allowed into this city?" The angel told me: "For nobody in the whole world it is less appropriate to weep than for them." I said: "But what kind of people are they?" He told me: "They are persons who renounced the world and who kept an ascetic regime and fasted, but were haughtier than anyone, praising only themselves, but despising their neighbors. When it pleased them, they said hello to people; when it did not please them, they did not greet anybody. When it pleased them, they opened their door to people; when it did not please them, they did not open. When one of them did someone a favor, he would boast over it and say: 'It is I who nourished him from my things.'" 3. I said to the angel: "My Lord, so it is pride that barred them and prevented them from entering the City of Christ?" He told me: "Pride is the root of all evil. Are they perhaps greater than the Son of God who came in humility?" But I said to the angel: "Why do the trees bow down and raise themselves again?" The angel answered and said: "In the period they spent on earth, serving God, they bowed down once in a time, out of shame for men, but they were unable to dispel the pride that dwelt within them." (94) 4. I said to the angel: "How come that they are allowed to the entrance of this city?" He said to me: "They are allowed here because of the goodness of God, for this is the road by which the saints enter the city. When Christ, the king of the ages, appears in his advent, all the righteous will seek grace for them and they will be taken inside for a while, but they will not be able to enjoy full freedom like those who spent the whole of their time serving God in all humility."

25. α παγγελος σωκ ρητ εχμ̄ πειερο̄ νεβιω̄ ετ̄μ̄πεμ̄ν̄τ̄ ν̄τπολις, αιβινε̄
 ν̄ησαιας̄ ν̄ρογν̄ | ν̄τπγλη̄ μ̄ν̄ ιερεμιας̄ μ̄ν̄ ιεζεκιηλ̄ μ̄ν̄ ραμω̄ς μ̄ν̄ μιχαϊας̄ μ̄ν̄
 <ζαχαρῑας>, ν̄κογῑ ν̄προφητης̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄νος̄, αγασπαζε̄ ν̄μοῑ ν̄ρογν̄ ν̄τπολις.
 πεχαῑ ν̄παγγελος̄ δε̄ ν̄ιμ̄ νε̄ ναι, παχοεις; πεχαq̄ ναῑ δε̄ ταῑ τε̄ τε̄ ρῑν̄ ν̄νε-
 5 προφητης̄. ρωμε̄ ν̄ιμ̄ εφναςωρ̄ν̄ ν̄τεq̄γγχη̄ ε̄τβε̄ πνογ̄τε, ν̄πεqειρε̄ ν̄πετερ-
 ναq̄ ε̄τβε̄ πκοςμος̄, εqωανεῑ εβολ̄ ρ̄ν̄ σωμᾱ ν̄q̄βωκ̄ ερατ̄q̄ ν̄πνογ̄τε ν̄q̄oγw̄-
 w̄τ̄ ναq̄, w̄αqτααq̄ ετοοτ̄q̄ ν̄μιχαηλ̄ ν̄q̄χιτ̄q̄ ερογν̄ ετειπολις, ν̄τε̄ νεπρο-
 φητης̄ ασπαζε̄ ν̄μοq̄ εγχω̄ ν̄μος̄ δε̄ πενωρη̄ πε̄ δε̄ αq̄p̄ πογω̄ ν̄πνογ̄τε
 ριχμ̄ πκαρ, αqκληρονομε̄ ν̄ν- (q̄ē, f. 8a) αγαθον̄ ν̄πχοεις̄ πνογ̄τε.

10 26. αqχιτ̄ ον̄ εχμ̄ περο̄ ν̄ερωτε̄ ετσᾱ ρης̄ ν̄τπολις, αιβινε̄ ν̄ν̄ωρη̄ κογῑ
 τηρογ̄ ν̄τᾱ ρηρωd̄ης̄ ροτβογ̄ ε̄τβε̄ πραν̄ ν̄πεχριστος̄, αγασπαζε̄ ν̄μοῑ τηρογ̄.
 πεχαῑ ν̄παγγελος̄ δε̄ παχοεις, μεγκᾱ ρωμε̄ ν̄ιμ̄ εσω̄ ραρ̄τ̄ν̄ ν̄ειωρη̄ w̄ηη
 ετογααβ; πεχε̄ παγγελος̄ δε̄ ρωμε̄ ν̄ιμ̄ ετναρаре̄ ε̄π̄τ̄β̄ω̄ ν̄τεγπαρθ̄ενιᾱ
 εγoγααβ̄ ελααγ̄ ν̄χωρ̄ν̄, εγωανεῑ εβολ̄ ρ̄ν̄ σωμᾱ, w̄αγχιτογ̄ ν̄σεoγw̄w̄τ̄
 15 ν̄πνογ̄τε, ν̄σετααγ̄ ετοοτ̄q̄ ν̄μιχαηλ̄ ν̄q̄εντογ̄ επ̄ειμᾱ, ν̄q̄τααγ̄ ετοοτ̄q̄ ν̄-
 πειμ̄νηw̄ε̄ ν̄ωρη̄ κογῑ, ν̄σεασπαζε̄ μ̄μοoγ̄ δε̄ νεγw̄βρημελος̄ νε̄ | αγω̄ νεγ-
 σνηγ̄ νε, ν̄σεκληρονομ̄εῑ ν̄μ̄μαγ̄ ν̄τπολις̄ ν̄πεχριστος̄ ιησογ̄ς̄ w̄ᾱ ε̄ν̄ε̄ρ̄.

27. αqχῑ μ̄μοῑ εβολ̄ εχμ̄ πειερο̄ ν̄ν̄p̄, ετεπεβ̄τ̄ ν̄τπολις, αιβινε̄ ν̄αβρα-
 ραμ̄ μ̄ν̄ ῑσαακ̄ μ̄ν̄ ῑακω̄β, αγω̄ αγασπαζε̄ μ̄μοῑ. πεχαῑ ν̄παγγελος̄ δε̄ ν̄ιμ̄ νε̄
 20 ναι; πεχαq̄ ναῑ δε̄ ρωμε̄ ν̄ιμ̄ εqō ν̄μαιw̄ν̄ιμο̄, εγωανεῑ εβολ̄ ρ̄ν̄ σωμᾱ ν̄σε-
 βωκ̄ ε̄ρατq̄ ν̄πνογ̄τε ν̄σεoγw̄w̄τ̄ ναq̄, w̄αqτααγ̄ ετοοτ̄q̄ ν̄μιχαηλ̄ ν̄q̄χιτογ̄
 ερογν̄ ετπολις̄ αγω̄ w̄αρε̄ ν̄δικαιος̄ τηρογ̄ ασπαζε̄ ν̄μooγ̄ ρῑ τε̄ρ̄ιη̄ εγχω̄
 ν̄μος̄ δε̄ w̄ νενωρη̄ αγω̄ νε̄ν̄σνηγ̄, ᾱτετ̄ν̄χῑ ν̄τ̄ν̄ν̄τ̄μαιw̄ν̄ιμο̄, (q̄ē, f. 8b)
 ᾱν̄η̄ιτ̄ν̄ ν̄τετ̄ν̄κληρονομ̄εῑ ν̄τπολις̄ ν̄πχοεις̄ πεννογ̄τε. κατᾱ π̄ρω̄ ν̄πογ̄ᾱ
 25 πογ̄ᾱ w̄αqσ̄ινε̄ ν̄ν̄ρωμε̄ ε̄τ̄q̄εινε̄ μ̄μοoγ̄ ρ̄ν̄ τπολις̄ ν̄πεχριστος̄ ιησογ̄ς̄, ο̄ιε-
 ρoγ̄σαλ̄η̄ι.

28. <αqχῑ μ̄μοῑ εβολ̄ εχμ̄ πειερο̄ ν̄νερ̄, ετεπεμ̄ριτ̄ ν̄τπολις,> αῑωw̄τ̄
 αιναγ̄ ε̄ρε̄ν̄ρωμε̄ ν̄προγν̄ ν̄τπγλη̄ εγ̄fallεῑ αγω̄ εγ̄τ̄ εoογ̄ ν̄πνογ̄τε̄ αγω̄
 εγ̄ροoγ̄τ̄ εμαατε̄. πεχαῑ ν̄παγγελος̄ δε̄ ρ̄ε̄νογ̄ νε̄ ναι; αqoγw̄w̄β̄ εq̄χω̄ ν̄μος̄
 30 ναῑ δε̄ ναῑ νετεw̄αγ̄τ̄ πεγoγoῑ επ̄νογ̄τε̄ ε̄μ̄ν̄ ρ̄γποκp̄ις̄ις̄ ν̄μ̄ν̄τρωμε̄ ν̄ρη-
 τογ̄. ρωμε̄ γαρ̄ ν̄ιμ̄ εγ̄ροoγ̄τ̄ αγω̄ εγ̄fallεῑ, εγ̄ρ̄γ̄μ̄νεγ̄ε̄ επ̄νογ̄τε̄ ρ̄ν̄ πεγ̄ρη̄τ̄
 τηρ̄q̄, | w̄ᾱγε̄ντογ̄ ερογν̄ ετειπ̄γλη̄ ν̄σεκααγ̄ ρ̄ν̄ τεq̄πολις, ν̄σεκααγ̄ ραρ̄τ̄ν̄
 νετογααβ̄ ε̄τ̄fallεῑ επ̄εχριστος̄ ν̄oγ̄oεῑw̄ <ν̄ιμ̄>.

3 <ζαχαρῑας>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 9 ν̄ν-: ναῑ Budge 20 second ναῑ: ναq̄ Budge ||
 εγωανεῑ: text switches from sing. to plur. 22 ν̄μooγ̄: ν̄μoq̄ ms., Budge, Copeland 24 ν̄πχο-
 εις: π̄χ(οει)ς̄ Copeland 27 <αqχῑ ... ν̄τπολις,>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 31 εγ̄ροoγ̄τ̄:
 Copeland, ε̄τροoγ̄τ̄ ms., Budge 32 τεq̄πολις: q̄ corr. ex 1

25. The angel preceded me to the river of honey to the west of the city. Inside the gate I found Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezekiel and Amos and Micah and Zechariah, the minor prophets as well as the major ones, and they welcomed me into the city. I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord?" He told me: "This is the way of the prophets. Every person who will lose his life for the sake of God and has not done his own will because of the world, when he comes forth from the body and goes towards God to pay homage to him, will be entrusted by him to Michael and he will take him into this city, and the prophets will greet him saying: 'This is our child, for he has done the will of God on earth and inherited the (95) favors of the Lord God.'"

26. He took me also to the river of milk to the south of the city, and I found all the infants who had been murdered by Herod because of the name of Christ. They all greeted me. I said to the angel: "My Lord, not everyone is permitted to stay with these holy children?" The angel said: "All who will preserve the purity of their virginity and are pure from any stain, when they come forth from the body, will be received in order to pay homage to God and they will be entrusted to Michael and he will bring them to this place and hand them over to this multitude of infants, and they will greet them, for they are their fellow-members and their brothers and they will inherit the City of Christ Jesus together with them forever."

27. He took me along to the river of wine to the east of the city, and I found Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and they greeted me. I said to the angel: "Who are these?" He told me: "Everyone who is hospitable, when they come forth from the body and go towards God to pay homage to him, will be entrusted by him to Michael and he will take them into the city, and all the righteous will greet them on the way, saying: 'O our children and our brothers, you have imitated our hospitality. (96) Come and inherit the city of the Lord, our God.' In accordance with his deeds, each person will encounter the people whom he resembles in the City of Christ Jesus, Jerusalem."

28. He took me along to the river of oil to the north of the city, and I looked and saw people inside the gate, singing and glorifying God, and they were very elated. I said to the angel: "What kind of people are these?" He answered and told me: "These are they who approach God free from human hypocrisy. For all people who jubilate and sing, chanting for God with the whole of their heart, will be brought inside that gate and admitted into his city and admitted among the saints who at all times sing for Christ."

29, 1. ἀϑιτ ἐροῦν φα τμνhte ἡτπολις φα πμερμῆτcноοуc ἡcовт. δι-
 σῆτῷ εφογῶτῃ εροοῦ τηροῦ, εοῦν οὔνοc ἡέοοῦ γῆ πcовт ετῆμαγ, παι
 εἰνῇ cом ἡλααῦ ἡρῆncарз. εχω ἡπεοοῦ μн πгаиῷ ἡπcовт ετῆμαγ. ἀнок
 δε πεχαи ἡπαггелос χε παχοεις, οὔκοῦн οὔн ма γῆ πeiμα εφογῶτῃ πα-
 5 οῦон; πεχε παггелос нαι χε ω πcωтπῇ ἡπпоуτε, παγλος, ειc πμερcнаγ
 ἡcовт оγῶтῃ παра πωорп аγω πμερωоннт оγῶтῃ (qz, f. 9a) епμερcнаγ.
 cеоγῶтῃ енеγέρнγ τηροῦ φαρзrai ἐπμερμῆтcноοуc ἡcовт. ἀнок δε πεχαи
 нπαггелос χε παχοεις, ματοῦно eiaт eвол χε ἡтcооун μнооῦ аη. πεχε
 παггелос нαι χε εωωπε оὔн оῶа ере оὔκοῦ ἡкаταλαλiа ἡзнтγ ἡ оὔκωз ἡ
 10 оὔннтχасиγнт, φαγβοcῷ нпеггаиῷ ἡзоῦн ἡтπολιc ἡпехристос. 2. ἀнок δε
 он аиηαῦ ἐзеноноc ἡноуβ еγснр eвол кага ма ἡн зенбpнпe ἡеооῦ еγкн
 зiхῇ тапе ἡнеэponoc. аiсωωт аиηαῦ ἐπμερμῆтcноοуc ἡcовт, аиηαῦ езен-
 ωоеиμ ἡэponoc ἡтнаωφαχε аη епеггаиῷ. πεχαи нпаггелос χε παχοεις,
 ним петназмоос ἡπειμα зiхῇ неэponoc; πεχε παггелос нαι χε зe(н)αкаи-
 15 реос ἡрωме ne аγω ἡзаплогс еγειpe μнооῦ ἡcовт етве πпоуте, нαι ете
 ἡcεcооун аη ἡзаз γῆ негpaφн ἡн заз ἡψалмос аλλα зенлезic ἡнате нете
 φαγcωтῇ ерооῦ γῆ негpaφн ἡтоотоῦ ἡнрῆнпоуте, ἡceиpe ἡзеноноc ἡпо-
 λγтеia ере пегзнт cоγтωн эзоῦн ἐπпоуте. аγω φαγр ωпнpe нci ἡдика-
 иос ἡтποлиc ἡпехристос еγχω ἡмос χε cωωт, ἡтетῆнаγ енезидиωтнc
 20 ете ἡcεcооун аη ἡнегpaφн, нтаγχι нπειноc нгаио {eвол} (qн, f. 9b) eвол
 зитῇ πпоуте етве теγнῆтгаплогс. 3. ἀнок δε он, παγλος, аиηαῦ еγноc
 ἡθγciαcтнpион γῆ τμнhte нтποлiс, еγχοоce емаате, ере оγрωме аазе-
 ратῷ зазтῇ пeθγciαcтῆpион, ере пeγзo р оγῶein ἡoe ἡпpн, ере оγкиаpa
 ἡтоотῷ ἡноуβ ἡн оγғалтнpион ἡноуβ, еωωп eвол χε аλλнлогiа. φαpe
 25 нетзiхῇ ἡпγлн ἡн нетзiхῇ ἡпγpгoc оγωзῇ ἡcωγ τηроῦ χε аλλнлогiа,
 аγω φαpe ἡcῆте ἡтποлиc нoeiн. πεχαи ἡπαггелос χε παχοεις, ним пе пei-
 λγнатос ἡтeиze; | аγoγωωб ἡci παггелос πεχαγ нαι χε παι пе ааγeиa,
 пeиωт ἡпехристос кага cарз, епeиaн θiεpоγcалнн ἡтпe те таi ерωан
 пехристос πпоуте оγωнз eвол γῆ теγмῆтepо, ааγeиa пῆpо петнаψаллeи,
 30 ἡте {ἡте} ἡдикаиос оγωзῇ ἡcωγ χε аλλнлогiа. 4. πεχαи ἡπαггелос χε
 παχοεις, етве оγ ааγeиa петψаллeи оγде ἡдикаиос τηроῦ; πεχαγ нαι χε
 пехристос, пeнχοεις, еγзмоос зi оγнам ἡпeиωт γῆ ἡпнγe, ааγeиa петψал-
 лeи epоγ зн тнезcаωγe ἡпe кага птγпoc етoγeиpe ἡмоγ зiхῇ пказ. ἡн
 cом етале θγciа эзrai γῆ лааγ ἡма аχῇ ааγeиa пeпpоφн- (qφ, f. 10a) тнc

4 οὔн: [ε]οὔн Copeland

10 φαγβοcῷ: read φαγχοcῷ

14–15 зe(н)ακαиpеос: ἀκέpαιoc

17–18 ἡπολγтеia: πολιτεία

18–19 ἡдикаиос: ἡдиакαιос Copeland

26–27 пeиλγнатос: παι

λγнатос Copeland

27 ἡтeиze: traces of ink between ἡ and тeиze

31 оγде: read оγте

29, 1. He took me inside to the middle of the city, up to the twelfth wall. I discovered that it surpassed all of them, for such a great glory was apparent in that wall that no carnal being would be able to describe the glory and the splendor of that wall. And I said to the angel: "My Lord, so here one place surpasses the other?" The angel told me: "O chosen of God, Paul, indeed, the second wall surpasses the first and the third surpasses (97) the second. They are all surpassing each other up to the twelfth." And I said to the angel: "My Lord, enlighten me, for I am ignorant of them." The angel said to me: "When someone has a bit of slander within him or jealousy or pride, it will be deducted from his honor within the City of Christ." 2. I also saw golden thrones prepared everywhere, with glorious diadems posed on top of the thrones. I looked and saw the twelfth wall, and I saw rows of thrones whose splendor I would not be able to describe. I said to the angel: "My Lord, who will be sitting here upon the thrones?" The angel told me: "Guileless persons and simple ones, who made themselves fools for the sake of God; they who do not know many of the scriptures nor many psalms, but only brief passages from the scriptures that they hear from the pious, and who accomplish great ascetic practices as their heart is focused on God. And the righteous in the City of Christ are amazed and say: 'Look and see those uneducated people, who do not know the scriptures. On account of their simplicity they have received this great honor (98) from God.'" 3. Next, I, Paul, saw in the middle of the city a huge altar, highly elevated, and a man was standing next to the altar, whose face shone like the sun and who had a golden lyre in his hand and a golden psalter and who exclaimed: "Alleluia!" Those upon the gates and those upon the towers all responded after him: "Alleluia!"—and the foundations of the city shook. I said to the angel: "My Lord, who is that man who is so very mighty?" The angel answered and told me: "That is David, the father of Christ according to the flesh. For this is celestial Jerusalem. When Christ God appears in his kingship, King David will sing and the righteous will respond after him: 'Alleluia!'" 4. I said to the angel: "My Lord, why is it David who sings, among all the righteous?" He told me: "When Christ, our Lord, is seated at the right hand of the Father in heavens, David sings for him in the seventh heaven, according to the pattern of what is practiced on earth. It is impossible to offer up sacrifice anywhere without the prophet David (99) singing over the

εφ' ἅλλαι ἐρραι ἐχῆ τσαρζῆ ἡπεχρίστος μῆ πε(ϥ)σνοϥ ἐτογααβ, κατὰ πτγ-
 ποσ ἐτογειρε μμοϥ ρῆ τπε.

30, 1. ἀνοκ δε αιογῶϣῶ πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελοσ δε παχοεῖς, οὔ πε ἀλληλογῖα;
 πεχαϥ ναι δε παγλοσ, πσαρ ἡτεκκλησια, καλῶς ἐκῶινε ἡσα ρῶβ νιμ. ἀλλη-
 5 λογῖα ἡμῆτῆρβραῖοσ πε † εοοὔ ἡπποὔτε πῆταϥσεντῆ ἡκα ἡιμ· ἀγῶ οἷν πεϥ-
 οὔωρῆ πε παῖ δε ἡαρῆσμοὔ ἐπποὔτε ρῖ οὔσοπ. 2. ἀνοκ δε αιογῶϣῶ πεχαῖ
 ἡπαγγελοσ δε εἰε ρῶνε νιμ ἐϥχῶ ἡμοσ δε ἀλληλογῖα ἐϥσμοὔ ἐπποὔτε;
 πεχαϥ δε ἀρε, ἀγῶ οἷν ἐϥχῶ ἡμοσ δε † εοοὔ ἡπχοεῖς. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελοσ
 | δε εἰε πετχῶ ἡμοσ δε ἀλληλογῖα ἡσεοὔωρῆ ἡσῶϥ ἀν; πεχε παγγελοσ
 10 ναι δε ἐῶωπε οὔρῶνε ἐϥῶωνε πε, μῆ ἀρικε ἐροϥ δε ἡῶοὔωρῆ ἀν. ἐῶωπε
 δε οἷν ἀϥῆ ρῆλλο μῆ ἀρικε ἐροϥ, ἀλλὰ ἐῶωπε οὔχῶωρε πε ἐοὔῆ ὁομ μμοϥ
 ἡῶτῆοὔωρῆ, παῖ οὔχῶσῖρητ πε ἀγῶ οὔκαταφρονῖτησ πε· ἡῶἡῶα ἀν ἡ-
 σμοὔ ἐπενταϥταμιοϥ.

31, 1. τότε ἀϥεντ ἐβολ ρῆ τπολις ρῆ τμῆντε ἡῶωην ἀγῶ ἐβολ ρῆ τα(ρ)
 15 χιε(ροϥσα) λῡμνῆ. ἀϥεντ ἐβολ ρῆ πκαρ ἡῶαγαθον ἐρραι ἐχῆ πειέρο ἡερῶ-
 τε ρῖ ἐβῖῶ, ἀϥεῖνε ἡμοῖ ἐβολ ἐχῆ ποκεανοσ, παῖ ἐττωοὔν ρῶ τπε. ἀϥῖ
 μμοῖ ἐρραι ἐτπε. (ρ, f. 10b) 2. πεχε παγγελοσ ναι δε παγλοσ, παγλοσ, ἀκεῖνε
 δε ἐκτῶν τενοὔ; πεχαῖ ναϥ δε ἀρε, παχοεῖς. ἀϥοὔωϣῶ ἐϥχῶ μμοσ ναι
 δε οὔαρῆ ἡσῶι τενοὔ, ἡτατσαβοκ ἐνεϣγχι ἡῶασεβησ μῆ ἡρεϥῆρνοβε δε
 20 ἐῶωανμοὔ ἐϥῖ μμοοὔ ἐτῶν. ἀνοκ δε αἰμοοῶε μῆ παγγελοσ, ἀϥῖ μμοῖ
 ῶα ἡμα ἡρῶτῆ ἡπρη, ἀῖβῖνε ἡῶσῆτε ἡτπε ἐγταχρηῡ ἐχῆ πειέρο ἡμοοὔ.
 πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελοσ δε οὔ πε πειέρο μμοοὔ ἐρε τεῖπε ταχρηῡ ἐχῶϥ; πεχαϥ
 ναι δε παῖ πε ποκεανοσ. παῖ πε ππερο ἐτκῶτε ἐτοῖκοῡμενῆ τηρῆ. ἀγῶ ἡτε-
 ρεῖρ πβολ ἡπογεανοσ, ἡπειναῡ ἐλααῡ ρῆ πμα ἐτῆμαῡ ἡσα λῡπει ρῖ ἀῶαρῶμ
 25 | ρῖ ἡκαρ ἡρητ ρῖ ἡνωφοσ ρῖ κακε ρῖ ρτομτῆ ρῖ τακο. 3. τότε αἰσῶωτῆ, ἀνοκ
 παγλοσ, αἰναῡ ἐγῆνοσ ἡσῶωε ἐσο ἡῶαρβα ἐρῶτε πε ναῡ ἐροσ, ἐσο ἡρῖεῖτ
 ρῖεῖτ, ἐσο ἡῶικῆ ῶικῆ· ἐοὔῆ ῶικῆ ἐϥῶοκῆ ἐπεσῆτ ἡῶε ἡμαρε, οὔῆ ῶικῆ
 ἐϥῶοκῆ ἐπεσῆτ ἡταῖοὔ ἡμαρε, οὔῆ ῶικῆ ἐϥῶοκῆ ἐπεσῆτ ἡμααβ ἡμαρε,
 οὔῆ ῶικῆ ἐϥῶοκῆ ἐπεσῆτ ἡχοὔωτ ἡμαρε, οὔῆ ῶικῆ ἐϥῶοκῆ ἐπεσῆτ ῶα
 30 ἀρηῡῡ ἡπποὔν. οὔῆ ῶικῆ ἐϥμερ ἡδρακομ, οὔῆ ῶικῆ ἐϥμερ ἡχαϥ, οὔῆ ῶικῆ
 ἐϥμερ ἡλαῡατῆ ρῖ ὅην ἐϥβῆρῶ ἐρραι ἡῶε ἡοὔχαλχιον ἐρε πεϥτασ ῶῶσε
 ἐρραι ἐπιῡε ἡμααβ ἡμαρε, (ρῆ, f. 11a) οὔῆ ῶικ ἐϥμερ ἡῶητ ἐϥλομῆ ἐμαατε,

1 ἐφ' ἅλλαι: ϣ ending in a raised cross, read as a ϣ by Budge, Copeland || πε(ϥ)σνοϥ: πεσνοϥ ms., Budge, Copeland 4–5 ἀλληλογῖα: ἀλλ(η)λογῖα ms., ἀλλὰ Budge, ἀλλ(α) Copeland 12 οὔκαταφρονῖτησ: καταφρονῖτης 14–15 τα(ρ)χιε(ροϥσα) λῡμνῆ: ταχῖε λῡμνῆ Budge, Copeland 15 ρῆ: ρῆ Copeland || ἡῶαγαθον: ἡῶαγαθος Budge 16 ποκεανοσ: Ὠκεανός 19 ἡσῶι: Copeland, ἡσῶκ ms., Budge || ἐνεϣγχι: ἐτεϣγχι ms., Budge, Copeland 25 ἡνωφοσ: ἡνóφοσ || ρτομτῆ: ρτεμτῆ Budge 31 ἡλαῡατῆ: read ἡλαμῡατῆ || ἡοὔχαλχιον: χαλκίον 32 ῶικ: ῶικ(ῆ) Budge

flesh of Christ and his holy blood, according to the pattern of what is practiced in heaven.”

30, 1. I answered and said to the angel: “My Lord, what is ‘Alleluia?’” He told me: “Paul, teacher of the Church, rightly do you inquire after everything. ‘Alleluia’ means in Hebrew: ‘Glorify God, who has created all things.’ And it can also be translated thus: ‘Let us bless God together.’” 2. I answered and said to the angel: “So anybody who says ‘Alleluia’ blesses God?” He said: “Yes. And they also say: ‘Glorify the Lord.’” I said to the angel: “What if someone says ‘Alleluia’ and they do not respond after him?” The angel told me: “When it concerns a sick person, he cannot be blamed for not responding, and also when someone has grown old, he cannot be blamed, but when it is a vigorous person who is able to and he does not respond, then such a person is haughty and negligent; he is unworthy of blessing his creator.”

Paul Witnesses the Punishment of the Sinners and Christ Granting Respite

31, 1. Then he brought me out of the city through the middle of the trees and beyond the Acherusian Lake. He took me beyond the land of blessings on the shore of the river of milk and honey and led me away over the Ocean that supports heaven and took me up to heaven. (100) 2. The angel said to me: “Paul, Paul, have you recognized where you are now?” And I said to him: “Yes, my Lord.” He continued and said to me: “Now follow me and I will show you where the souls of the godless and the sinners are taken when they die.” I went along with the angel and he took me to where the sun sets. I found the foundations of heaven resting upon the water flood. I said to the angel: “What is the water flood upon which this heaven is resting?” He told me: “That is the Ocean. That is the river that surrounds the entire inhabited world.” And when I had passed beyond the Ocean, I saw nothing in that place but grief and groaning and sadness and gloom and darkness and mist and perdition. 3. Then I, Paul, looked and saw a huge parched field, frightening to see, as it was burrowed with trench after trench and pit after pit. There was a pit a hundred cubits deep; there was a pit fifty cubits deep; there was a pit thirty cubits deep; there was a pit twenty cubits deep, and there was a pit descending to the extremity of the abyss. There was a pit full of dragons; there was a pit full of ice, and there was a pit full of pitch and brimstone that boiled over like a cauldron, its embers leaping up to a height of thirty cubits. (101) There was a very foul-stinking pit full of worms;

5 οὐκ ἐφμεζ̄ ἡειοοϋε ἐφζαζοτε, οὐκ ἐφμεζ̄ ἡκωζτ̄ ере πεφκωζτ̄
 ὁ ἡπαγαν ἡπнε, οὐκ ἐφμεζ̄ ере πεφκαπнос внк εζραι ѡа пестереѡма,
 οὐκ ἐφμεζ̄ ере ѡе ἡδεκανос зιχѡф. 4. αἰσѡѡт̄, анок παγλος, αἰναϋ εϋнос
 ἡεiero ἡκωζτ̄ ἐφқи зоеim зоеim, εοῦν οὔμннѡе ἡрѡме зι сзime ом̄ епе-
 снт ероф. зoine мен еѡм̄с ѡа неѡпат, зенкооϋе ѡа теϋмннте, зoine ѡа
 неϋспотоϋ, зенкооϋе ѡа неϋѡ. анок де αἰοϋѡѡѡв πεχαἰ ἡπαггелос де
 паχоеис, зеноϋ ἡе nαι етз̄н neieroϋ ἡκωζт̄; афοϋѡѡѡв ἡби паггелос де
 нαι nete ἡποϋр зime, ἡποϋр μοϋ нѡрѡ. ἡποϋ|ѡп ἡн ἡδικаиос, ἡποϋѡп
 ἡн ἡρεφрнове, аλλα аѣтако ἡпегѡн̄з маγaaϋ зιχ̄н пказ. ѡаϋр зензооϋ
 10 еϋѡнѡе ἡпноϋ<те> аѡв зензооϋ еϋр nove аѡв еϋпорнеϋе, ἡποϋло з̄н
 неϋнове ѡантоϋмоϋ зραι ἡзнтοϋ. анок де αἰοϋѡѡѡв πεχαἰ ἡπαггелос де
 nim ne nαι етом̄с ѡа неѡпат; πεχαф nαι де nαι nete ѡаϋе евол з̄н тек-
 κλнсиa ἡсетазоϋ з̄н зензвнϋе ἡнѡоϋ ан <не>, еϋр nove ἡмнне. nαι зѡоϋ
 етом̄с ѡа теϋмннте, nαι neѡаϋχἰ евол з̄н тсарз̄ ἡпехристос ἡн п̄снoф
 15 етоγaaв, ἡсеѡк ἡсепорнеϋе, ἡποϋло з̄н неϋнове. netом̄с зѡоϋ ѡа неϋ-
 спотоϋ, nαι neѡаϋκαταλλαеи з̄н текκλнсиa (рв, f. 11b) ἡн неϋнi. netом̄с
 зѡоϋ ѡа неϋфo ne nete ѡаϋкомѡ ἡса неϋѣрнϋ з̄н οὔннтсанкот̄с еϋѡ
 ἡκροф ἡнеϋернϋ.

32, 1. ἡпем̄нт зѡѡф ἡпeiero ἡκωζт̄ <αἰναϋ еγма> ефѡ ммине <μινε> нко-
 20 ласис, ефμεζ̄ ἡрѡме зι сзime, ере пeiero ἡκωζт̄ сѡк зарооϋ. анок де, паγ-
 лос, αἰсѡѡт̄ αἰнаϋ езензip еϋвнк епеснт ѡа ѡом̄нт ἡтва ἡмазе, ϣχхн
 еχ̄н ϣχхн, гeneа еχ̄н гeneа. неγaѡ азом гар тнроϋ пе аѡв неϋрime еϋχѡ
 ἡмос де на nan, пχоеис, аѡв ἡпоϋна naϋ ептнр̄. πεχαἰ ἡπαггелос де
 зеноϋ ne nαι паχоеис; афοϋѡѡѡв ефχѡ ἡмос naἰ де na<1> nete | ἡпоϋка
 25 пноϋте naϋ ἡβонѡос з̄н пeοϋѡеиѡ ἡтеϋѡлифис. 2. πεχαἰ naф {naф} де еѡϋе
 οὔн мааве ἡгeneа ἡ зime ἡгeneа зιχ̄н неϋернϋ, ере пѡик̄з̄ пѡик̄з̄ naр̄ οϋнр;
 πεχαф nαι де т̄р̄ ἡнтре нак, ѡ паγλος, де пeиѡик̄з̄ пaи ѡок̄з̄ ѡа аpнχ̄̄
 ἡпноϋн. аѡв neфв̄р̄в̄р̄ εζραι ἡѡе ἡοϋχαλхион. πεχε паггелос naἰ де ѡ паγ-
 30 лос, т̄ѡр̄к̄ нак ἡпноϋте де пeиѡик̄з̄ пaи екѡанχaла ἡογaλλѡе ἡѡне епе-
 снт ероф, могic н̄сѡвз̄ епеснт ерат̄̄ ἡѡе ἡрoмпе.

33. анок де, паγλος, αἰaѡ азом аѡв аpime (р̄, f. 12a) еχ̄н пгeнос тнр̄̄
 ἡтнн̄т̄рѡме. πεχε паггелос nαι де азрок екpime, ѡ паγλος; ἡн ἡт̄к̄ οὔна-
 нт нток паpa пноϋте; ефсoοϋн гар ἡби пноϋте де οὔн κpисис ѡοοп. етве
 пaи ефзopѡ ἡзнт еχ̄н πογa πογa ѡант̄ѣire ἡпeфοϋѡѡ зιχ̄н пказ.

4 εοῦν: εϋο`ϣ̄н ms., Budge, Copeland 10 ἡпноϋ<те>: ἡ пн(οϋте) Copeland 13 <не>:
 om. ms., Budge, Copeland || зѡоϋ: з corr. ex ѡ? 17 неϋфo: read неϋѡ || ѡаϋкомѡ: read
 ѡаϋкомѡ 19 <αἰναϋ еγма>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland || <μινε>: <μμине> Copeland, om.
 ms., Budge 24 na<1>: Copeland, na ms., Budge 28–29 паγλос: паγλος Copeland 29
 нак: как Budge

there was a frightening pit full of maggots; there was a pit full of fire, its fire being light-green in color; there was a pit with smoke rising up to the firmament, and there was a pit overseen by a hundred decans. 4. I, Paul, looked and I saw a huge river of fire throwing up heavy waves, in which a multitude of men and women were immersed. Some were immersed up to their knees, others up to their middle; some up to their lips, others up to their hair. I spoke and said to the angel: "My Lord, what kind of people are those who are in the streams of fire?" The angel answered: "They are those who were neither hot nor cold water. They did not side with the righteous and they did not side with the sinners, but of their own accord ruined their life upon earth. Some days they served God, but on other days they sinned and fornicated, without renouncing their sins until they died in them." I went on and said to the angel: "Who are those that are immersed up to their knees?" He told me: "They are those who went out of the church to meddle in affairs that were not theirs, sinning daily. Those who are immersed up to their middle are they who took from the flesh of Christ and his holy blood and went and fornicated without renouncing their sins. Those who are immersed up to their lips are they who slandered within the church (102) and their houses. Those who are immersed up to their hair are they who sneered at each other in a malicious way and cheated each other."

32, 1. To the west of the river of fire, too, I saw a place allotted to various kinds of punishments and full of men and women, between whom the river of fire was flowing. I, Paul, looked and saw streets that descended up to thirty thousand cubits, soul piled upon soul, generation upon generation. And they were all groaning and weeping, saying, "Have pity on us, Lord," yet no mercy was shown to them at all. I said to the angel: "What kind of people are these, my Lord?" He answered and told me: "They are those who did not allow God to be their succor at the time of their affliction." 2. I said to him: "When there are thirty generations or forty generations piled upon each other, then how deep may each pit be?" He told me: "I assure you, O Paul, that this pit here descends to the extremity of the abyss." And it boiled over like a cauldron. The angel said to me: "O Paul, I swear to you by God that when you drop a stone pebble into this pit here, it will hardly reach its bottom in a hundred years."

33. And I, Paul, groaned and wept (103) about the entire human race. The angel said to me: "Why do you weep, O Paul? Are you perhaps more compassionate than God? For God knows that judgment exists. That is why he patiently bears with each person so that he can do as he wishes on earth."

34. ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΣΩΩΤ̄ ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄, ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΖ̄ΛΛΟ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΕΑΥΕΝΤ̄
ΕΥΣΩΚ Μ̄ΜΟQ, ΔΥΟΜC̄ QΑ ΝΕQΠΑΤ. ΑQΕΙ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΔΥΤΕΜΕΛΟΥΧΟC Μ̄
ΟΥΝΟC Ν̄ΩΛΙC̄ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄ ΕQΟ Ν̄ΩΟΜ̄ΝΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΑΡ, ΑQΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΝΕQΜΑΖ̄Τ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΡΩQ.
ΠΕΧΑΙ Ν̄ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΖ̄ΛΛΟ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΤ̄ ΖΙCΕ ΝΑQ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡC̄;
5 ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΟΥΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕ|ΡΟC ΠΕ Ν̄ΠΕQΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΛΩC Ν̄ΠΡΑΝ Ν̄ΤΑΥ-
ΤΑΛΟQ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩQ, ΕQΟΥΩΜ ΕQCΩ ΕQΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΕQΒΗΚ ΕΤΑΛΕ ΘΥCΙΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΙΧ̄Μ
ΠΚΑΖ̄.

35. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΙΣΩΩΤ̄ ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΚΕCΑ Ν̄ΚΕΚΟΥ, ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΖ̄ΛΛΟ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΕΑΥΕΝΤ̄
ΟΝ ΕΥΠΗΤ̄ Ν̄ΜΜΑQ Ν̄ΒΙ QΤΟΟΥ Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟC Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΟΡΓΗ, ΔΥΟΜC̄ QΑ ΝΕQΠΑΤ Ζ̄Μ
10 ΠΕΙΕΡΟ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄ ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΕΒΡΗCΕ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄ ΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ζ̄Μ Π̄QZO Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΙΡΑΤΗΥ,
Ν̄ΠΟΥΚΑΑQ Ε̄ΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΝΑ ΝΑΙ ΕΠ̄ΤΗΡ̄Q. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ Ν̄ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΧΕ ΠΑΧΟ-
ΕΙC, ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ; ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΟῩΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΠΕ Ν̄ΠΕQΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΛΩC
Ν̄ΤΕQΜ̄ΝΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC, ΕΑΥΤΑΛΕ ΟΥΝΟC Ν̄ΡΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩQ, Ν̄ΠΕQΤ̄ ΟΥΖΑΠ ΕQ-
CΟΥΤΩΝ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ Ν̄ΟΥΩΤ̄ (P̄Δ, f. 12b) ΟΥΔΕ Ν̄ΠΕQΜΟΟQΕ Ζ̄Μ ΤΜΝΤΑΓΑΘΟC
15 Ν̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΠΑΙ Ν̄ΤΑQΤΑΛΕ ΠΕQΡΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩQ, ΟΥΔΕ Ν̄ΠΕQΝΑ ΝΟΥΧΗΡΑ Μ̄
ΟΥΟΡΦΑΝΟC, ΕQΟ Μ̄ΝΑCΤ̄ΡΩΜΕ, ΕΜ̄ ΝΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕQΖΗΤ̄. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ
ΑΥΤΩΩΒΕ ΝΑQ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕQΖΒΗΥΕ.

36. 1. ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΙΣΩΩΤ̄ ΕΠΕΙCΑ Ν̄ΜΟΙ ΖΙΧ̄Μ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄, ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΚΕΡΩΜΕ
ΕΔΥΟΜC̄ QΑ ΝΕQΠΑΤ, ΕΡΕ ΝΕQCΙΧ ΤΟΛ̄Μ̄ ΝCΝΟQ, ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝQ̄ΝΤ̄ CΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΡΩQ
20 Μ̄Ν QΑΝΤ̄Q, ΕQΑQ ΑΖΟΜ ΑΥΩ ΕQΡ̄ΜΕ ΕQΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ Τ̄ΧΗΥ Ν̄CΟΝC̄ ΠΑΡΑ ΝΕΤ̄Ζ̄Ν
Ν̄ΚΟΛΑCΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΠΕΧΑΙ Ν̄ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙC; ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ
ΟΥ|ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΠΕ ΕQΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥQ ΑΝ ΝΕ· ΑΥΩ Ν̄QΕΙΡΕ ΑΝ Ν̄ΠΕΤ-
CΟΥΤΩΝ Ν̄Π̄ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕQΟΥΩΜ Ν̄ΝΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ Ζ̄Μ ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΑΤ̄ΖΟΤΕ,
ΕQΒΗΛ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤ̄QΑΥ. Ν̄Π̄Q̄ ΖΟΤΕ Ν̄ΟΥΖΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΡΑΝ
25 ΟΥΝΗΖ ΕΧΩQ ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΝΟQ Ν̄ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC Ζ̄Μ ΝΕQCΙΧ. ΑQΤΑΚΟ Ν̄ΠΕQΟΥΘΕΙΩ
ΤΗΡQ Ν̄ΠΕQΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ QΑΝΤ̄QΜΟΥ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑ<1> ΕQΩΟΟΠ Ζ̄Μ ΝΕΙΒΑΖΑΝΟC ΕΘΟΟΥ
ΕΤΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ. 2. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΙΣΩΩΤ̄ ΖΙ ΠΕΙCΑ Ν̄ΜΟΙ ΖΙΧ̄Μ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄, ΔΙΝΑΥ
<ΕΚΕΡΩΜΕ> ΕΑΥΕΝΤ̄ ΕΥΠΗΤ̄ Ν̄ΜΜΑQ, ΔΥΟΜC̄ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄ QΑ ΝΕQCΠΟ-
ΤΟΥ. ΑQΕΙ Ν̄ΒΙ ΟΥΔΑΓΓΕΛΟC Ν̄ΑΤΝΑ Μ̄Ν ΟΥΤΟC̄ (P̄Ε, f. 13a) Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄, ΑQCΩΛ̄Π̄ ΕΒΟΛ
30 Ν̄ΠΕQΛΑC Μ̄Ν ΝΕQCΠΟΤΟΥ ΚΟΥΙ ΚΟΥΙ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΙΔΩ ΑΖΟΜ ΑΥΩ ΔΙΡΙΜΕ. ΠΕΧΑΙ
Ν̄ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙC; ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΟΥΑΝΑΓΝΩCΤΗC ΠΕ,
ΕQΤ̄ CΒΩ Ν̄ΠΛΑΟC, Ν̄QΕΙΡΕ ΑΝ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄QΩQ ΜΜΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΝΤΟΛΗ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

37. 1. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΙΣΩΩΤ̄ ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΖΕΝΩΙΚ̄ ΖΙΧ̄Μ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ Ν̄ΚΩΖ̄Τ̄ ΕΟῩΝ ΖΕΝ-
ΡΩΜΕ Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝΖΙΟΜΕ ΟΜ̄C̄ ΖΡΑΙ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ, ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝQ̄ΝΤ̄ ΟΥΩΜ Ν̄CΩΟΥ, ΕῩΔΩ ΑΖΟΜ
35 ΑΥΩ ΕΥΡΙΜΕ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΙΡΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΔΙΑQ ΑΖΟΜ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΥ-

9 ΟΝ ΕΥΠΗΤ̄: Ο ΝΕΥΠΗΤ̄ Budge 13 Ν̄ΤΕQΜ̄ΝΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC: Δ̄ ΤΕQΜ̄ΝΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC Budge, Ν̄ΠΕQΜ̄Ν-
ΤΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC Copeland 22 ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ: read ΖΕΝΖΙΟΜΕ? 24 Ζ̄Μ: Ζ̄Μ Budge 26 ΝΕΙΒΑΖΑΝΟC:
βάσανος 28 <ΕΚΕΡΩΜΕ>: Copeland, om. ms., Budge 32 Ν̄ΝΤΟΛΗ: Ν̄(Ε)Ν̄ΤΟΛΗ ms., Copeland,
Ν̄ΝΤΟΛΗ Budge

34. Then I looked upon the river of fire and saw an old man being brought, who was dragged along and immersed up to his knees. The angel Aftemelouchos came with a great three-pronged spear of fire and brought his intestines out through his mouth. I said to the angel: "Who is that old man that is being tortured in such a horrible way?" He told me: "That is a priest who did not fulfill the dignity conferred upon him properly and who ate and drank and fornicated on earth while he was about to offer up the sacrifice."

35. I gazed a bit further in another direction, and I saw again an old man being brought, who was rushed forward by four angels of wrath. They immersed him up to his knees in the river of fire, while flashes of fire struck his face like whirlwinds, and he was not even for a moment allowed to say, "Have pity on me." I said to the angel: "My Lord, who is that?" He told me: "That is a bishop who did not fulfill his episcopate properly, although an important dignity was conferred upon him. He did not even a single day pronounce a righteous judgment (104) nor did he walk in the goodness of God, who had conferred his dignity upon him, nor did he pity widows and orphans. He was a misanthrope, in whose heart none of God's mercy dwelt. That is why he has been repaid in accordance with his acts."

36, 1. And I looked again upon the river of fire closer to me and I saw another man, who was immersed up to his knees and whose hands were stained with blood. Worms crept out of his mouth and his nose and he groaned and wept, saying: "I suffer more than all who are being punished." And I said to the angel: "Who is that, my Lord?" He told me: "That is a deacon who fornicated with women who were not his own and who did not do what is right in the eyes of God, devouring the oblations in a shameless way and reveling in all kinds of foolishness. He did not for a day heed that he was invested with a dignity and that he carried the blood of Christ in his hands. He ruined his entire life without repenting up to his death. That is why he is undergoing these cruel tortures that are everlasting." 2. I looked again upon the river of fire close to me and I saw another man being brought in a rush and immersed in the river of fire up to his lips. A merciless angel came with a razor (105) of fire and cut off his tongue and his lips little by little. I groaned and wept and said to the angel: "Who is that, my Lord?" He told me: "That is a reader, who taught the people, yet did not act in accordance with his readings and the commandments of God."

37, 1. I looked again and saw pits on the shore of the river of fire in which men and women were immersed at whom worms were gnawing and who groaned and wept. And I wept and groaned. The angel said to me: "Paul, chosen of God,

λος, πσωτῆ ἡπνοῦτε, κναῦ εοῦ; πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε nīm ne nai, παχοεῖς; πεχαῖ nai ἔε nai ne ἡρωμε | ετχι mhce ἡmhce εῦκω ἡρτηγ ετεγνῆτ-
 ρῆμαο, μποῦκα πνοῦτε ναῦ ἡβοῆθος ρι ρελπс. 2. αἰναῦ ὄн, ἀнок παγλος,
 екема ἡωарва, еφογннῡ εβολ емааτε, ере ρенкерωме mḥ ρенкерῑοме ρραι
 5 ἡρhtoῦ, εῦογoбoγeб ἡca neγλac. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε nīm ne nai, παχοεῖς;
 πεχαῖ nai ἔε nai ne те ωαγκатаλλαει ρῆ текκλнcиḗ, meγt ρтнῡ ἔπлогос
 ἡπноῦτε, αλλα εῦt бωнт ἡπноῦτε mḥ neqаггелос. εтве παι cenaḥi ἡτει-
 колacиc еcmнн εβολ.

38, 1. αἰναῦ οн εῦεῖαλ ρραι ρῆ πωικ εco ἡπαγαν ἡπесноq. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγе-
 10 лос ἔε παχοεῖς, ρеноῦ ne nai εтρoce; πεχαῖ nai (p̄z, f. 13b) ἔε παι пе пма
 етере ἡколасиc ωογo εῖaβε ἔпеснт еpoq. 2. αἰναῦ ερεнρωме mḥ ρенῑοме
 εῦōmḥ ἔпеснт ωa neγпат aγω ρенкоoγe εῦōmḥ ωa neγcпotoῦ. πεχαῖ
 ἡπαγγελος ἔε ρеноῦ ne nai παχοεῖς; πεχαῖ nai ἔε nai ne ἡмагос εтp ρиc
 eḥρωме mḥ neῑοме ἡсекаaῡ εγρoce ωантоγнmoῦ. 3. ἀнок де οн αἰcωωt
 15 αἰναῦ ερεнкерωме εῦōmḥ ωa теγπαωe, eaγбmоm ἡρoγo εῦбoоγne ἡcaωq
 ἡcωb ἡcoп, εῦἡпеснт ρῆ oγeῖḗ ἡκωρt, εῦωooп ρῆ oγнoб ἡβαzanос. ἀнок
 де οн αἰaω aρom aγω aῑpиme. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε ρеноῦ ne nai, παχο-
 eῖς; πεχαῖ nai ἔε na<1> ne | ἡωaγпopнeγe mḥ ρенкоoγe, εoγнтaῡ mḥaῡ
 ἡнеγρooγт aγω οн ρенρooγт, εoγнтaῡ ἡmaῡ ἡнеγῑοме. εтве παι cenaḥi
 20 ἡтeиколacиc еcmнн εβολ ωa eneḗ.

39, 1. ἀнок де οн αἰcωωt αἰναῦ ερεнкоῡ ἡπαρθeнoc ере ρенρoиte εῡла-
 am то ρиωoῦ, ере qтooῡ ἡaггелос то еpoоῡ, ере ρенκлaл ἡκωρt нтoōт-
 oῡ εῡt mmoоῡ eneγмакḗ. aγxιtoῡ ἔρεнma ἡкаке eγḗω aρom aγω eγpиme.
 πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε nīm ne nai, παχοεῖς. πεχαῖ nai ἔε nai neḥтаγxωρῆ
 25 ἡтeγнῆтπαρθeнoc, ἡπατογтаaῡ ἡρaῖ, ἡπατογp тн ἡпxωρῆ, oγде ἡпе
 neγкeei- (p̄z, f. 14a) ὅте eῖme еpoоῡ. εтве παι cenaḥi ἡтeиколacиc еcmнн
 εβολ. 2. ἀнок де οн αἰcωωt αἰναῦ ἔρεнρωме mḥ ρенкерῑοме, ере neγcиx
 mḥ neγoγpннтe coлп εβολ eḥρaῖ ρῆ oγma ἡxαq, ере ρенqнт oγωm ἡcωoῡ.
 αἰḗω aρom aγω aῑpиme. πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος ἔε ρеноῦ ne nai, παχοεῖς; πεχαῖ
 30 nai ἔε {naῖ ἔε} nai neтxῖ ἡἡρhке ἡбoнḥ mḥ ἡopфaнoc, ἡпоῡка πноῦτε
 naḡ ἡρeлпс ρи boḥθoc. εтве παῖ cenaḥi ἡтeиколacиc еcmнн εβολ ωa eneḗ.
 3. αἰcωωt οн αἰναῦ ἔρεнкоoγe εῡpoke εβολ eḥḥ oγḥe ἡmoоῡ, ea пeγ-
 лac ωooγe ρa пeиβε, ἡпоῡкаaῡ εcω eγḥ ρенкаpпoc ρῆ | ἡωhн eγкн eρpaῖ
 ἡпeγḥтo εβολ, ἡпоῡкаaῡ εoγωm ἔβολ ἡρhtoῡ. ἀнок де πεχαῖ ἡπαγγе-
 35 лос ἔε nīm ne nai, παχοεῖς, ἡпоῡкаaῡ εoγωm oγде ἔcω; πεχαῖ nai ἔε

1 κναῦ: read εκναῦ 13–14 εтp ρиc eḥρωме: Copeland, εтp ρиc ἡρωме Budge, read εтp ρиc
 eḥρωме 14 де: ἔε Budge 15 eaγбmоm: read eaγкmоm 23 eγḗω: γ corr. ex α 32
 oγḥe: oγḥe ms., Budge, Copeland

what do you see?" I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord?" He told me: "These are the persons who charged compound interest and put their trust in their wealth and did not allow God to be their succor and their hope." 2. Again, I, Paul, saw another parched place that was very far away, where there were other men and women, chewing their tongues. I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord?" He told me: "These are they who slandered within the church and did not pay heed to the word of God, but instead provoked the anger of God and his angels. That is why they will be suffering this everlasting punishment."

38, 1. I also saw a shining pool down in the depth that had the color of blood. I said to the angel: "What kind of harsh places are these?" He told me (106): "This is the place into which the punishments ooze down pus." 2. I saw men and women immersed up to their knees and others immersed up to their lips. I said to the angel: "What kind of people are these, my Lord?" He told me: "These are the sorcerers who bewitch men and women and keep them ailing until they die." 3. I looked again and saw yet other persons who were immersed half way and had become seven times blacker than sackcloth, while they were at the bottom of a valley of fire and exposed to heavy torture. And I groaned again and wept. I said to the angel: "What kind of people are these, my Lord?" He told me: "They are those who fornicated with others although they had their husbands and likewise men who had their wives. That is why they will be suffering this punishment that lasts forever."

39, 1. I looked again and saw young girls dressed in filthy garments, while four angels were in charge of them, carrying fiery chains, which they fastened around their necks. They took them to dark places, while they were groaning and weeping. I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord?" He told me: "Those are they who defiled their virginity before they were given in marriage and, indeed, had reached the age of menstruation, without even their parents (107) noticing it. That is why they will be suffering this everlasting punishment." 2. Again I looked and saw men and also women, their hands and their feet severed, down in an ice-cold place where worms were gnawing at them. I groaned and wept and said to the angel: "What kind of people are these, my Lord?" He told me: "Those are they who oppressed the poor and the orphans and did not allow God to be their hope and their succor. That is why they will be suffering this punishment that lasts forever." 3. I looked again and saw others, inclined over an outlet of water. Even though their tongue had become dry from thirst, they were not permitted to drink. And there were fruits on the trees exhibited in front of them and they were not permitted to eat from them. I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord, who are not allowed to eat or drink?" He told

ναι νεφωδωλ ἐβολ ἡνῆνῆστεια ἡπατῆρ ναγ. ετβε παι сенаχι ἡτεικολασис
 есмнн ἐβολ ѡα енез. 4. ἀιναγ ἐзенкерωме ἡν ἡνκεριоме еγаче ἐзραι ἡса
 пчѡ ἡтеγаче, ере зеннос ἡлампас ἡκωзт μογз за пегзѡ, ере зенадраκων
 ἡзоу ннр езоун ἐπεγсѡма, еγѡѡм ἡсѡѡγ. πεχαι ἡπαггелос хе зеноγ не
 5 ναι, паχοеис, еγт зисе наγ ἡτειзе; πεχач ναι ἡβι паггелос хе ναι νεфωδ-
 космει ἡмооγ (P^h, f. 14b) зἡ зенсобἡ ἡте πδιαβολос еγвнκ енеκκλησια,
 εтβε зенмἡтноеик аγѡ εтβε неγзαι аη, еγειре ἡппоγте ἡхаче ерооγ εтβε
 зенсобἡ ἡапатн. εтβε паἡ сенаχι ἡτεикολасис есмнн ἐβολ ѡа енез.

40. 1. ἀιναγ он, анок паγλος, езенкерωме ἡн ἡнκεριоме, еγомс ἐзен-
 10 зол{ic}кос ἡκωзт ере зензоите еγкнм то зѡѡγ, еγѡ ἡвλλе, еγвнκ ἐзραι
 еγѡиκ ἡѡѡт ечмез нкωзт. πεχαι ἡπαггелос хе зеноγ не ναι, паχο-
 еис; πεчач ναι хе ἡзеѡнос ἡатпоγте не, ἡпоγсѡген ппоγте енез. εтβε
 παι сенаχι ἡτεикολасис есмнн ἐβολ. 2. ἀιναγ | он езенкерωме ἡн ἡн-
 кеριоме, еγпорѡ ἐβολ ехἡ зензоболискос ἡκωзт, ере зенѡγριон ἡѡам-
 15 сарз оѡм ἡса неγмазт. ἡпоγκαаγ ἐχοос хе на нан ептнрἡ, ере паг-
 гелос етзлхἡ ἡκολасис, ете агтμεложхос пе, ептἡма наγ ечхѡ ἡмос хе
 сѡген текрисис мпѡнре ἡппоγте. <нецентолн> аγхооγ ἐρωтἡ ἡпетἡ-
 сѡтἡ ерооγ <неграфн> аγѡѡγ ἐρωтἡ ἡпетἡхι смн ерооγ. εтβε παι ἡн
 хинбонс зἡ текрисис мпѡнре ἡппоγте, нетἡзвнγе гар ммн ἡмѡтἡ не-
 20 таген тнγтἡ епеиμα ἡκολасис. 3. анок де аидѡ азом аγѡ аириме. πεχαι
 ἡπαггелос (P^h, f. 15a) хе ннм не ναι; πεчач ναι хе ναι не нехнра ἡн ἡпар-
 ѡенос ἡтаγмооγт ἡпепласма ἡппоγте, еаγѡе знтоγ епеснт зἡ оγпорнἡа
 аγѡ ἡкезооγт ἡтаγѡппе ἡἡмаγ зἡ теиколасис ἡѡѡт ἡἡмаγ. аγѡ неγ-
 кеѡнре ἡтаγмооγтоγ неγсмме ерооγ ἡ<ппоγте ἡн> паггелос етзлхἡ
 25 текрисис хе ари пензап ἡн ненеиоте, хе аγтако ἡпепласма ἡппоγте.
 аγταло ἡпекран ехѡѡγ хе хрисτἡнос, ἡпоγειре ἡнкентолн, аλλα аγἡ
 пкенохἡ ἡнеоγзоор ἡн нефач, ἡпоγкаан еѡппе ἡδικаиос ἡтἡѡἡѡе
 ἡппоγте. ἡкоγἡ де ἡтаγзотѡѡγ аγтааγ ἡπαггелос | етзлхἡ ἡколасис хе
 ечехитѡγ еγма еѡѡѡѡс ἐβολ, еγнаγ енеγеиоте еγзἡ ἡколасис еγмнн ἐβολ
 30 ѡа енез. 4. асѡѡт он аиναγ ἐзенрѡме ἡн ἡнкеριоме, ере зенпоѡсе
 ἡсооγне то зѡѡγ, еγмез ἡѡнн зи ламхатἡ, ере зензоу ἡκωзт ѡлἡλѡм
 езоун енеγмакἡ ἡн неγсἡх ἡн неγѡγρннте, ере зенаггелос ἡатна сѡк
 ἡмооγ ере зентап ἡκωзт злхἡ неγапнγе, еγκѡнс ἡмооγ, еγхпѡ ἡмооγ,
 еγхѡ ммос наγ хе ене оγἡбѡм ἡмѡтἡ есѡген ппоγте ἡтетἡѡἡѡе наγ

9–10 ἐзензол{ic}кос: ὀλκός, ἐзензолискос ms., ἐзензо<во>лискос Budge, Copeland 14 зен-
 ѡγριон: θηρίον, θηριον FL 17 <нецентолн>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 18 <неграфн>: om.
 ms., Budge, Copeland 24 <ппоγте ἡн>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 25 ненеиоте: ἡнеиоте
 Budge 27 ἡнеоγзоор: ἡнеѡγзоор ms., Budge, Copeland || ἡδικаиос: ἡδιαкаиос Copeland
 29 ἡколасис: н[тнѡ]ria FL 30 зенпоѡсе: зенпнлс[е] FL

me: "Those are they who broke the fasts before the time had come. That is why they will be suffering this punishment that lasts forever." 4. I saw other men and women who were suspended by the hair of their head while huge torches of fire were burning in their face and dragon snakes were glued to their body, gnawing at them. I said to the angel: "What kind of people are these, my Lord, who are tortured so terribly?" The angel told me: "Those are they who made themselves attractive (108) with perfumes of the devil when going to church, for the sake of adultery and not because of their husbands. They provoked the hostility of God by donning perfumes to beguile. That is why they will be suffering this punishment that lasts forever."

40, 1. Once more I, Paul, saw other men and other women, immersed in channels of fire and dressed in black garments. They were blind and descended into a single pit, full of fire. I said to the angel: "What kind of people are these, my Lord?" He told me: "They are the godless nations who never knew God. That is why they will be suffering this everlasting punishment." 2. I saw also other men and other women, stretched on spits of fire while flesh-eating beasts were gnawing at their intestines. They were not even for a moment allowed to say, "Have pity on us." And the angel in charge of the punishments, namely Aftimelouchos, rebuked them and said: "Acknowledge the judgment of the Son of God. His commandments were told to you and you did not hear them; the scriptures were read out aloud to you and you did not pay heed to them. Therefore, there is no iniquity in the judgment of the Son of God, for it is your own doings that have brought you to this place of punishment." 3. Yet I groaned and wept and said to the angel (109): "Who are these?" He told me: "Those are the widows and the girls who killed the creature of God by provoking abortion, because of adultery, and also the males with whom they cohabited are undergoing this same punishment together with them." And even their children whom they had killed were accusing them before God and the angel in charge of the judgment, saying: "Avenge us of our parents, for they have destroyed the creature of God. They have adopted your name, to wit Christian, yet they have not observed your commandments. Instead, they have even cast us to the dogs and the swine, not allowing us to become righteous and serve God." The infants who had been murdered were given to the angel in charge of the punishments, so that he might take them to a spacious place and they would see their parents suffering punishments that last forever. 4. I looked once more and saw men and also women wearing rags of sackcloth, full of brimstone and pitch, with snakes of fire coiled around their necks and their hands and feet. Merciless angels with fiery horns upon their heads dragged them along and pierced them. They blamed them and told them: "You should have been able to know God and

5 αὐὼ ἡπετετῆνῳῃδε. (p̄i, f. 15b) ἀνοκ δε он πεχαῖ ἡπαγγελος δε γενοῦ
 νε ναι, παχοεῖς; πεχε παγγελος ναι δε ναι νενταγαποταςσε ἡπκοσμος,
 αἰφορεῖ ἡπесхнма ἡπεхристос. 2 ὅγλη ἡπκοσμος μῆ ἡροοῦ αἰγ ἡεβнн.
 ἡπογείρε ἡογарапн ἡογзооу οὔδε ἡпоуна ἡογхнра μῆ οὔорфанос ἡογ-
 10 зооу ἡογѡт. ἡпоγѡп ерооу ἡογѡῃмо οὔδε ἡпоуна ἡпетзгтоγѡу.
 ἡпе οὔѡлнл еѡогаав еѡоу пе вѡк ἐзραι ѡа πпоγте енез евол згтоот-
 оу. ἡпе неγрооῦ μῆ неγзγлн кааγ εεῖρε ἡпетсоγтѡн ἡназрн πпоγте.
 5. αὐὼ неqхῖ ἡмооу епеῖса | μῆ παῖ ἡбῖ петзлхн ἡколасис, ере неτзн ἡко-
 ласис τηροῦ наγ ерооу. πεχαγ наγ нбῖ неτзн ἡколасис δε ἀнон енезн
 10 ἡколасис δε ἡпнаγ еѡѡоо зн πкосμος, ере псаганас † нῃман· нтѡтн
 зѡт тнγтн ететнр оу ἡпеῖма; αὐὼ он аqхῖ ἡмооу екем̄. πεχαγ наγ
 он нбῖ неτзн ἡколасис δε тнсооγн δε ἀнон γεπρεqрнове ἀнон· нтѡтн
 де атетн̄тале пран ἡппоγте ехѡтн ἡнааτε нтеῖзе αλογос. етве παῖ
 тетнахῖ ἡтеῖколасис ѡа енез. 6. ἀνοκ δε αἰδѡ азон αὐὼ αἰрне δε οὔοῖ
 15 ἡпгенос ἡнрѡме, οὔοῖ ἡпρεqрнове δε аχхпоq ἐπεῖкосμος. (p̄ia, f. 16a)
 αqоγѡѡв нбῖ παγγελος πεхаq ναι δε ѡ παγλος, азрок крне; нн нтк
 оγѡанз̄тнq рѡ н̄е ἡппоγте; еπεῖдн еqсооγн нбῖ πпоγте δε οὔн крῖсῖс
 ѡооп, етве παῖ аqка πογa πογa ѡантqεῖре ἡпетезнаq злхн пказ. αὐὼ
 аγноб ἡλγпеῖ εἰ ναι μῆ οὔрне. πεχε παγγελος δε ναι δε азрок екрне, ѡ
 20 παγλος, ἡпатк̄наγ рѡ етноб нкрῖсῖс; ἀλλα οὔaзк̄ н̄сѡῖ нтатсаѡок енет-
 оγот̄б енаῖ н̄саѡq̄ н̄сѡѡв н̄соп.

41. 1. τοτε αqхῖ ἡμοῖ {ἡμοῖ} ἐπενн̄т н̄нколасис τηροῦ, аqхῖт ехн̄ тѡѡ-
 те ἡппоγн, αἰзе ерос естоове н̄саѡqe н̄сфрагῖс н̄|кѡз̄т̄. πεχε παγγελος
 етнооѡе нῃмаῖ ἡпетзлхн̄ тѡѡте ἡппоγн δε аоγѡн нтѡѡте нте παγ-
 25 лос, пмерῖт ἡппоγте, наγ ерос δε н̄таγтаас наq енаγ езѡѡ ннм етqѡпне
 н̄сѡѡу етѡооп зн ἡколасис. πεχε παγγελος ναι δε сазѡк ἐпоγ̄е ἡογкоγῖ
 δε мекеѡбн бон̄ етѡоγн за пест̄ѡѡн. 2. н̄теγноу де н̄таqсѡлп̄ евол
 нтѡѡте ἡппоγн, аγноб н̄капнос н̄с̄тѡѡн εἰ ἐзραι зн̄ тѡѡте еqнаѡт
 енааτε пага нколасис τηροῦ. αἰсѡѡт̄ епеснт ерос, αἰс̄н̄т̄с̄ есрнт евол
 30 н̄тас̄ тас̄ н̄кѡз̄т̄ тнр̄с̄ еγхеро н̄са са ннм. могῖс н̄те оγрѡме (p̄iv, f. 16b)
 ἡογѡт вѡк епеснт ерос зн̄ οὔзоxзex. πεχε παγγελος ναι δε еγѡанноγхе
 ἡογрѡме епеснт етеῖѡѡте н̄с̄εтѡѡе ерѡq, мере пeqр̄ пнеεγ̄е εἰ ἐзραι
 ἡпн̄то̄ ε̄вол ἡпеῖѡт̄ н̄н̄ пѡнре н̄н̄ пепнеγна етоγaав н̄н̄ паγγελος τηροῦ.
 3. ἀνοκ δε πεхаῖ ἡπαγγελος δε ннм нетоγноγхе ἡмооу епеснт етеῖѡѡте;
 35 πεхаq ναι δε οὔон ннм етхѡ нмос δε ἡпе н̄с̄оγс̄ εἰ зн̄ тсаp̄z̄, οὔδε ἡпоγ-

4 οὔорфанос: γ ex corr.? 7 неγзγлн кааγ εεῖρε: неγзγлнка азεεῖρε Budge 11 аqхῖ:
 аqхѡ Budge 13 αλογос: ἀλόγως 16 ѡ: Copeland, ογ ms., Budge 24 аоγѡн: Copeland
 (app.), аγογѡн ms., Budge

serve him, yet you did not." (110) Again, I said to the angel: "What kind of people are these, my Lord?" The angel told me: "Those are they who renounced the world and wore the habit of Christ. The matter of the world and temporal concerns made them wretched. They did not for a day practice charity nor did they pity a widow or an orphan for a single day. They did not receive the foreigner nor did they show mercy to their neighbor. Never did a pure prayer of theirs ascend from them to God. Their concerns and their material possessions did not allow them to do what is right in the eyes of God." 5. And the angel in charge of the punishments took them from one place to another, and all those suffering the punishments saw them. And they who were suffering the punishments said to them: "We are being punished because, during the time we lived in the world, Satan combated us, but you, what are you doing here?" And he took them to yet another place and again those who were suffering the punishments said to them: "We know that we are sinners, but you have merely adopted the name of God, yet with how little reason! That's why you will suffer this punishment forever." 6. But I groaned and wept: "Woe to the race of men. Woe to the sinner that he was born into this world." (111) The angel replied and told me: "O Paul, why do you weep? Are you perhaps just as merciful as God? Because God knows that the judgment exists, therefore he allows each person to do as pleases him on earth." Yet I was overtaken by great sorrow and weeping. But the angel said to me: "Why do you weep, O Paul, before you have even seen the great judgment? But follow me and I will show you things that are seven times worse than these."

41, 1. Then he led me to the west of all the punishments and took me near the well of the abyss. I discovered that it was sealed with seven seals of fire. The angel that accompanied me told the one in charge of the well of the abyss: "Open up the well so that Paul, the beloved of God, may see it, for he has received permission to see every aspect of the punishments for which he inquires." The angel told me: "Stand back a little, for you will not be able to bear the stench." 2. At the very moment he uncovered the well of the abyss, a thick foul-smelling smoke rose from the well, far worse than that of all the other punishments. I looked down into it and discovered that it was entirely jammed with glowing embers that blazed in all directions. Only just a single man (112) could descend into it with difficulty. The angel told me: "When they cast someone down into this well and seal its mouth, his remembrance will never enter the presence of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and all the angels." 3. And I said to the angel: "Who are the people that are thrown down into this well?" He told me: "Everyone who says that Jesus did not come in the

flesh nor was born from the holy Virgin Mary, and those who say that the bread and the wine over which the name of God is pronounced are not the flesh of Christ and his blood, and all who have renounced their baptism to destroy their seal brutally. This is their dwelling place forever.”

42, 1. I looked to the west in northern direction and saw there the worm that does not sleep. And each worm was one cubit in length and had two heads. I saw men and also women living in the cold of ice and the gnashing of teeth. I said to the angel: “My Lord, who are those that live in these harsh places?” He told me: “They are those who say that Christ has not risen from the dead and that this flesh will not rise.” I said to the angel: “Is it only gnashing of teeth and cold that reign here? (113) Is there no warmth in this place?” He told me: “No, only cold and ice are found here.” I said to the angel: “When the sun rises over them, will they not get warm?” The angel told me: “If seven suns should rise over them, they would not become warm because of the ice that covers them.” 2. Then I spread my hands, groaned and wept, saying: “It would be better if the impious had not been born upon the earth than that he was born.”

43, 1. As soon as they saw me weeping, all who suffered the punishments, those inside as well as those outside (of that place), cried out and wept. I, Paul, looked and saw the heaven opening, and I saw Michael, the archangel of the covenant. He came out of heaven with the entire host of the angels and all the angels threw themselves down upon their face. All those who suffered the punishments saw them weeping. They said to him: “Have pity on us, archangel of the covenant, you who are compassionate and entreat for humanity at all times. Thanks to you, O Michael, the world is stable. We have seen the judgment. We have acknowledged the Son of God. Indeed, if only we had been able to cure ourselves before we arrived at this place, full of suffering! We heard that the judgment exists before we came forth from the body, yet the concerns and the matter of the world did not allow us, O Michael, to repent.” 2. Michael answered and said: “Listen to me, O you who suffer the punishments. (114) Hear Michael speaking, who at all times stands in God’s presence. As God lives, whom I serve, and as the Lord lives, in whose presence I stand, not a single day or a single night passes that I am not pleading for the human race. While Michael is pleading in heaven, however, the humans enjoy their merriments upon earth and their obscenities. Those upon earth have not helped Michael. O men, you have spent your entire lifetime without repenting. 3. It is I who entreat the Lord so that he sends you the dew from heaven. Again, it is I who entreat God to ensure that the abyss opens its mouth and pours forth water upon the earth so that it bears

5 μῆτρε νητῆν χε еρωαν οὐα ῥ οὐκοῦι ῥαγαθον, φαιωωπε ναϋ ῥναωυτε
 21 βοῆθος φαντῆνογρῆ εἰκολασις. εὐτων σε теноῦ нетῆωληλ; εὐτων
 нетῆμετανοια; εὐτων нетῆαγαπη ῆтатетῆаау; атетῆтако ῆпетῆоγō-
 10 ειω нтатетῆааϋ ριχῆ πκαρ. ριμε σε, ω ῥρωμε, ῆтаριμε ρωωт μῆ наг-
 геλος аϋω пкеπαγλος, пмерит ῆппоγτε, қнаριμε ρωωϋ нῆμнтῆ. μεωак
 ῆте φвенῆтнϋ † нηтῆ ῆоγκοῦι ῆмотнес. (ῤῚ[ε], f. 18a) 4. аϋωϋ евол тнроῦ
 ῆ6и нетῆ ῆколасиς еγριμε аϋω он еγав ρзон ката тентолн нῆихаηλ,
 еγхω ммос χε на нан, пωнре ῆппоγте етонῆ. а паγλος ρωωϋ он ωϋ евол
 еϋхω ῆмос χε паχоеиς, ипсоῦς пехристос, φвенῆтнκ ρа пекпласма. тоте
 10 михаηλ аϋπαρτῆ μῆ ρентва ῆаγγелос ῆпῆто евол ῆппоγте, еγхω ῆмос
 χε φвенῆтнκ ρа пекпласма, φῆῆтнκ ρа текрикωн, φвенῆтнκ ρа ῆωнре
 ῆааан.

44. 1. аисωωт аинаϋ етпе еским ῆ6е ῆоγωнн еγким ероϋ ρитῆ оγтнϋ
 аϋω ῆтероῦπαρтоῦ ῆпῆто евол ῆπε|θρονос ῆппоγте, аинаϋ епхογтаϋте
 15 ῆпресвῦтерос μῆ πεϋтооῦ ῆζωон еаγπαρтоῦ. аинаϋ еπεθῦσιαστηριон
 μῆ πкатапетасма еаγπαρтоῦ, аисωтῆ еγсμη есхω ῆмос χε етве оῦ
 ететῆтωβῆ нмои, ω нааγγелос ῆλγτογρгоς; аγсμη ωωпе есхω ῆмос χε
 ентωβῆ ехῆ тнῆтρωме, ен6ωωт етекмнтнант. 2. аинаϋ етпе есоγнн,
 а пωнре ῆппоγте еи евол ρῆ тпе, ёоγῆ оγ6рнпе ριχῆ теϋапе. а нетῆ
 20 ῆколасиς наϋ ероϋ, аϋωϋ евол еγхω ммос χε на нан, (ῤῚς, f. 18b) пωнре
 ῆппоγте етонῆ. аκ† ῆтон ῆна тпе μῆ нетῆιχῆ πκαρ, † мотнес нан ρωωн.
 χин ῆпнаγ γар нтаннаγ ерок, а тмотнес тазон. 3. аϋω ρн теγноῦ етῆнаγ
 а тесμη ῆпωнре мппоγте вωк евол ρῆ нколасиς тнроῦ еϋхω ῆмос χε
 аϋ нρωв енаноῦϋ пентатетῆааϋ ριχῆ πκαρ χе еиē† ῆтон нηтн; аϋωρῆт
 25 евол ῆпасноϋ етве тнγтῆ, ῆпетῆμετανοι. аγ† κлом ῆωонте ехωи етве
 тнγтῆ, ῆпетῆμετανοι. ῆ6ιχ ῆтаγπлассе ммωтῆ аγοϋтоῦ ῆειϋт етве
 тнγтῆ аϋω ῆпетῆμετανοι. аιαтει | ῆογмооῦ етрасω, аγeine нαι ῆογсиωе
 μῆ оγῆμх, еиōт епестаγрос, аϋω ῆпетῆμετανοι. аγκονст ῆογлогхн
 епаспир ῆογнам етве тнγтῆ, ῆпетῆμετανοι. напрофῆтнς μῆ наδικаиос
 30 тнроῦ аγмооγтоῦ етве тнγтῆ, ῆпетῆμετανοι. ρῆ нαι тнроῦ, аγ† мета-
 νοια нηтῆ аϋω ῆпетῆμετανοι. 4. аλλα етве михаηλ μῆ памерит паγ-
 лос, ῆтoγωω аη еλγπει ῆмооῦ {ῆ} мн нетϋ просфора ρарωтῆ, нетῆ-
 ωнре μῆ нетῆς<н>нϋ, χе оγῆ оγон γар ῆῆнтоῦ еϋειре ῆнаентолн, аϋω ē-
 ([ῤῚ], f. 19a) тве таηῆтаγθ6ос χе аитωоγн евол ρῆ нетнооγт, †на† нηтῆ
 35 ῆткγριακн ῆῆтон ката саббатон аϋω пгаиоῦ ῆρзооῦ етнῆῆса таηаста-

7 тентолн: пентолн Copeland 17 ω: μῆ ms., Budge, Copeland || ῆλγτογρгоς: λειτουργός
 20 аϋωϋ: аγoγωω ms., Budge, Copeland 23 тнроῦ: [ε]тнроῦ Copeland, т corrected from
 ε 31 памерит: н ex corr. 32 ῆмооῦ {ῆ}: ῆмооγῆ ms., Budge, ῆмооῦ [ῆ] Copeland, first o
 corr. ex н?

its fruit. I assure you that if someone does but a little good, I will become for him a protector and a succor so that he may escape the punishments. Where now are your prayers? Where are your acts of repentance? Where are your acts of charity that you have done? You squandered your time that you spent on earth. Now weep, O men, and I will weep too, together with the angels. And also Paul, the beloved of God, will weep together with you. Perhaps the Merciful will grant you a little relief." (115) 4. At the instance of Michael, all who suffered the punishments cried out and wept and groaned as well, and said: "Have pity on us, Son of the living God!" Paul too cried out in turn, saying: "My Lord, Jesus Christ, have compassion on your creature." Then Michael prostrated himself in the presence of God, together with myriads of angels, and they said: "Have compassion on your creature. Have compassion on your image. Have compassion on the children of Adam."

44, 1. I looked and saw the heaven moving like a tree shaken by wind and, when they had prostrated themselves before the throne of God, I saw the Twenty-Four Elders and the Four Creatures that had prostrated themselves. I saw the altar and the veil that had prostrated themselves. And I heard a voice saying: "Wherefore do you beseech me, O my ministering angels?" A voice came forth, saying: "We intercede for humanity, seeking your compassion." 2. I saw the heaven open and the Son of God came out of heaven with a diadem upon his head. They who suffered the punishments saw him and cried out, saying: "Have pity on us, (116) Son of the living God. You have given rest to the inhabitants of heaven as well as to those upon earth. Grant us, too, relief. Indeed, since the moment we saw you, we felt relief." 3. At that moment, the voice of the Son of God went forth through all the punishments, saying: "What good work have you done on earth that I should grant you rest? My blood was shed for your sakes and you did not repent. I was crowned with thorns for your sakes and you did not repent. The hands that modeled you were fixed with nails for your sakes and you did not repent. I asked for water to drink, and gall and vinegar were offered to me, while I was nailed to the cross, and you did not repent. I was pierced by a lance in my right side for your sakes and you did not repent. All my prophets and my righteous were killed for your sakes and you did not repent. In all these ways, repentance was offered to you and you did not repent. 4. But for the sake of Michael and my beloved Paul, whom I do not want to grieve, and for the sake of those who offer oblations for you, your children and your brothers, as there are some among them who observe my commandments, and (117) out of my goodness, because I rose from the dead, I will give you the Lord's Day as a day of rest every week as well as the fifty days following the Resurrection, when

cic, ḡtaigtwouṇ ewol žn̄ netmooyt ṇžhtč. 5. tote netžn̄ ṇkolascic throu
 aɣwɔ ewol eɣxw ṇmos xetn̄smoy ērok, ihsoc, pɔhpe ṇpnoyte etonē, xe
 nanoɣ pezooy naṇ ṇm̄ton para penaze thrḡ ṇtananaɣ zixm̄ pkaz ṇpatn̄-
 eime xe neirice ɔoɔp. ene ntaneime xe neirice throu naei ēxwṇ, nennaɣi
 5 an pe oɣde nennaɣ an pe aɣw nennaṛ laaɣ ṇzew an pe zixm̄ pkaz. oɣ gar
 pe penɔaɣ xe | <aɣ>xpon epkosmos; alhɔwɔ eis nelzw etnhɣ ēzrai
 žn̄ rɔwɔ ṇnenephɣ ɔw ṇm̄man. <penmkaž nžht> m̄ ṇrime etn̄eire ṇmooy
 m̄ ṇqnt̄ etžaron cezoce ṇm̄man ṇzoɣō etekricic etn̄nžhtč. 6. a naɣtełos
 etzixm̄ ṇkolascic ep̄tma naɣ xe etbe oɣ tetn̄rime aɣw tetn̄wɔ ewol; m̄
 10 na ṇžhtn̄ ezouṇ ērɔwt̄n̄ xe ṇpetn̄ka pnoyte nhtn̄ ṇboḡhɔos zi zelpic. m̄
 na žn̄ tekricic ṇpete ṇpeceire ṇpna. ṇta pna taze thɣt̄n̄ m̄mate ṇteɣwṇ
 <m̄n pezooy> ntkɣriakh etbe pnerit ṇpnoyte, paɣłos, xe aɣentɣ ep̄eima.

45. 1. pexe paɣtełos nai xe paɣłos, pɔwt̄ ṇpnoyte, aknaɣ enai throu;
 peɣaɣ naɣ xe aze, paɣoec. ([p̄iṇ], f. 19b) peɣaɣ nai xe oɣazḡ ṇcwi on
 15 tenoy, ṇtaxitḡ ep̄paraɣeicos xe ere ṇḡikaicos throu nanaɣ erok žn̄
 oɣraɣe m̄ oɣtelh̄. aɣc̄wt̄toɣ gar ṇḡi ṇḡikaicos etreɣei ewol žhtḡ
 throu. anok de aimooɣe m̄ paɣtełos. aɣtorpt̄ žn̄ pepneɣma aɣx̄i m̄oi
 ep̄paraɣeicos. pexe paɣtełos naṇ xe w̄ paɣłos, knaɣ ep̄ma et̄naɣitḡ eroy;
 ere p̄paraɣeicos žn̄ pma et̄maɣ, pma ṇta aɣam paraɣa ṇžhtɣ m̄ teɣ-
 20 cime. 2. ntereizwṇ de ezouṇ ep̄paraɣeicos, ainaɣ etarxh ṇpeɣtooy
 ṇeiero žn̄ pma etmaɣ. a paɣtełos | xw̄p̄n̄ oɣbni xe pai pe f̄icwṇ etkwte
 ep̄kaž thrḡ ṇeɣeilat, geṇ petkwte ep̄kaž thrḡ ṇneḡooɣe, teɣric pai
 petc̄wk ṇp̄m̄to ewol ṇnac̄ɣrios, peɣφrat̄h̄s pai etc̄wk ṇp̄m̄to ewol ṇtme-
 copotamia. 3. ṇteɣnoɣ ṇtaṛ pzoṇ ṇp̄paraɣeicos, ainaɣ eɣwṇh̄ eq̄rht̄
 25 ere teɣnoɣne ɔɣō mooy ewol eɣp̄ɣh̄ es̄t̄ mooy eteɣtoe ṇarxh ṇpeɣtooy
 ṇeiero, ēre pepneɣma ṇpnoyte niɣe zixm̄ pwh̄n. eq̄ɔanwɔ ṇḡi pepneɣma,
 ɔare p̄mooy c̄wk. peɣai ṇpaɣtełos xe paɣoec, oɣ pe peiwh̄n et̄ɔɣō
 mooy ewol; aɣoy<w>ɔḡ ṇḡi paɣte- ([p̄iṇ], f. 20a) los peɣaɣ nai xe zaḡn
 ṇpate pnoyte tamie tpe m̄ pkaz, m̄ laaɣ ṇca mooy ṇmaate aɣw ere
 30 pepneɣma ṇpnoyte na eq̄nh̄ zixm̄ m̄mooy. ṇtere pnoyte de tamie tpe m̄
 pkaz, pepneɣma ṇw̄or̄p̄ pe zixm̄ p̄mooy, ṇtoɣ on pe žixm̄ pwh̄n. eq̄ɔan̄niɣe
 de ṇḡi pepneɣma, ɔaɣc̄wk ṇḡi p̄mooy. 4. anok de aɣamažte ṇtaḡix aɣxit̄
 etm̄nh̄te ṇp̄paraɣeicos. aɣtsaɣoi ep̄wṇh̄ ṇcoɣen p̄pet̄naɣoyɣ m̄ p̄pet̄-

3-4 ṇpatn̄eime: eim ex corr. 5 oɣ: Copeland, w̄ ms., Budge 6 <aɣ>xpon: Copeland, xpon
 ms., Budge 7 ɔw: read ɔo || ṇm̄man: second m corr. ex a? || <penmkaž nžht>: om. ms., Budge,
 Copeland 12 <m̄n pezooy>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 20 ṇpeɣtooy: oɣ ligature corr. ex
 ɣ 23 pai etc̄wk: pa pet c̄wk Budge 25 ɔɣō: ɔaɣō Budge || eɣp̄ɣh̄: πηγῇ 26-27
 eq̄ɔanwɔ ṇḡi pepneɣma, ɔare p̄mooy c̄wk: eq̄ɔan̄c̄wk ṇḡi p̄mooy, ɔare pepneɣma wɔ
 ms., Budge, Copeland 33 ṇp̄paraɣeicos: ṇparaɣeicos Copeland 33-206.1 p̄pet̄θooy:
 read p̄pet̄θooy

I rose from the dead.” 5. Then all who suffered the punishments cried out, saying: “We bless you, Jesus, Son of the living God, for the day of rest is better for us than the whole of our lifetime that we passed on earth, before we realized that these torments exist. If we had known that all these torments would be imposed on us, we would not have bought and we would not have sold and we would not have undertaken anything on earth. For what use was it for us that we were born in the world? Truly, the steam that comes up from the mouth of our fellows tortures us. Our distress and the weeping that we do and the worms that issue from us are the hardest part of the judgment that we are undergoing.” 6. The angels in charge of the punishments upbraided them: “Why do you weep and cry? We feel no mercy for you, for you have not allowed God to be your succor and your hope. The judgment knows no mercy for him who did not practice mercy. Mercy has been shown to you for the night and the day of the Lord’s Day only for the sake of Paul, the beloved of God, because he was brought to this place.”

Paul Visits Earthly Paradise and Is Greeted by the Righteous

45, 1. The angel said to me: “Paul, chosen of God, have you seen all these things?” I told him: “Yes, my Lord.” (118) He said to me: “Now follow me once more and I will take you to Paradise, so that all the righteous may see you with joy and exultation. For the righteous have prepared themselves all to set out and meet you.” And I went along with the angel. He seized me in the spirit and took me to Paradise. The angel said to me: “O Paul, do you see the place where I am going to take you? There is Paradise, where Adam and his wife transgressed.” 2. When I had come closer to Paradise, I saw there the spring of the four rivers. The angel pointed out to me: “That is the Phison, which surrounds the entire land of Evila; the Gihon, which surrounds the entire land of the Cushites; the Tigris, which flows before the Assyrians; the Euphrates, which flows before Mesopotamia.” 3. As soon as I entered Paradise, I saw a tree growing, the root of which poured forth water into a source that provided water for the four springs of the four rivers, and the Spirit of God blew over the tree. Whenever the Spirit called, the water flowed forth. I said to the angel: “My Lord, what is this tree that pours forth water?” The angel answered (119) and said to me: “Before God created heaven and earth, there was nothing but water alone and the Spirit of God went to and fro over the waters. But from the time God created heaven and earth, the same Spirit that was first upon the water, dwells upon the tree. Whenever the Spirit blows, the water flows forth.” 4. He took my hand, brought me to the middle of Paradise and showed me the tree of knowledge of good and evil. He told

000Υ. ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΩΗΝ ḡΤΑ ΠΜΟΥ ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ἑΠΚΟСМОС ΕΤΒΗΗΤḡ. ΠΑΙ
 ΠΕΝΤΑ ΔΔΑМ ΟΥΩМ ΕΒΟΛ ḡΖΗΤϞ ΩΑΝΤΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΕΙ ΕΧḡ ΡΩΜΕ | ΝΙМ. ΔϞΤСАВОИ
 ОН ЕКЕΩΗН ΕϞΡΗΤ ḡḡ ΤΗΗΗΤΕ ḡΠΠΑРАΔΕΙСОС. ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΩΗΝ
 ḡΠΩΗḡ. ΕΡΕ ΟΥΧΕΡΟΥΒΕΙΝ Μḡ ΟΥСΗϞΕ ḡΚΩḡḡ {κωḡḡ} ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟϞ ΕΠΚΩΤΕ.

- 5 46, 1. 20СОН ΔΕ ΕΙΔΑΖΕРАТ ΕΣΩϞḡ ΕΠΕΟΟΥ ḡΠΩΗΝ ḡΠΩΗḡ, ΔΙΣΩϞḡ ΔΙΝΑϞ
 ΕΤΠΑΡΘΕНОС. ΔСΕΙ ΕΡΕ ΩΟМḡḡ ḡΑΓΓЕЛОС ḡΥМНЕϞΕ ΕРОС. ΔНОК ΔΕ ΔΙΟΥΩϞḡ
 ΠΕΧΑΙ ḡΠΑΓΓЕЛОС ΧΕ ΝΙМ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙС; ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ НАРΙΑ,
 ТНАϞ ḡΠΕΝΧΟΕΙС ḡНОУС ΠΕΧРІТОС, ЕСḡḡ ΠΕΙНОС ḡЕООУ. 2. ΑϞΩ ḡΤΕРЕСḡΩН
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ἑΡΟΙ, ΠΕΧΑС ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΧΑΙРЕ ΠΑϞЛОС, ΠМЕРІТ ḡΠΠΟΥḡḡ. ΧΑΙРЕ ΠΑϞЛОС,
 10 {ΠМЕРІТ} ([ḡ]ḡ, f. 20b) ΠМЕРІТ ḡНАΓΓЕЛОС Μḡ ΝΡΩМЕ. ΧΑΙРЕ ΠΑϞЛОС, ΠΕΝ-
 ТАϞΩϞΠΕ ḡΚΥРІЗ ḡТМЕ ḡḡ ТΠΕ ΑϞΩ ḡΙΧḡ ΠКАḡ. ḡΔΙΚΑΙОС ТΗΡΟΥ СЕТΩḡḡ
 ḡΠΑΩΗРЕ, ḡНОУС ΠΕΧРІТОС, ΕΤΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙС ΠΕ, ΧΕ ΚΝΑΠΘЕ ḡМОН, ΝḡΕΙNE
 ḡΠΑϞЛОС ἑḡРАΙ ΩΑРОН ḡТḡНАϞ ἑΡΟϞ ḡḡ ТСАḡḡ, ḡПАḡḡΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ḡḡ СΩМА; ΠΕΧЕ
 15 ΠΑΩΗРЕ ḡМЕРІТ НАϞ ΧΕ ḡΡΟϞ ḡḡΖΗТ ḡΟΥΚΟΥ ḡΟΥḡΕΙϞ, ϞНАΩϞΠΕ ḡММНḡḡ
 ΩА ΕNEḡ. ΠΕΧΑϞ ТΗΡΟΥ ḡḡ ΟΥḡАПРО ḡΟΥḡḡ ΧΕ ḡΠḡḡḡΠΕΙ ḡМОН, ΠΕΝΧΟ-
 ЕΙС, ТḡΟΥΩϞ ΕḡḡḡНАϞ ΕΡΟϞ ḡḡ ТСАḡḡ ΕΑϞΧІ ḡΠΕΙНОС ΝЕООУ {N} | ḡḡΕΙḡЕ,
 ΕϞϞΙ ḡА ΝЕИНОС Μḡ ΝЕИКОУІ. ΕḡΩАН ΠΟΥḡ ΠΟΥḡ ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕḡΕΙМḡḡТЕРО, ΩАН-
 ΩΙNE ΧΕ ḡḡΤΑ ΠΑḡ ΕΙ ΕΠЕИНА ΕḡВЕ ОΥ; ΩΑϞΧООС ΧΕ Οḡḡ ΧΕ ΠΑϞЛОС ΠЕТḡΙΧḡ
 20 ΠКАḡ Εḡḡḡḡ ОЕΙϞ ḡΠΕΧРІТОС ḡḡ ΝЕϞΩḡḡΕ ΕḡḡОḡḡ, ΕϞСΩК ḡḡЕНМННΩЕ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΧРІТОС, ΕϞΧІ ḡМООУ ἑΖΟΥΝ ΕḡΠΟЛІС ḡΠΕΧРІТОС, ΘΙЕРОУСАЛНМ.
 ΕΙС ḡΔΙΚΑΙОС ТΗΡΟΥ ОḡННḡ ḡСΩІ ΧΕ ΕḡНААΠΑḡḡТА ЕРОК. 3. †Ωḡḡ ḡḡΟΥНАМ
 ḡΠΑΩΗРЕ, Ω ΠСΩḡḡḡ ḡΠΠΟΥḡḡ, ΠΑϞЛОС, ΧΕ ΠЕТНАСḡΑΙ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ΝḡΕΙΑΠΟКА-
 ЛḡМḡІС (ḡḡḡ, f. 21a) ḡḡḡḡНАϞ ΕРОС ḡḡ ḡΠḡḡЕ, ḡḡЕϞΧІ †ΠЕ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ
 25 ḡḡ ḡḡОЛАСІС ḡḡḡḡНАϞ ΕΡΟΟΥ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ, ΕΙМḡḡḡḡ ТАḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡЕḡḡІ-
 ЕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ḡḡ СΩМА, ΑϞΩ ΠЕТḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ, СЕḡḡḡḡḡ ḡΠΕḡΕΙΡΟḡḡḡḡḡḡ
 ḡḡЕḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ΑϞΩ ΠЕТḡḡḡḡḡḡ ΕРОС ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ-
 ΩINE. ΝΑΙḡḡḡ ḡΟΥḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡСОН, Ω ΠΑϞЛОС. 4. ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, Ω ΠΑϞЛОС, ΧΕ ḡḡТОК
 ḡḡḡḡḡ ΠΕḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ἑΒΟΛ ḡḡḡḡ. †ḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ΧΕ ΡΩМЕ ΝΙМ Εḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡΠΟΥΩϞ
 30 ḡΠΑΩΗРЕ, ΔНОК ΠЕ ΠΩОРḡḡ Εḡḡḡḡḡ ἑΒΟΛ ḡḡḡḡḡ. ΜΕΙКАḡḡ Εḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ΩАН-
 ТΟΥḡḡḡḡḡḡ ἑΠΑМЕРІТ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ΟḡΕΙḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

47, 1. 20С ΕΡΕ ТΠΑΡΘЕНОС Ωḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ, ΕΙС ΚЕΩΟМḡḡḡ ḡḡΕΙ ḡΠΟΥḡ ΕNE-
 СΩΟΥ Εḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ΤЕḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, ΕΡΕ ΝЕḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ ΕΡΟΟΥ. ΠΕΧΑΙ ḡΠΑΓ-
 ΓЕЛОС ΧΕ ΝΙМ ΝЕ ΝΑΙ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙС, ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ἑΡΟΙ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ; ΠΕΧΑϞ ΧΕ

1 ΠΩΗΝ: ΠΩΗН Budge, [ḡ]ΠΩΗ(ḡ) Copeland; π corr. ex n || ΕΖΟΥΝ: ḡΟΥΝ Budge 3 ḡΠΠΑРА-
 ΔΕΙСОС: ḡΠΑРАΔΕΙСОС Copeland 4 ḡΚΩḡḡḡ {κωḡḡḡ}: ḡḡḡḡḡḡ κωḡḡḡ ms., Budge, Copeland 10
 {ΠМЕРІТ} ΠМЕРІТ: ΠМЕРІТ ΠМЕРІТ ms., Budge, ΠМЕРІТ [ḡ]МЕРІТ Copeland 11 ḡḡΚΥРІЗ: κḡḡḡḡ
 12 ΚΝΑΠΘЕ: ΠΕḡḡḡḡḡḡ 16 {N} ḡḡΕΙḡЕ: N {ḡḡ} ḡḡḡЕ Copeland 19 ḡΠΕΧРІТОС: ḡḡḡḡ(ḡḡḡ)С
 Copeland 20 ḡΠΕΧРІТОС: ḡḡḡḡ(ḡḡḡ)С Copeland 27 ΕΡΟΟΥ: text switches from sing. to
 plur. 30 ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ: read ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ

me: "This is the tree on account of which death entered the world, the one from which Adam ate, with the result that death came over all." He also showed me another tree, growing in the middle of Paradise. He told me: "This is the tree of life, which is surrounded on all sides by a cherub with a fiery sword."

46, 1. While I still stood gazing at the glory of the tree of life, I looked and saw the Virgin. She came with three angels singing hymns to her. I spoke and said to the angel: "Who is that, my Lord?" He told me: "That is Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, surrounded by such great glory." 2. Now when she had come closer to me, she said to me: "Hail, Paul, beloved of God. Hail, Paul, beloved (120) of angels and men. Hail, Paul, who has become a herald of truth both in heaven and upon earth. All the righteous entreat my son, Jesus Christ, who is my Lord, saying: 'Will you oblige us and bring Paul up to us so that we may see him in the flesh, before he comes forth from the body?' And my beloved son told them: 'Be patient for a little while and he will come to live with you forever.' They all said with one voice: 'Do not grieve us, our Lord. We desire to see him in the flesh, since he has earned such great glory, caring for the great and the small. When any of them enters this kingdom, we inquire: "Why has this one arrived here?" And they will say: "There is one called Paul upon the earth, who preaches Christ with his sweet words, draws multitudes towards Christ and introduces them into the City of Christ, Jerusalem"' See, all the righteous follow me in order to meet you. 3. I swear by the right hand of my son, O chosen of God, Paul, that whoever will copy the words of this revelation (121) that you saw in the heavens, will not experience any torture of the punishments that you have seen in hell, except for the agony alone, at the moment when they go forth from the body, and as for him who will read it with faith, the written record of his sins will be torn, and whoever will listen to it and observe the commandments of my son, my son will bless them in this world and show mercy to them on the day of their visitation. Blessed are you many times, O Paul. 4. Do not think, O Paul, that it is you alone that I have come to greet. I assure you that for anyone who will do the will of my son, I am the first who comes forth to meet them. I will not let them be strangers, until they meet my beloved son in peace."

47, 1. While the Virgin was speaking with me, there came three other persons from afar, very beautiful in their appearance, with their angels singing hymns to them. I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord, who saw me and rejoiced with me?" He said: "Did you not recognize them, Paul?" I said: "I did

not, my Lord." He told me: "These are the fathers of the people, Abraham (122) and Isaac and Jacob." As soon as they saw me, they greeted me and said to me: "Hail, Paul, beloved of God and men. Blessed is he who will take pains for God." 2. And Abraham said: "This is my son, Isaac, whom I sacrificed to God. This is Jacob, the beloved of God. Because we acknowledged God in the world, God did not grieve us when we came to him. Blessed are all people who will come to believe through you and will abide in God with labor and charity and purity and humility and meekness and faith in God. But we concluded a covenant with him whom you proclaim to the effect that we will minister to all people who will come to believe through you." 3. While they were speaking, I looked in the distance and I saw that twelve more had come. I said to the angel: "Who are these, my Lord?" He told me: "These are the patriarchs." As soon as they reached me, they greeted me and said to me: "Hail, Paul, (123) beloved of God and men. God did not grieve us, since he has allowed us to see you in the flesh, before you come forth from the body." And each told me his name, from Reuben up to Benjamin. 4. Joseph said: "I am Joseph, whom they sold. I assure you, O Paul, that with all the sufferings that I underwent and the pains that they inflicted on me, I did not for a single day allow myself to nurse malice against them. Because God shall recompense whoever will take pains for God many times over when he comes forth from the body."

48, 1. As he was speaking with me, I looked in the distance and I saw someone else, whose angel was singing hymns to him. I said to the angel: "Who is that man, so beautiful in his appearance?" He told me: "Did you not recognize him?" I said to him: "I did not, my Lord." He said to me: "That is Moses, the lawgiver, to whom God gave the law." And when he reached me, he greeted me and wept. I told him: "Why do you weep? I heard that you are meeker than anyone on earth." 2. And Moses said to me: "I weep because my shoots that I planted have not taken root nor did they yield fruit. My sheep that I herded (124) got scattered as if they had no shepherd. All my troubles that I took with the sons of Israel were lost. All the miracles that I did with them in the desert they failed to understand. I am amazed that foreigners, the uncircumcised and the idol worshipers, will come into the inheritance of Israel. 3. I assure you, O Paul, that at the moment they crucified the Son of God, Michael and Gabriel and the angels and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the righteous were weeping. When the Son of God was hanging from the wood of the cross, they were beckoning to

ἡπισταγρος, νευ|χωρῆ οὐβνι εὐχω μνος χε μωγснс, σωφτ̄ ἐπεκλαος χε
 ἡταγρ̄ ογ ἡπωρηε ἡπνοуге. ναῖδτ̄, ὦ παγλος, αγω ναῖατ̄ ἡπλαος εтна-
 σωτῆ ἡсωк, ναῖ εтнаπιστεῡ ἐπεκταφεο̄ειω.

- 49, 1. ρосон ἐρε παῖ φαχε, εἰс κε ἡῆтсноугс агей ἡпоӯ αγω ἡτεροуг̄ωρ
 5 εροι, πεχαγ ναῖ χε ἡток пе παγλος, пмергт ἡпноуге; αληθως, ακχι εооу
 ρῆ тпе αγω ριχῆ пкаρ. πεχαι ναγ χε ἡтетῆ нм; πεχαγ χε анон непро-
 фнтс. πεχε оуа χε анок пе ἡсаиас, пента манассн оуаст̄ ρῆ оулан-
 оен ἡφ̄е. πεχε пкео̄γa χε анок пе ἡеремиас, пента мωнре ἡписранл нех
 ὦне ероу φантоугмоугт̄. (рк̄ε, f. 23a) πεχε пкео̄γa χε анок пе ἡεкеῖнл,
 10 пента ἡφ̄нре ἡписранл амарте ἡн̄φоугрннте асωк ммоу ριχῆ нехаλαз
 етхоосе φантоугноугре евол нтаапе. негисе тнроу ἡταιφопоу, ειοугωу
 етре писранл оуχαι. †ῖ ἡῆтре нак х(е) ене φаγ† ρисе наῖ ἡси ἡφ̄нре ἡпи-
 сранл, φαιπαρ̄т̄ εχῆ παρο таτωβ̄ εχωоу, χин прасте ἡткγριαкн φанте
 псаббатон тнр̄ оуеине, еипаρ̄т̄ εχῆ παρο φанте м̄иханл еἰ н̄фтоугнос̄т̄
 15 ρ̄ιχῆ пкаρ. ναῖατ̄, ὦ παγλος, αγω ναῖατ̄ ἡпρεθнос етнаπιστεῡе евол
 ρитоот̄к̄. 2. ρос ере παῖ φα|χε ἡῆмаῖ агей ἡси кеоγa енесωφ емааτε ρῆ
 теφрикωн. πεχαι ἡпаггелос χε нм пе παῖ, паχоеис, ἡтаφнаγ еροι аφраφ̄е;
 πεχε паггелос наῖ χε παῖ пе λωт ρῆ пеоγ̄ο̄ειω ἡсoλωма ἡῆ гоморра.
 αγω ἡтереφωρ̄ εροι πεχαφ наῖ
 20 *1c, fragm. 1, hair side* еφаспазе ἡμοῖ χε ναῖατ̄, ὦ паγ-
 [--- нток пе] λ[ω]т, †λικαι[о]с; лос, αγω ναῖατ̄ ἡтекгенеа. πεχαφ
 †εχε λωт χε анок пе пеῖρраῖ ρῆ наῖ χε анок пе λωт, петωооп
 тполис ἡῆасевнс, ере ἡагге[λос ρῆ тполис ἡнасевнс, ере нагге-
 25 σaλωоу еροι ---] лос σaλωоу еροι ἡθ̄е ἡнеиφῆмо
 ἡрωме. ἡтере на тполис тωоун
 εχωоу εγoγωу ер пеθoоу наγ, аиφῆ ἡтаφеере с̄нте ἡпарθенос ἡпате
 ρооугт соγ̄ωноу αγω аитааγ наγ (рк̄с, f. 23b) χε χитоу ἡтетῆхрω наγ
 ἡθ̄е етеρннтῆ, монон ἡп̄р̄ пеθoоу ἡнеиφῆмо ἡрωме ἡтаγει еρoун ρа
 таоугερсоἰ. теноу ае нетере поγa поγa нааγ ρῆ пеикосмос, φаре пноуге
 30 тоовоу наφ ἡоугмннφе ἡсоп. ναῖατ̄, ὦ παγλος, αγω ναῖατ̄ ἡпρεθнос
 етнаπιστεῡе евол ρитоот̄к̄. 3. ρос ере παῖ φαχε ἡῆмаῖ, аῖсωφ̄т̄ <аинаγ>
 екеоγa εагей мпоуе енесωφ емааτε, ере пеφρo ῖ оγoειн еφнот̄б̄ ἡсωве,

9 ἡεкеῖнл: ἰ scribal corr. above line 10 нехаλαз: χάραξ for χάλιξ? 11 ἡταιφопоу: ἡταν-
 φопоу ms., Budge, Copeland 12 х(е) ене: χene ms., χε ne Budge, Copeland 14 еипаρ̄т̄:
 еипаρ̄т̄ Copeland 20 ναῖατ̄: Copeland, ναῖατ̄ ms., Budge 29 таоугερсоἰ: α corr. ex. т? ||
 нааγ: read наааγ 31 ρитоот̄к̄: second о ex corr. || <аинаγ>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 32
 еφнот̄б̄: read еφнот̄

me and said: 'Moses, look what your people has done to the Son of God.' Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed is the people that will listen to you, they who will believe in your preaching."

49, 1. While he was speaking, there arrived twelve more from a distance and when they had reached me, they said to me: "Are you Paul, the beloved of God? Truly, you have earned glory in heaven as well as on earth." I said to them: "Who are you?" They said: "We are the prophets." One said: "I am Isaiah, who was sawn asunder by Manasseh with a wooden saw." Another said: "I am Jeremiah, who was stoned by the children of Israel so that he was killed." (125) Yet another said: "I am Ezekiel, whom the children of Israel seized at his feet and dragged over the high gravel until my head was severed. All these sufferings I endured, because I wanted Israel to be saved. I assure you that whenever the children of Israel harassed me, I threw myself down upon my face and prayed for them, from the morrow of the Lord's Day until the entire week had passed, lying prostrate on my face until Michael came and raised me from the earth. Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed is the nation that will come to believe through you." 2. As they were talking with me, someone else arrived, very beautiful in his appearance. I said to the angel: "Who is that, my Lord, who saw me and rejoiced?" The angel told me: "That is Lot, from the time of Sodom and Gomorrah." And when he had reached

me, he said to me, greeting me: *1c, fragm. 1, hair side*

"Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed [---] "Are you Lot, the righteous?" And is your offspring." He said to me: Lot said: "It was I who lived in the city of the impious, while the angels dwelt with me [---]" with me in the guise of foreigners.

When the inhabitants of the city menaced them and wished to harm them, I took my two virgin daughters, with whom no man had yet intercourse, and gave them to them, (126) saying: 'Take them and use them as you wish, only do not harm these foreigners who came to stay under my roof.' Now then, God will recompense each person many times over for the things that he will do in this world. Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed is the nation that will come to believe through you." 3. As he was talking with me, I looked and saw someone else who had arrived from a distance and was very beautiful. His face beamed

1C, *fragm. 2, hair side*

[--- εἰε ερε ογαγτ]ελос мн π[ο]γ[α
πογ]ᾱ ἡ̄νδικαῖος; [πεχ]αγ̄ δε παδι-
каιο[с ---]

ερε ναггелос зγмнеγε еροφ. πεχαι
ἡπαггелос δε εἰε ερε ογαггелос
мооφε мн πογα πογα нндикаῖος;
πεχαγ̄ нαι δε νεγαггелос | τηρογ
зγмнеγε̄ ерооγ̄ аγω̄ меγсн̄тоγ̄ евол

5

ἡ̄наγ̄ нм. аγω̄ ἡ̄тереφ̄πω̄з ероἱ аφаспазе ммоἱ πεχ̄аγ̄ нαῑ δε ектайнγ̄, ω̄
παγλος, πμεριτ̄ ἡ̄πпоγ̄те мн̄ ἡ̄ρω̄ме. анок̄ пе̄ ιω̄в, ἡ̄ταιφ̄еп̄ неἱзисе̄ τηρογ̄
з̄н̄ неπ̄λγтн̄ ε̄αιρ̄ ма̄а̄ве̄ ἡ̄ром̄пе̄ ἡ̄ром̄пе̄ ἡ̄з̄н̄тоγ̄. пса̄φ̄ ет̄н̄н̄γ̄ евол̄ з̄ιω̄ω̄т̄
ε̄φ̄ο̄ ἡ̄т̄с̄ο̄т̄ ἡ̄ογ̄β̄λ̄β̄ῑл̄ῑ ἡ̄с̄ογ̄ō̄, з̄ιτ̄н̄ ω̄ом̄н̄т̄ ἡ̄з̄о̄ογ̄ ω̄а̄φ̄̄ т̄с̄ο̄т̄ ἡ̄ογ̄ка̄п̄ ἡ̄εἰ̄ω̄.
10 аγω̄ ἡ̄қ̄н̄т̄ ε̄ω̄а̄γ̄εἰ̄ евол̄ з̄н̄ на̄са̄φ̄, не̄ω̄а̄ῑω̄ῑтоγ̄ н̄с̄ε̄р̄ оγ̄ω̄о̄п̄ н̄з̄ӣн̄. а̄ па̄д̄ӣа̄-
волос̄ оγ̄ω̄н̄з̄̄ ероἱ̄ ἡ̄ω̄ом̄н̄т̄ ἡ̄с̄оп̄ е̄φ̄а̄ω̄ ἡ̄мос̄ [δε ---]

10

Here manuscript BL has a lacuna of a single folio (two pages, $\overline{PKZ}-\overline{PKH}$), which
must have contained the end of Job's speech (49, 3), the whole of 50, with the
story of Noah, and the beginning of 51, with the story of Elijah. Two fragments
15 of manuscript 1C fall in this lacuna.

1C, *fragm. 2, flesh side*

[---] .. ερε πпоγ[τε н]акаат̄ ἡ̄т̄εἰ̄θ̄[λῑψ̄ис̄ мн̄ т̄]ε̄π̄λη̄гн̄ ἡ̄πα[ᾱзе̄ τηρ̄φ̄ ---]

1C, *fragm. 1, flesh side*

50, 1. [--- п̄с̄ω̄т̄п̄ м̄п̄]ноγ̄те; πε̄δε̄ παγλος̄ δε̄ ἡ̄т̄к̄ нм; 2. а̄φ̄ογ̄ω̄φ̄̄ δε̄ а̄н̄г̄
20 н̄ω̄зе̄ ἡ̄πε̄γ̄ο̄εἰ̄ω̄ ἡ̄п̄ка̄та̄[κ̄λγ̄с̄мос̄ ---]

20

51. [--- ω̄ом̄те̄ ἡ̄ром̄-] (PKθ, f. 32a) π̄ε̄ м̄н̄ с̄о̄ογ̄ ἡ̄е̄во̄т̄, δε̄ π̄поγ̄те̄ оγ̄ε̄ω̄ оγ̄а̄ῑ-
ка̄ӣос̄ па̄ра̄ п̄к̄ос̄мос̄ τη̄ρ̄φ̄. а̄ на̄г̄г̄ε̄л̄ос̄ εἰ̄ ε̄γ̄с̄оп̄с̄п̄ ἡ̄мо̄φ̄ ἡ̄п̄ε̄φ̄м̄то̄ евол̄ е̄т̄ве̄
π̄поγ̄ н̄з̄ω̄ογ̄. πε̄δε̄ π̄поγ̄те̄ на̄γ̄ δε̄ е̄т̄ε̄т̄н̄т̄н̄π̄ӣө̄ ἡ̄па̄з̄ἡ̄з̄а̄л̄ з̄н̄л̄ӣа̄с̄ н̄қ̄т̄ω̄β̄з̄̄
ἡ̄моἱ, ἡ̄т̄на̄ка̄ мо̄γ̄ н̄з̄ω̄ογ̄ <а̄н̄> ε̄еἰ̄ ε̄х̄ἡ̄ п̄ка̄з̄. ἡ̄з̄исе̄ е̄т̄ε̄ре̄ πο̄γ̄а̄ πο̄γ̄а̄ на̄ω̄о̄-
25 πογ̄̄ е̄т̄ве̄ π̄поγ̄те̄, ω̄а̄ре̄ π̄поγ̄те̄ то̄во̄γ̄ на̄γ̄ ἡ̄ογ̄а̄п̄с̄ ἡ̄с̄оп̄ е̄γ̄к̄н̄в̄. на̄ӣδ̄т̄к̄, ω̄
παγλος̄, а̄γ̄ω̄ на̄ӣа̄т̄φ̄ ἡ̄п̄з̄е̄θ̄нос̄ е̄т̄на̄п̄ис̄те̄γε̄ евол̄ з̄ῑт̄о̄ο̄т̄к̄.

25

8 не̄п̄λγтн̄: π̄λγγ̄ή || ἡ̄ром̄пе̄ ἡ̄ром̄пе̄: ἡ̄ром̄пе̄ {ἡ̄ром̄пе̄} Copeland || ἡ̄з̄н̄тоγ̄: ἡ̄з̄н̄т̄к̄ ms., Bud-
ge, Copeland 9 ἡ̄ογ̄β̄λ̄β̄ῑл̄ῑ: read ἡ̄ογ̄β̄λ̄β̄ῑл̄ε̄ || ἡ̄ογ̄ка̄п̄: read ἡ̄ογ̄с̄а̄п̄ 10 н̄з̄ӣн̄: read н̄з̄ӣн̄
21 ἡ̄ром̄]π̄ε̄ om. Budge 22 ἡ̄мо̄φ̄: ἡ̄мос̄ Budge 23 е̄т̄ε̄т̄н̄т̄н̄π̄ӣө̄: π̄εἰ̄θ̄ω̄ 24 ἡ̄т̄на̄ка̄ мо̄γ̄
н̄з̄ω̄ογ̄ <а̄н̄> ε̄еἰ̄: а̄н̄ om. ms., Budge, ἡ̄т̄на̄ка̄ <а̄н̄> мо̄γ̄ н̄з̄ω̄ογ̄ ε̄еἰ̄ Copeland 25 то̄во̄γ̄: read
то̄о̄во̄γ̄

and smiled all over and the angels sang hymns to him. I said to the angel: "Is then each of the righteous accompanied by an angel?" He said to me: "The angels of them all sing hymns to them and at no time do they part from them." And when he had reached me, he greeted me and said to me: "Praise to you, O Paul, beloved of God and men! I am Job, who endured all these sufferings due to the plagues that I bore for a full thirty years. The sore that broke out on me with the size of a grain of wheat within three days became the size of a donkey's hoof, and the worms that issued from my wounds I measured and they were a palm long. The devil appeared to me three times, saying: [---]"

Here manuscript BL has a lacuna of a single folio (two pages, 127–128), which must have contained the end of Job's speech (49, 3), the whole of 50, with the story of Noah, and the beginning of 51, with the story of Elijah. Two fragments of manuscript 1C fall in this lacuna.

1C, fragm. 2, flesh side

[---] "When God will let me suffer this affliction and the plague for the whole of my lifetime [---]".

1C, fragm. 1, flesh side

50, 1. [---] "... the chosen of God?" And Paul said: "Who are you?" 2. He answered: "I am Noah, from the time of the flood [---]"

51. "[--- three] (129) years and six months, for God loves a righteous person more than the whole world. The angels appeared before him to beseech him for the rain. And God said to them: 'If you do not persuade my servant Elijah to entreat me, I will not let rain fall upon the earth.' God will recompense each person manifold for the pains that he will suffer for the sake of God. Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed is the nation that will come to believe through you."

52. ρως ере παι ψαχε, αχει ἡ̅βι πκεενωх αqасπαζε ἡ̅μοι. πεχαq και χε
πρ̅ις̅ε етере пр̅ω̅ме nadop̅q̅ етве пноyтe, мepe пноyтe λyпeι ἡ̅μοq | еq-
ψaнeι eвол ρ̅ῃ̅ πкocмoc.

53. 1. ρως ере παι ψαχε н̅ῃ̅μαι, ειc κеснау αχει мн neγepнy, ере κεoγ̅a
5 мooψe ρ̅ι̅ παρoу мmooy eφmoутe epooу χe азe epoi ρωoт тaeι тapeиnау
ēπmepit ḡπnoyтe, пaγлoc, ḡтаγeнт̅q̅ nan ēp̅rai χe enenaу epoq e† eφp̅ῃ̅
πcωma. пexai ḡπαггeлoc χe пaχoεic, н̅im ne naī; пexaq και χe παи пe
zaxap̅iaс м̅ῃ̅ iωp̅annнc пeφωнpe. пexai ḡπαггeлoc χe ειe пeиkeoγa eтп̅и̅т
ρ̅ι̅ παρoу ḡmooy; пexaq χe παи пe abel пeнтa κaeиn ρoтвeφ. ayw ay-
10 cпaзe мmoī, пexay και χe naiaт̅k̅, ω̅ пaγлoc, пр̅ω̅ме eтcoyтoн ρ̅ῃ̅ neφ-
p̅bнy̅e тнpoу. (p̅λ̅, f. 32b) 2. пexe iωp̅annнc χe aнoc пeнтaγqι нтаaпe ρ̅ῃ̅
пeωтeкo eтвe oγc̅p̅ime eac̅c̅oc̅c̅ ρ̅ῃ̅ oγ̅aειπnoн. пe(χe) zaxap̅iaс χe aнoc
пeнтaγmooyт ḡmoī eitaлo ep̅rai ḡπnoyтe. ḡтepe ḡaггeлoc ei ḡca тeθ̅y̅ciā,
ayqι ḡпacωma ep̅rai ēpaт̅q̅ ḡπnoyтe ayw ḡпe p̅ω̅me ρe epacωma χe ḡтаγ-
15 x̅и̅тq̅ eтoн. пexe abel χe aнoc пeнтa κaeиn ρoтвeт eitaлe oγ̅cia ep̅rai
ḡπnoyтe. ḡp̅и̅c̅e ḡтапoпoпoу eтвe пnoyтe p̅eн̅λaay ne' пeнтaнaay eтвe
пnoyтe aн̅p̅ пeγ̅ω̅b̅ω̅. ayw nepe ḡ̅aиkaиoc м̅ῃ̅ ḡaггeлoc тнpoу kωтe epoi,
| eγpaψe н̅ῃ̅μαι χ̅[e] ayнау epoi ρ̅ῃ̅ тcaр̅z̅.

54. aиoωт̅t̅ aиnaу ekeoγa eφxooce epooу тнpoу enecωq ēnaate. пexai
20 ḡπαггeлoc χe н̅im пe παи, пaχoεic; пexaq και χe παи пe aдaм, пeт̅ḡeиoт̅
тнpт̅n. ḡтepeφпoρ̅ epoi aqаспaзe ḡmoī ρ̅ῃ̅ oγpaψe. пexaq και χe xp̅o
мmoк, o пaγлoc, пmepit ḡπnoyтe, παи ḡтаqтpe oγ̅mннoψe п̅и̅cтeγe ep̅noyтe
ayмeтaнoи, кaтa θe ρω ḡтаиmетaнoи aиx̅i ḡпaεooу ρ̅и̅т̅ḡ̅ п̅naн̅т̅ ḡψaн̅zтнq̅.

55. 1. м̅ῃ̅ca και aε тнpoу ayтop̅и̅т̅ ρ̅ῃ̅ oγ̅kλooлe ayx̅и̅т̅ ψa тmεp̅ω̅mтe
25 ḡпe. aнoc aε, пaγлoc, (p̅λ̅a, f. 33a) aиp̅ ρoтe enaate. aиnaу epaггeлoc
eтmooψe н̅ῃ̅μαι aφω̅и̅βε ρωoq ρ̅ῃ̅ пeφcх̅и̅na aφxepo ḡθe {po ḡθe} ḡoγ-
kωz̅t̅. ayw ḡтeγnoу aycmн oωпe ψapoī χe пaγлoc, пmepit ḡπnoyтe,
neт̅k̅naнaу epooу ḡпeиma ḡπp̅oγoн̅p̅oγ̅ eλaay ḡp̅ω̅me χe p̅eн̅ψaχe ḡaзop̅a-
тoн neт̅k̅naнaу epooу. 2. aиoωт̅t̅ aиnaу eγcφpaγic ecaψe ρ̅ῃ̅ oγ̅ecγx̅iā, ep̅e
30 oγ̅eμep̅eиā oωoп̅ ρ̅ῃ̅ oγ̅φωнн ḡoγ̅ōeиn. ep̅e caωq̅ ḡaειтoc noγ̅oειн aazep̅a-
тoγ̅ ḡca oγ̅nam ḡпeθ̅y̅ciacт̅h̅p̅и̅oн ayw caωq̅ ḡca p̅boγp̅ ḡmoq, eγ̅p̅ḡm̅eγe
ρ̅ῃ̅ oγ̅xopoc ḡcmoγ̅ ep̅oγ̅n ep̅eиoт̅, ep̅e p̅eн̅|т̅ba ḡт̅ba ḡaггeлoc aazep̅aтoγ̅
ḡпeφ̅ḡ̅тo eвол ayw p̅eн̅ψo ḡψo eγ̅kω(тe) epoq eγ̅xω ḡmoс χe q̅taиn̅y
ḡ̅b̅и̅ пeкpaн ayw q̅p̅a ep̅oγ̅ ḡ̅b̅и̅ пeк̅ēooy, пxoeic. ep̅e nexeиp̅oγ̅beиn н̅ῃ̅ ḡce-
35 paφ̅eиn xω мmoс χe p̅amнn. 3. ḡтepeиnaу ēp̅ooy̅ aнoc, пaγлoc, aиcтoт̅ ρ̅ῃ̅

6 ḡтаγeнт̅q̅: ḡтаγecот̅q̅ Budge, second n ex corr.? 17 ḡaггeлoc: ḡaгг̅лeoc Copeland 18
χ̅[e]: [x̅e] Budge 22 o: read ω (ō) 26 aφxepo ḡθe {po ḡθe}: Copeland, aφxepo ḡθepo
ḡθe Budge 28–29 ḡaзop̅aтoн: ἀόρατον 29 oγ̅ecγx̅iā: ἡσυχία 30 oγ̅eμep̅eиā: ἐρμηνεία? ||
ḡaειтoc: ἀेतός

52. As he was speaking, also Enoch came and greeted me. He said to me: "When a person will suffer pain for the sake of God, God will not grieve him when he comes forth from the world."

53, 1. As he was talking with me, there appeared two others as a pair, with someone else walking behind them and calling to them: "Wait for me so that I too will be able to see the beloved of God, Paul, who has been brought up for us in order that we may see him while he still is in the body." I said to the angel: "My Lord, who are these?" He told me: "This is Zechariah, together with John, his son." I said to the angel: "And this other man, who runs behind them?" He said: "That is Abel, who was murdered by Cain." And they greeted me and said: "Blessed are you, O Paul, the man who is upright in all his doings!" (130) 2. John said: "I am he who was beheaded in jail because of a woman who danced during a banquet." Zechariah said: "I am he who was killed while sacrificing to God. When the angels came to collect the sacrifice, they took my body up to God and no one found out where my body had been taken." Abel said: "I am he whom Cain murdered while I was offering a sacrifice to God. The pains that we suffered for the sake of God are insignificant. What we did for God, we have forgotten." And the righteous and the angels all surrounded me, rejoicing with me because they had seen me in the flesh.

54. I looked and saw someone else, who was taller than all of them and very beautiful. I said to the angel: "Who is that, my Lord?" He told to me: "That is Adam, the father of all of you." When he had reached me, he greeted me gladly and said to me: "Be victorious, O Paul, beloved of God, who caused many to believe in God and repent, just as I myself repented and received my glory from him who is compassionate and merciful."

Paul Is Taken to the Third Heaven

55, 1. Following all these events, I was seized in a cloud and taken to the third heaven. And I, Paul, (131) was much scared. I saw the angel who accompanied me, but he had changed his appearance and blazed like fire. At that moment a voice reached me, saying: "Paul, beloved of God, do not make known to anybody what you are going to see here, for you will be seeing invisible things." 2. I looked and saw a seal hanging in quiet and there was a translation present in a language of light. Seven eagles of light were standing at the right side of the altar and seven at its left, singing hymns in a choral chant of blessing to the Father, while myriads upon myriads of angels were standing in front of it and thousands upon thousands around it, saying: "Praised be your name and glorified your glory, Lord." And the cherubim and the seraphim said: "Amen." 3.

наμελος τηρου αγω αιρε εζραι εχμ παρο. εις παγγελος ετμοоуе нммаи
αϥ† πεχογοι εροι αϥτοуноστ̃ εϥχω ммос χε мп̃рр ροτε παγλος, пмергт
мпноу҃ге. τωоуη теноу нгоуагѣ нсѡи, нтатсавок епектопос.

- 56, 1. αϥχιτ̃ н̃си паγγелос етмооуе нммаи еппараΔεисос. (P̄LB, f. 33b)
- 5 αинаϥ еγμнн̃уе н̃рѡме еγмооуе, еγрооу҃т, еγѣаллеи, еγсμοу епноу҃ге,
еженр̃м̃раѡ не еπερογο, ере неγρο р̃ оγ̃δ̃ein н̃ѡе м̃прн̃ н̃саѡѣ̃ н̃сѡв̃ αγω ере
пѣѡ н̃теγape ѡ̃ н̃ѡе н̃оусар̃т̃ н̃оуѡв̃ѡ. ере оγμнн̃уе н̃ѡронос г̃м̃ пма̃ ε̃т̃н̃-
наγ еγза̃ εооу, εоует̃ пеооу н̃пога̃ пога̃ {поγ̃а̃}, ере оγон̃ оγот̃в̃ ε̃оγон̃
г̃м̃ пеооу. г̃м̃ теγноу н̃тап̃ѡѡ ѡ̃арооу, αγωѡ εвол̃ χе наиаτ̃к̃, ѡ̃ паγ-
10 лос, наиаτ̃к̃ м̃п̃реѡнос̃ етнап̃истеγе̃ εвол̃ г̃ιτοот̃к̃ χе ак̃р̃ м̃п̃ѡа̃ ε̃т̃реγент̃к̃
εнеит̃опос̃ екѡооп̃ г̃м̃ теисар̃ѣ̃. аγаспазе̃ н̃|μοι̃ τηροу. анок̃ Δе̃ аиоγѡѡѣ̃
н̃сѡѡу̃ еисмоу̃ ε̃пноу҃ге н̃м̃маγ. 2. анок̃ Δе̃ п̃εχαι̃ м̃паγγелос̃ χе̃ паχ̃ο-
eis, оγ̃ пе̃ п̃eit̃опос̃ αγω̃ н̃иη̃ не̃ неир̃ѡме; п̃εχαι̃ на̃и̃ н̃си̃ паγγелос̃ χе̃ па̃и̃
пе̃ п̃каз̃ ε̃тоγaав̃ м̃п̃χ̃οeis. αγω̃ на̃и̃ г̃ѡоу̃ не̃ не̃проф̃ит̃н̃с̃ τηροу̃ еγна-
15 ѡ̃ѡпе̃ м̃п̃еи̃ма̃ ѡ̃а̃ пе̃рооу̃ м̃п̃за̃п̃ м̃н̃ не̃те̃ м̃поу҃т̃ѡл̃н̃ г̃м̃ п̃косм̃ос̃. αγω̃
н̃то̃к̃ г̃ѡѡк̃ ере̃ п̃ек̃ѡронос̃ наѡѡпе̃ м̃п̃еи̃ма̃ αγω̃ г̃ап̃с̃ пе̃ е̃т̃р̃к̃наγ̃ ε̃п̃ек̃-
ѡронос̃ м̃н̃ п̃ек̃ни̃ м̃пат̃к̃ѡк̃ е̃п̃ес̃ит̃ ε̃п̃косм̃ос̃. αγω̃ на̃и̃ ек̃на̃таѡе̃ о̃е̃и̃ѡ̃
н̃те̃иа̃по̃καλ̃γ̃и̃- (P̄LG, f. 34a) ѣ̃ис̃ г̃м̃ п̃косм̃ос̃ τηр̃ѣ̃, оγ̃н̃ г̃аг̃ г̃а̃р̃ на̃сѡт̃н̃
н̃с̃ε̃με̃та̃но̃и̃ н̃с̃ε̃т̃н̃е̃и̃ е̃н̃ко̃ла̃с̃ис̃ м̃н̃ н̃т̃м̃ѡ̃р̃iã н̃та̃к̃наγ̃ е̃рооу̃. анок̃ Δе̃ н̃те̃-
20 ре̃исѡт̃н̃ ε̃на̃и̃ н̃тоот̃к̃ м̃паγγелос̃ етмооуе нммаи, п̃εχαι̃ на̃γ̃ χе̃ паχ̃οeis,
†оγѡѡ̃ мен̃ ε̃ѡѡпе̃ г̃м̃ п̃eit̃опос̃, а̃л̃ла̃ н̃†<н̃>а̃р̃ а̃т̃сѡт̃н̃ а̃н̃. ма̃т̃са̃βο̃и̃
т̃ε̃ноу̃ е̃па̃ѡ̃ронос̃ е̃ѡѡооп̃ м̃п̃еи̃ма̃. 3. αϥχιτ̃ н̃си̃ паγγелос̃ еγс̃к̃γ̃н̃н̃ н̃оγ̃ѡ̃-
ein, αϥт̃са̃βο̃и̃ еγѡ̃ронос̃̃ н̃εооу̃, ере̃ а̃г̃г̃елос̃̃ с̃наγ̃ г̃γ̃μ̃неγ̃ε̃ ε̃ро̃ѣ̃. п̃εχαι̃
м̃паγγелос̃ χе̃ паχ̃οeis, па̃ н̃иη̃ пе̃ п̃е̃ѡ̃ронос̃ | ε̃т̃ѡооп̃ г̃м̃ п̃е̃и̃но̃с̃̃ н̃εооу̃
25 αγω̃ н̃иη̃ не̃ не̃иаγγелос̃̃ е̃т̃γ̃н̃неγ̃ε̃ е̃ро̃ѣ̃; п̃εχαι̃ на̃и̃ χе̃ па̃и̃ пе̃ п̃ек̃ѡ̃ронос̃,
ѡ̃ паγ̃λος̃, αγω̃ п̃е̃иаγγелос̃̃ с̃наγ̃ пе̃ оγ̃р̃и̃η̃л̃ м̃н̃ соγ̃р̃и̃η̃л̃, еγ̃γ̃μ̃неγ̃ε̃̃ е̃п̃ек̃-
ѡ̃ронос̃. м̃н̃ н̃г̃соо̃γ̃н̃ а̃н̃, ѡ̃ паγ̃λος̃, χе̃ а̃ п̃ек̃ра̃н̃ р̃̃ со̃ε̃ит̃ г̃м̃ т̃м̃н̃н̃те̃ н̃н̃а̃г̃г̃е̃-
λος̃ е̃те̃ м̃н̃то̃у̃ н̃пе̃; м̃н̃ н̃г̃соо̃γ̃н̃ <а̃н̃> χе̃ ρ̃ѡ̃ме̃ н̃иη̃ е̃т̃на̃γ̃ис̃ε̃ г̃м̃ п̃косм̃ос̃̃
ε̃з̃ра̃и̃ ε̃χ̃м̃̃ пра̃н̃ м̃п̃ε̃χ̃ρισ̃т̃ос̃̃ м̃н̃ т̃м̃н̃т̃ρ̃ѡ̃ме̃, ѡ̃аре̃ п̃ноу҃ге̃ т̃ѡ̃ве̃ наγ̃ н̃саѡѣ̃̃
30 н̃сѡ̃в̃ н̃со̃п̃ αγω̃ ѡ̃аре̃ н̃а̃г̃г̃елос̃̃ τηροу̃ ρ̃аѡ̃е̃ н̃м̃ма̃γ̃;

57. αϥχιτ̃ н̃си̃ паγγелос̃ етмооуе нммаи (P̄LA, f. 34b) αϥт̃са̃βο̃и̃ еγμнн̃уе̃
н̃ѡ̃н̃н̃ е̃ϥ̃λε̃з̃λ̃ѡ̃ѡ̃, ере̃ оγμнн̃уе̃ н̃р̃ѡ̃ме̃ к̃ѡ̃те̃ е̃н̃ѡ̃н̃н̃, ере̃ не̃γ̃ѣ̃с̃ѡ̃̃ п̃ре̃и̃ѡ̃у̃.
αγωѡ̃ ε̃вол̃̃ е̃ροι̃̃ τηροу̃̃ χе̃̃ χ̃а̃и̃ре̃̃ паγ̃λος̃̃, п̃мергт̃̃ м̃пноу҃ге̃̃ м̃н̃̃ н̃р̃ѡ̃ме̃̃, а̃γ̃а̃-

6̃ е̃зен̃р̃м̃раѡ̃: г̃ ex corr. 8̃ м̃пога̃ пога̃ {поγ̃а̃}: Copeland, м̃пога̃ пога̃ поγ̃а̃ Budge 9̃
αγωѡ̃: α̃γ̃ο̃ѡ̃ѡ̃ ms., Budge, Copeland 13̃ н̃си̃: н̃н̃си̃ Copeland 14̃ ε̃тоγ̃aав̃: в̃ ex corr. 20̃
на̃γ̃: а̃γ̃ ex corr. 22̃ еγс̃к̃γ̃н̃н̃: σ̃κ̃η̃γ̃ή̃ 28̃ <а̃н̃>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 29̃ на̃γ̃: read
на̃γ̃ 32̃ н̃р̃ѡ̃ме̃: р̃ scribal corr. above line

When I, Paul, saw them, I trembled in all my limbs and fell down upon my face. Then the angel who accompanied me went up to me, raised me and said: "Do not fear, Paul, beloved of God. Now get up and follow me and I will show you your place."

Paul Is Taken to Celestial Paradise and Visits the Abodes of the Saints

56, 1. And the angel who accompanied me took me to Paradise. (132) I saw a multitude of people walking around, exulting and singing and blessing God. They were extremely meek; their faces beamed seven times more than the sun and the hair of their head was like white wool. A great number of splendid thrones stood in that place, each of them different in splendor, one surpassing the other in glory. As soon as I reached them, they exclaimed: "Blessed are you, O Paul, blessed is the nation that will come to believe through you, because you have become worthy to be brought to these places while in this flesh." They all greeted me and I answered them and blessed God together with them. 2. I said to the angel: "My Lord, what is this place and who are these people?" The angel told me: "This is the Holy Land of the Lord and these people are all the prophets, who will dwell here until the day of the judgment, together with those who have not defiled themselves in the world. Your throne, too, will be here and you are destined to see your throne and your house before you descend to the world. For wherever you will preach this revelation (133) in the entire world, many will hear it and repent and escape the punishments and the penalties that you have seen." When I heard these words from the angel who accompanied me, I told him: "My Lord, I rather wish to live in this place, but I will not be disobedient. Now, show me my throne as it is here." 3. The angel took me to a tabernacle of light and showed me a glorious throne to which two angels were singing hymns. I said to the angel: "My Lord, to whom belongs this throne that is surrounded by such great glory and who are these angels that are singing hymns to it?" He said to me: "This is your throne, O Paul, and these two angels are Uriel and Suriel, singing hymns to your throne. Don't you know, O Paul, that your name has become famous among the countless angels? Don't you know that God will reward sevenfold every person who will labor in the world for the name of Christ and humanity, and that all the angels will rejoice with him?"

57. The angel who accompanied me led me along (134) and showed me a multitude of lovely trees and a multitude of people with radiant garments surrounding the trees. They all cried out to me: "Hail, Paul, beloved of God and

men," and all greeted me. I said to the angel: "My Lord, who are these?" The angel told me: "These are all the shoots that you planted in the world."

58, 1. The angel took me and said to me: "Come and I will let you behold the Paradise of heaven and your throne and your crown." I saw Paradise and it was utterly amazing. Three walls surrounded the Paradise of heaven, two of silver and a golden wall in between the two walls of silver, each inside the other, and each wall was seventy-two cubits high. There was a row of pine trees within each wall, running from east to west and from north to south. And Paradise measured two hundred and forty thousand and four hundred reeds at each side. Inside, there were two hundred and forty thousand sturdy pillars, and each pillar (135) was seventy-two cubits high. Eighteen hundred kinds of fruit were growing within it and two thousand precious herbs and forty-five kinds of fragrant plants and twelve cypresses. It was encircled by a stone wall in light green and within it there were twelve hundred golden lamps, sixteen pillars of silver and marble surrounding it. Its door was of citron-wood and there were three eagles at the right of the door and three at the left of the door. 2. The entire Paradise shone with sky blue as at noon, and there was no darkness in it, but the light of God was dwelling in it at all times, and it beamed entirely. Paradise exhaled a scent of fruit at dawn and it exhaled a scent of must at noon and when the sun would set, the fragrance of all the trees that are in Paradise spread forth until the night of the world had passed. The bases of the pillars were overgrown with cinnamon and genuine storax and their capitals were growing branches of almond trees. Their number was hundred and forty thousand eight hundred (136) and they were studded with precious stones. 3. All the trees of Paradise were singing hymns to God three times a day, at dawn, at noon and in the evening. They all cried out, blessing God with the words: "Holy, holy, three times holy! Praised and glorified be God almighty!" And Paradise cried out, blessing God.

59. The angel spoke and said to me: "O Paul, have you seen the Paradise of heaven and its glory, the full splendor of which no human being has ever fathomed?" I told him: "Yes, my Lord, but I fear that I may, perhaps, not be worthy to stay in this very Paradise." The angel answered and said to me: "Be victorious, you who will be victorious, and you will prevail over the accuser who comes up from hell. Yet you will gain even more glory when you descend once more to

the world. Then, when the entire human race hears the words of this revelation, many will repent and live. Now, I will take you once more and show you your throne and your crown and that of your apostle-brethren."

60, 1. The angel led me (137) before the veil in the Holy Land and I saw a throne standing prepared and, on top of the throne, a robe beaming with bliss, of unutterable worth, and marble bunches of grapes, crowning the throne. I spoke and said to the angel: "My Lord, what is the dwelling of my brothers, my fellow apostles, like?" 2. The angel led me before the veil and I saw a multitude of thrones and a multitude of angels singing and glorifying God. I saw a multitude of garments and a multitude of crowns displayed before the thrones, and a sweet odor spread forth from that place. The angel said to me: "This is the place of your brothers, your fellow apostles."

61. And I also saw a man wearing a white garment, with a lyre in his hands, who was standing at the right side of the veil, and was singing and plucking his lyre, while the angels were responding to him. I spoke and said to the angel: "Who is that, my Lord?" He said to me: "That is David, who sings."

62, 1. Further I saw in the Holy Land a place set with precious stone called lapis lazuli. That land was white as snow and a multitude of crowns (138) and a multitude of thrones were found in that place. The people who lived there all wore stoles and tiaras and a multitude of angels sang hymns to them. I said to the angel: "Who are these?" He told me: "They are the martyrs who suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ. Thanks to your preaching and that of your apostle-brethren, they will receive great honors." 2. They came forward to me and kissed me. They said to me: "Blessed are you, O Paul, that you were found worthy of these places, and we as well, and that you were found worthy to see such great wonders. What no eye has seen and no ear has heard, you have seen in the body. Because God saw your continence in which you live and the efforts of your preaching, he has made you worthy of these great honors."

Paul Returns to the Mount of Olives

63, 1. I, Paul, walked away in the Holy Spirit and blessed God, saying: "I bless you, God of the universe, who alone sees himself through the mystery. Blessed be the splendor of your divinity, who is honored and exists in the honor of his greatness together with his only-begotten son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, who governs the universe and through whom the universe came into being." 2. The angel of the Lord lifted me and brought me upon the Mount of Olives. Then, I, Paul, found the apostles assembled all together and I greeted them (139) and

διασπαζε ἡμοῦ, (ῤλθ, f. 37a) διαπανγειλε ναγ нζωв ннм н̄таγωωπε нмои
 н̄н̄ нентайнаγ ерооγ н̄н̄ н̄таιο етнаωωπε н̄н̄δικαιος н̄н̄ пр̄е н̄н̄ пωρорω̄р̄
 етнаωωπε н̄н̄асевн̄с. то̄те на̄ποστολος аγ̄раω̄е аγ̄ω аγ̄τελн̄л, аγ̄сμογ
 5 ἑπ̄ноӯте. а̄γ̄κε̄ле̄γ̄е на̄н̄ ρ̄ι оγ̄соп, а̄но̄к ма̄ркос н̄н̄ †мо̄θεос, н̄на̄θ̄н̄т̄н̄с
 ἡ̄π̄ρᾱγιос па̄γ̄λος, п̄са̄ρ̄ ἡ̄те̄κ̄κ̄л̄н̄с̄iа, е̄тр̄н̄с̄ρ̄а̄ι <н̄ω̄ᾱх̄е> ἡ̄те̄ӣа̄по̄ка̄λ̄ӯн̄ϕ̄ӣс
 е̄то̄γ̄а̄а̄в, е̄γ̄ρ̄н̄γ̄ н̄н̄ оγ̄ω̄φε̄ле̄ӣа̄ ἡ̄не̄т̄на̄с̄ω̄т̄н̄ е̄ро̄о̄γ̄.

64, 1. е̄† е̄ре на̄ποστολος ω̄а̄х̄е н̄н̄ма̄н, а̄ п̄с̄ω̄т̄н̄р, п̄е̄х̄ρ̄ӣс̄т̄ос, оγ̄ω̄н̄ζ̄
 на̄н̄ е̄во̄л ρ̄ῑх̄н̄ ρ̄ε̄αρ̄ма̄ ἡ̄не̄х̄е̄ро̄γ̄в̄е̄ӣн̄, п̄е̄х̄а̄γ̄ на̄н̄ х̄е̄ х̄а̄ӣре, на̄на̄θ̄н̄т̄н̄с
 е̄то̄γ̄а̄а̄в, на̄ӣ ἡ̄та̄ӣс̄от̄по̄γ̄ оγ̄те̄п̄ко̄с̄мо̄с. х̄а̄ӣре, п̄е̄т̄ро̄с, п̄е̄κ̄ло̄м̄ ἡ̄на̄πο̄сто̄-
 10 л̄ос, х̄а̄ӣре, ιω̄ρ̄а̄н̄н̄н̄с, па̄ме̄ρῑт̄, х̄а̄ӣре | на̄а̄πο̄στολος т̄н̄ро̄γ̄. †р̄н̄н̄н̄
 ἡ̄па̄εῑω̄т̄ ἡ̄а̄га̄θ̄ос е̄се̄ω̄ω̄πε н̄н̄м̄н̄т̄н̄. е̄ӣта̄ а̄γ̄ко̄т̄γ̄ е̄πε̄не̄ӣω̄т̄, п̄е̄х̄а̄γ̄ на̄γ̄
 х̄е̄ х̄а̄ӣре, па̄γ̄λος, п̄е̄π̄ӣс̄то̄ло̄φο̄ро̄с е̄т̄та̄ӣн̄γ̄. х̄а̄ӣре, па̄γ̄λος, п̄ме̄с̄ӣт̄н̄с
 ἡ̄т̄а̄ӣа̄θ̄ӯк̄н̄. х̄а̄ӣре, па̄γ̄λος, п̄λ̄ω̄в̄ω̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ т̄с̄н̄т̄е̄ ἡ̄те̄κ̄κ̄л̄н̄с̄iа. а̄ра̄ а̄ п̄е̄к̄-
 ρ̄н̄т̄ т̄ω̄т̄ е̄ро̄к̄ ρ̄н̄ н̄е̄нта̄к̄на̄γ̄ е̄ро̄о̄γ̄; а̄ра̄ а̄κ̄π̄л̄н̄ро̄φο̄ре̄ӣ ἔ̄х̄н̄ н̄е̄нта̄к̄с̄от̄-
 15 мо̄γ̄; а̄γ̄о̄γ̄ω̄ω̄β̄ ἡ̄с̄ӣ па̄γ̄λος х̄е̄ а̄ρ̄е, па̄х̄о̄е̄ӣс̄ а̄ п̄е̄κ̄ρ̄мо̄т̄ н̄н̄ те̄ка̄га̄п̄н̄
 е̄ӣре н̄н̄ма̄н̄ ἡ̄ρ̄е̄н̄но̄с̄ ἡ̄п̄е̄т̄на̄но̄γ̄γ̄. 2. а̄γ̄о̄γ̄ω̄ω̄β̄ ἡ̄с̄ӣ п̄с̄ω̄т̄н̄р п̄е̄х̄а̄γ̄ х̄е̄
 ω̄ п̄ме̄рӣт̄ ἡ̄п̄е̄ӣω̄т̄, ρ̄а̄м̄н̄н̄, ρ̄а̄м̄н̄н̄, †х̄ω̄ н̄мо̄с̄ н̄н̄т̄н̄ х̄е̄ с̄е̄на̄та̄ω̄е̄ о̄е̄ӣω̄
 ἡ̄н̄ω̄а̄х̄е̄ ἡ̄те̄ӣа̄по̄ка̄λ̄ӯн̄ϕ̄ӣс ρ̄н̄ п̄ко̄с̄мо̄с̄ т̄н̄ρ̄γ̄ е̄γ̄ρ̄н̄γ̄ ἡ̄не̄т̄на̄с̄ω̄т̄н̄ е̄ро̄с̄.
 ρ̄а̄м̄н̄н̄, ρ̄а̄м̄н̄н̄, †х̄ω̄ ἡ̄мо̄с̄ на̄к̄, ω̄ па̄γ̄λος, х̄е̄ п̄е̄т̄на̄γ̄ӣ про̄о̄γ̄ω̄ ἡ̄те̄ӣа̄по̄ка̄-
 20 λ̄ӯн̄ϕ̄ӣс (ῤн̄, f. 37b) н̄с̄ρ̄а̄ӣс̄ н̄с̄ка̄а̄с̄ е̄ρ̄ра̄ӣ е̄γ̄м̄н̄т̄н̄н̄т̄ре̄ ἡ̄н̄г̄е̄<не̄>а̄ е̄т̄н̄н̄γ̄,
 ἡ̄†на̄т̄са̄во̄γ̄ а̄н̄ ἔ̄а̄м̄н̄т̄е̄ н̄н̄ п̄е̄φ̄ρῑме̄ е̄т̄са̄ω̄е̄ ω̄а̄ρ̄ра̄ӣ е̄т̄ме̄ρ̄с̄н̄т̄е̄ ἡ̄г̄е̄не̄а̄
 ρ̄н̄ п̄е̄φ̄с̄πε̄рма̄. а̄γ̄ω̄ п̄е̄т̄на̄ω̄ω̄ н̄мо̄с̄ ρ̄н̄ оγ̄п̄ӣс̄т̄ӣс̄ †на̄с̄мо̄γ̄ е̄ро̄γ̄ н̄н̄ п̄е̄φ̄н̄ӣ.
 п̄е̄т̄на̄к̄ω̄м̄ω̄ ἡ̄са̄ ἡ̄ω̄а̄х̄е̄ ἡ̄те̄ӣа̄по̄ка̄λ̄ӯн̄ϕ̄ӣс †на̄х̄ӣ к̄ва̄ ἡ̄мо̄γ̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ ἡ̄не̄γ̄ω̄ω̄
 ἡ̄ρ̄н̄т̄с̄ е̄ӣм̄н̄т̄е̄ӣ ρ̄н̄ не̄ρ̄о̄о̄γ̄ е̄т̄т̄β̄в̄н̄γ̄ х̄е̄ ἡ̄м̄γ̄с̄т̄н̄рӣон̄ т̄н̄ро̄γ̄ ἡ̄та̄м̄н̄т̄но̄ӯте̄
 25 а̄ӣо̄γ̄он̄ро̄γ̄ е̄во̄л е̄ρ̄ω̄т̄н̄, ω̄ на̄ме̄ло̄с̄ е̄то̄γ̄а̄а̄в. е̄ӣс̄ρ̄н̄н̄т̄е̄ а̄ӣω̄ε̄р̄п̄ӣ та̄м̄ω̄т̄н̄
 е̄ρ̄ω̄в̄ н̄н̄м̄. мо̄о̄ω̄е̄ те̄но̄γ̄ ἡ̄те̄т̄н̄в̄ω̄к̄ ἡ̄те̄т̄н̄та̄ω̄е̄о̄е̄ӣω̄ ἡ̄п̄е̄γ̄а̄г̄г̄е̄лӣон̄
 ἡ̄та̄м̄н̄т̄е̄ро̄, ἑ̄п̄е̄ӣδ̄н̄ а̄γ̄ρ̄ω̄н̄ га̄р̄ е̄ρ̄о̄γ̄н̄ ἡ̄с̄ӣ п̄е̄т̄н̄а̄ро̄мо̄с̄ н̄н̄ п̄е̄т̄н̄а̄г̄ω̄н̄
 е̄то̄γ̄а̄а̄в. ἡ̄то̄к̄ а̄е̄ ρ̄ω̄ω̄к̄, ω̄ па̄с̄ω̄т̄н̄ па̄γ̄λος, к̄на̄х̄ω̄к̄ | е̄во̄л н̄п̄е̄к̄а̄ро̄мо̄с̄,
 н̄то̄к̄ н̄н̄ па̄ме̄рӣт̄ п̄е̄т̄ро̄с̄, ἡ̄с̄о̄γ̄ †о̄γ̄ ἡ̄п̄е̄во̄т̄ е̄п̄п̄ф̄, н̄г̄ω̄ω̄пе̄ ρ̄н̄ та̄м̄н̄т̄е̄ро̄
 30 ω̄а̄ е̄не̄ρ̄. та̄с̄ом̄ е̄се̄ω̄ω̄πε н̄н̄м̄н̄т̄н̄. 3. а̄γ̄ω̄ ἡ̄те̄γ̄но̄γ̄ а̄γ̄κε̄ле̄γ̄е̄ ἡ̄те̄κ̄ло̄о̄ле̄
 е̄т̄ре̄ста̄ло̄ ἡ̄н̄ма̄θ̄н̄т̄н̄с̄, н̄с̄х̄ӣто̄γ̄ е̄те̄х̄ω̄ра̄ н̄та̄γ̄то̄ω̄с̄ на̄γ̄ а̄γ̄ω̄ ἡ̄с̄е̄та̄ω̄е̄
 о̄е̄ӣω̄ ρ̄н̄ ма̄ н̄н̄м̄ ἡ̄п̄е̄γ̄а̄г̄г̄е̄лӣон̄ ἡ̄т̄м̄н̄т̄е̄ро̄ ἡ̄н̄п̄н̄γ̄е̄ ω̄а̄ е̄не̄ρ̄, ρ̄ӣт̄н̄ те̄ха̄рӣс̄
 н̄н̄ т̄м̄н̄т̄на̄ӣρ̄ω̄ме̄ ἡ̄п̄е̄н̄х̄о̄е̄ӣс̄ ἡ̄с̄о̄γ̄с̄ п̄е̄х̄ρ̄ӣс̄т̄ос̄ п̄е̄н̄с̄ω̄т̄н̄р, па̄ӣ п̄е̄о̄о̄γ̄ на̄γ̄
 н̄н̄ п̄е̄φ̄е̄ӣω̄т̄ ἡ̄а̄га̄θ̄ос̄ н̄н̄ п̄е̄п̄н̄е̄γ̄на̄ е̄то̄γ̄а̄а̄в ω̄а̄ е̄не̄ρ̄ ἡ̄не̄ρ̄. ρ̄а̄м̄н̄н̄.

1 διαπανγειλε: ἀπαγγέλλω 5 <н̄ω̄а̄х̄е>: om. ms., Budge, Copeland 9–10 ἡ̄на̄πο̄στολος:
 ἡ̄на̄п̄ο̄с̄ ms. 11 а̄γ̄ко̄т̄γ̄: е̄γ̄ко̄т̄γ̄ Copeland 16 н̄н̄ма̄н̄: н̄н̄ма̄ӣ Budge || а̄γ̄о̄γ̄ω̄ω̄β̄:
 а̄γ̄о̄γ̄ω̄ω̄β̄ Copeland 21 ἡ̄†на̄т̄са̄во̄γ̄: ἡ̄†на̄т̄са̄во̄о̄γ̄ ms., Budge, Copeland 23 ἡ̄мо̄γ̄:
 ἡ̄мо̄о̄γ̄ ms., Budge, Copeland 28 ω̄: ῤ Budge

I reported to them everything that had happened to me and the things that I had seen and the honors that will be bestowed on the righteous as well as the fall and the destruction that will be the lot of the impious. Then the apostles rejoiced and exulted, and they blessed God. They ordered both of us, me, Mark, and Timothy, the disciples of Saint Paul, the teacher of the Church, to write down the words of this holy revelation, for the profit and the benefit of those who will hear them.

64, 1. While the apostles were still talking with us, the Savior, Christ, appeared to us upon the chariot of the cherubim. He said to us: "Hail, my holy disciples, whom I have chosen from the world. Hail, Peter, the crown of the apostles. Hail, John, my beloved. Hail, all of my apostles. The peace of my good father be with you." Next, he turned towards our father and said to him: "Hail, Paul, excellent letter-carrier. Hail, Paul, mediator of the covenant. Hail, Paul, gable and foundation of the Church. Are you satisfied by what you have seen? Are you convinced by what you have heard?" Paul answered: "Yes, my Lord. Your grace and your charity have done us great favors." 2. The Savior answered and said: "O beloved of the Father, truly, truly, I tell you that the words of this revelation will be preached in the entire world for the benefit of those who will hear it. Truly, truly, I tell you, O Paul, that whoever will provide for this revelation (140) and has it copied and published as a witness for the generations to come, I will not show him hell or its bitter weeping up to the second generation of his offspring. And whoever will read it in faith I will bless, together with his household. On him who will mock the words of this revelation, I will take revenge. And there shall not be read from it except on the hallowed days, for I have revealed to you all the mysteries of my divinity, O my holy members. Indeed, I have already told you everything. Now, go and depart and preach the gospel of my kingdom, for your course and your holy contest have drawn near. You yourself, O my chosen Paul, you shall complete your course, together with my beloved Peter, on the fifth of the month Epiphi (29 June), and you shall dwell in my kingdom forever. May my power be with you." 3. And right away he ordered the cloud to lift the disciples and take them to the country that he had assigned to them, so that everywhere they would preach the gospel of the kingdom of heavens forever, through the grace and the charity of our Lord, Jesus Christ, our Savior, to whom is the glory together with his good Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

Commentary

1–15. The first fifteen chapters of the *Apocalypse of Paul* are not extant in Sahidic Coptic, due to a material lacuna in our manuscript BL (see above, chapter 1, section 2). Recently, a fragment of chapter 11 in Fayoumic Coptic has been identified (manuscript FL; see chapter 1, section 5). It is of considerable interest, confirming that at least part of the earlier chapters of the text circulated also in Coptic, but it is not published here, mainly due to its fragmentary state. Yet, in order to understand what follows, a brief outline of the contents of these earlier chapters is indispensable. It paraphrases the long Latin version L¹, which in general closely agrees with the Coptic. The chapters in question are best preserved in the Paris manuscript, only partially in the St Gall and Arnhem (L³) manuscripts; see the edition by Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 66–97.

In the Latin Paris manuscript, chapters 1–2, preceded by a quote of 2 Cor. 12:1–5, are taken up by a paratextual preface, the so-called Tarsus prologue, relating the discovery of the text's autograph manuscript in the reign of Theodosius the Great (379–395). The Coptic, similar to the earlier *Apocalypse of Peter*, had an entirely different prologue, as is shown by the preserved epilogue of chapters 63–64, which forms the logical counterpart to this lost prologue. For a reconstruction of the Coptic prologue, see our chapter 2, section 2.

In chapter 3, Paul receives his mission from God. He has to confront the human race with its sins. Children of God, the people on earth nonetheless devote themselves to the works of the devil. Among the entire creation, it is only they that sin. Formally, this chapter is modeled after the “mission statements” of the biblical prophets; for a comparison with the opening paragraphs of the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, see Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt*, 301–302 (cf. 28–29).

Chapters 4–6 form a coherent unit in which God's patience with sinful humanity is the central theme. In five paragraphs with a largely similar structure, the elements of the visible world (sun, moon and stars, sea, waters, earth) complain about the behavior of humanity, which God answers by stating his patience. In addition to introducing the theme of God's patience with the sinner, these chapters from the outset situate human behavior (and eventually its punishment or reward) in a broader cosmic setting.

Chapters 7–10 constitute likewise a unit, but primarily angelological in nature. All angels convene at sunset and sunrise to report to God. A personal angel reports to God about the sins and good deeds of each human being (7). Chapters 9 and 10 are symmetrically laid out. The angels who visit the pious ascetics weep with them over the sins of man and are encouraged by God (9).

Those who visit the feeble Christians, whom “the impediments of the world” made miserable, are encouraged to go on ministering to the sinners, in the hope that they may finally convert (10).

In chapter 11 only, the real voyage of Paul starts. From now on, until the very end of his journey, he is in the company of an angel, the *angelus interpretes*, who guides him and answers his questions. Chapter 11–13 once more make up a unit, now with a cosmological interest. Chapters 11 and 12 are again symmetrically laid out. Paul is taken up and from the height of the firmament looks down and sees a mass of monstrous powers, some of them “angels without mercy,” who wait for the souls of the impious to leave the body (11). Then he looks up into heaven and sees beautiful “angels of justice,” who wait for the souls of the righteous. Righteous and sinners have to follow the same path in order to appear before God, but the righteous will have a “holy helper” to guide them and protect them from fear (12). Finally, Paul looks down upon the earth, which is covered by “a great cloud of fire,” representing human iniquity (13).

Chapters 14–16 form another unit, in which 14 and 15–16 are laid out symmetrically. Chapter 14 describes the death and judgment of a pious person; chapters 15–16 relate the death and judgment of a sinner. The soul of the pious person is taken up by “holy angels” (14, 3) and encouraged and comforted by its personal angel and its spirit (14, 4–5). The impious angels try to stop it, but they cannot lay hold on the soul and are rebuked by the pious angels (14, 6, St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 88–90). After judgment, the soul is handed over to Michael, “the angel of the covenant,” and brought to “the Paradise of joy” (14, 7–8). By contrast, the soul of the sinner is taken up by malign angels, since holy angels find no place in it (15, 3). Its angel and its spirit disavow the sinner’s soul (16, 1) and it is left to the powers of darkness (16, 2–3). Once brought up, the angels deny it access to heaven (16, 4). Its angel and its spirit present it to the divine judge (16, 5), who rebukes it (16, 6) and orders it to be handed over to Aftemelouchos (thus the Coptic; Greek: Temelouchos), “the angel in charge of the punishments” (16, 7).

16. This is the first chapter extant in Coptic. As outlined above, it forms, together with chapter 15, the negative counterpart to 14, which describes the death of a pious person, the reception of his soul by pious angels and its acquittal by the divine judge. In chapters 15–16, the exact opposite is described. Malign angels overpower the sinner’s soul and bring it forth from the body. This is where the Coptic of manuscript BL joins in.

There reigns some confusion among scholars regarding the beginning of the Coptic text. While Casey, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 5, places it in “the middle of Chapter 15,” Duensing and De Santos Otero, “Apocalypse of Paul,” have contra-

dictory statements. According to the introduction to their translation, at 713, the beginning of the text is in chapter 15 (Latin). The translation itself, however, at 721 and 744, n. 28, wrongly places the description of the powers of darkness (the current beginning of the Coptic) in chapter 14 (Latin). In fact, the Coptic manuscript BL begins in the very first sentence of 16, with only a few words missing.

16, 1. [αγω ντερογεντες εβολ ην σωμα, α πεσαγγελος | σω]κ ηδ τεσζη, “and when it had been brought forth from the body, its angel preceded it”: The few words that are lost have been filled in here *exempli gratia*, after the Latin: *et cum produxissent, precessit eam consuetus angelus* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 1.1–2), and the Greek: αὐτῆς δὲ ἐξελθούσης ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος προέτρεχεν αὐτῇ ὁ συνήθης ἄγγελος αὐτῆς (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 44–45), and, for the Coptic phrasing, below, chapter 17, 1: “I saw [ε]κεψγχι εαγεντες εβολ ην σωμα, another soul that had been brought forth from the body.”

The verb in the main clause was reconstructed by Copeland (*Mapping*, 250) as [βω]κ, yet σωκ is a more likely option (cf. Latin *precessit*; Greek προέτρεχεν); for σωκ, a verb very frequently used in the present text, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 327a.

ω τταλαιπωρος μηγχι, “O wretched soul”: In the following address of the angel, the Coptic clearly abridges, omitting for instance the self-presentation of the angel, found in the Latin (*ego sum angelus adherens tibi*, St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 2.2–3, and similarly in the Greek and the Syriac), and the phrase “you, however, have wasted the time of repentance” (*tu autem perdidit tempus penitentiae*, St Gall) towards the end of his address (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 2.9–10; similarly in the Greek).

νογπεθοογ ετρεψε ημοογ ηπερ<ο>ογ μη τεγωη, “your evil acts that you commit by day and by night”: Cf. the very similar Latin *maligna quaecumque egisti per noctem uel diem* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 1.4–5). For further parallels, see below, at 16, 5.

ετβε π<α>ογωη αν, “not because I desire so”: The manuscript’s ετβε πογωη may seem to be emended most naturally and economically to ετβε π<ογ>ογωη: “because *you* (fem.) desire so” (thus Copeland, *Mapping*, 250), yet the context demands ετβε π<α>ογωη, “because I desire so”; cf. the Latin *si fuisset meae potestatis*, “if it were in my power” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 1.5–6).

ηπρλο εκδιακονει εροογ, μεωακ ησεκτοογ ησεμετανοι, “do not stop ministering to them. Perhaps they will convert and repent”: These words of God, in direct speech, are repeated literally from chapter 10 (not extant in Coptic). Compare the Greek of chapter 10: μὴ παύσασθε τοῦτοις διακονεῖν ἵσως ἐπι-

στρέψωσιν (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 39). There, as here, the third person plural pronouns refer to “sinful souls, sinners” in general. The Latin of the present passage cites God’s order as indirect speech and in a more personal way: *ut non cessemus ministrare animee quousque peniteamini*, “that we should not stop ministering to (your) soul till you repent” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 1.9–10).

The theme of repentance occupies an important place in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. In the Coptic version, it appears a total of seventeen times, in 16, 1; 17, 4; 22, 5; 36, 1; 43, 1; 43, 2; 43, 3; 44, 3 (6 times); 54, 1 (twice); 56, 2, and 59. Repentance is an essential aspect of God’s judiciary system, since its existence allows the ineluctable fulfillment of punishment. Forgiveness of sins is possible if and only if sinners repent before they die. And as Michael states in the central chapter on repentance (43, 2–3), there is no clemency without repentance.

ⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲛⲉϣⲙⲁ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲏⲧⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ, “and its spirit came forward to meet it and said”: The following address of the spirit is lacking in Latin, Greek and Syriac alike. Yet the double phrase that concludes it, ⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲛⲉϣⲙⲁ ϫⲡⲓⲟⲥ, ⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲓⲣⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ, “its spirit rebuked it and its angel vexed it,” is literally found also in the Latin (Paris: *et spiritus confundebat eum et angelus conturbabat*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 1.14–15). Hence, the double address (of soul’s angel first, then its spirit) preserved by the Coptic must be original, as was already surmised by James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 533. This conclusion is confirmed by the sequel, in 16, 5, where its angel and its spirit together present the soul to God in order to be judged.

ⲙ̅ⲧ ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲗⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϣⲏ, ⲙ̅ⲡⲣ̅ⲧ̅ ⲙ̅ⲧⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲕⲟϥⲓ [ⲛ̅]ⲟϥⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲓⲁⲁϥ [ⲉⲓ]ⲃⲁⲗⲱⲱϥ ⲉⲣⲟ. ⲉⲓⲉ ⲙ̅ⲧⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟ, ⲙ̅ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲗⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϣⲏ, [ⲉⲣⲧ]ⲱⲱⲱⲛ ϫⲁ ⲛⲟϥ[ⲥⲧⲃ]ⲱⲱⲛ ⲙ̅ⲧ ⲙ̅ⲧⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲟϥⲧⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲧⲟϥ ϫⲉ ⲟϥⲛ̅ ⲛⲓϥⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓϥⲉ ⲛ̅ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ϣⲏⲧⲉ; ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲧ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉ. ⲛ̅ⲧⲧⲁⲕⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, ⲁⲓⲣ̅ ⲱⲙ̅ⲙⲟ ⲉⲣⲟ ⲙ̅ⲡⲱⲱϥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲁⲣⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ, “O wretched soul, you have not given me ease in the short time that I have been dwelling with you. Did you not get fed up, O wretched soul, with bearing your stench? Did you not come to realize that there is breath of God’s breath of life within you? Let us go to the righteous judge. I will not forgive you and I have become a stranger to you today and you to me”: The “breath of God’s breath of life” refers to Gen. 2:7, where God animates Adam; in the Bohairic version: ⲟϥⲟⲣ ϫⲁⲩⲛⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲱⲛ ⲙ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲟϥⲧⲓⲛⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲱⲛⲉ, “and he (sc. God) breathed (ⲛⲓⲥⲓ) into his face a breath (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ̅) of life” (De Lagarde).

Behind the words of the spirit and the underlying distinction between spirit, soul and body, we seem to have the Platonic view of the human being. While the body dissolves after death and goes back to the earth, the soul survives in order to be judged on the basis of its good or bad deeds. Only the spirit appears

to be free from sin and wholly divine. The address of the spirit presents the relationship between spirit and soul as temporal and problematic. While the spirit is said to be “God’s breath,” the sinful soul appears as a most unpleasant dwelling for it. Indeed, the spirit complains about its uneasy sojourn in the soul, mentioning the fact that the soul did not give him a day of ease and referring to the soul’s stench. On the notion of the soul’s disgusting odor, see below (on $\text{noy}[\text{c}+\text{b}]\omega\omega\text{n}$, “your stench”).

While the Platonic background of this conception of human being is obvious, it is less clear which type of Platonic anthropology, bipartite or tripartite, we are dealing with. Does the anthropology of the *Apocalypse of Paul* entail a clear separation of three independent constitutive elements, namely spirit or reason, soul and body, in the way Sulla states it in Plutarch’s *De facie in orbe lunae*: “In the same degree as soul is superior to body so is mind better and more divine than soul” (943A; translation Cherniss and Helmbold)? Or do we rather have to assume a more traditional form of Platonism, namely a bipartition of the human being in two opposed elements, body and soul? In the latter case, spirit or reason is simply added to the dual human being as a part of the soul, without implying the existence of a separate and independent element, such as is the case for instance in Plato’s *Timaeus*. The spirit’s assertion that it is “estranged” from the soul in the same way that the soul separates from the body after death, however, seems to speak in favor of the first possibility. See in general Roig Lanzillotta, “Spirit, Soul and Body,” and id., “One Human Being.”

$\text{m}^{\text{p}}\text{p}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}[\text{t}]\text{on} \text{nai} \text{m}^{\text{p}}\text{akoyi} [\text{n}]\text{oy}\delta\epsilon\text{iw} \text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{ai}\alpha\alpha\text{q} [\epsilon\text{i}]\delta\alpha\lambda\omega\text{oy} \epsilon\text{po}$, “you have not given me ease in the short time that I have been dwelling with you”: Compare the similar phrasing in the Sahidic *Apophthegmata Patrum*, no. 212, quoted in our chapter 3, section 2, where the seer hears “a voice,” saying about the soul of the dying sinner: $\text{m}^{\text{p}}\epsilon \text{tei}\gamma\chi\text{n} \dagger \text{m}^{\text{t}}\text{on} \text{nai} \text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{oy}\gamma\text{n}\text{oy} \text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{oy}\omega\text{t}$, “this soul did not give me ease for a single hour” (Chaîne, *Manuscrit*, 61). By contrast, in chapter 14, 5 (not extant in Coptic), the spirit addresses the righteous soul in positive terms: *inuenio enim in te locum refectionis in tempore quo habitavi in te*, “for I found in you a place of refreshment in the time I dwelt in you” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 88, 1.9–11).

$\text{m}^{\text{p}}\text{akoyi} [\text{n}]\text{oy}\delta\epsilon\text{iw} \text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{ai}\alpha\alpha\text{q} [\epsilon\text{i}]\delta\alpha\lambda\omega\text{oy} \epsilon\text{po}$, “in the short time that I have been dwelling with you”: We read $[\epsilon\text{i}]\delta\alpha\lambda\omega\text{oy}$ with Copeland (*Mapping*, 250). Budge’s reconstruction, $[\alpha\text{i}+\text{t}]\delta\alpha\lambda\omega\text{oy}$ (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 556), is ungrammatical; the sentence demands a secondary predicate, marked by the circumstantial; see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 311 (“subject depictive”). For the verb, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 808a and 809a, whose presentation of the two distinct usages of $\delta\alpha\lambda\omega\text{oy} \epsilon$ -, “to sojourn with” and “to be confided to,” is confusing, however (cf. Westendorff, *Handwörterbuch*, 447–448; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*

étymologique, 336–337). In 16, 4, ἑλλωυ ε- corresponds to Greek παροικέω; in 16, 5, to Latin *inhabito*.

ειε ἡ[πῖ]σει ἡτο, ὦ ττα[λαι]πωρος ἡγχι, [εῖτ]ωογν ῥα νογ[εῖ]ωων ἡ ἡ<πε> πογρητ κτοφ χε ..., “did you not get fed up, O wretched soul, with bearing your stench? Did you not come to realize that ...?”: For the text of this passage, we follow Copeland’s reconstructions, though not her erroneous translation (*Mapping*, 250, cf. 189). For ειε as a question marker, see Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, 349–350, par. 526. For the construction of σει with a circumstantial present as a secondary predicate, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 316b, who refers to a very similar rhetorical question in the Bohairic *Martyrdom of Anatolius*: iē ἡπεκσι ἡοοκ χε εκφων ἡναισνοφ ἡαθνοβι ἐβολ, “did you not get fed up with shedding all this harmless blood?” (Balestri and Hyvernats, *Acta Martyrum* 1, textus, 29, 2–3). For the use of η (ῥ), introducing a parallel question, see Boud’hors, “La particule η.” In ἡ<πε> πογρητ the scribe skipped the first of two brief syllables beginning with π.

νογ[εῖ]ωων, “your stench”: The same word εῖωων reappears later in the same chapter: ἀγνοσ ἡεῖωων ὡωπε ῥῆ τενμηητε, “a strong stench reigned in our midst.” Our reading follows Copeland’s, who suggests as alternative reconstructions νογ[εὼ]ωων, “your evil deeds” (cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 39a), and νογ[εῖ]ωων, “your pestilence,” suggested by A. Shisha-Halevy (Copeland, *Mapping*, 251, n. 10); in the given context, both are less likely, however.

The origin of the notion of a foul stench adhering to the soul is to be looked for in a Platonic context. Plutarch of Chaeronea echoes the idea in *De facie in orbe lunae*, where souls “purge and blow away the pollutions contracted from the body as from an evil odor” (943C); see Roig Lanzillotta, “An End in Itself?” The idea can be traced back to Plato’s *Gorgias* (524DE), in which souls in the afterlife show traces and marks of the type of life the individual had, and *Phaedo* (81B), where Socrates affirms that souls in the afterlife are “polluted and uncleansed” (μεμιασμένη καὶ ἀκάθαρτος) due to their desires and pleasures and the contagion of the corporeal. In two Egyptian texts, cited in chapter 3, section 2, the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 15 (Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 44–45), and the *Sahidic Testament of Isaac* (Kuhn, “Sahidic Version,” 234; somewhat differently in the Bohairic, cf. Dochhorn, “Testament Isaaks,” 306–307), the stench that clings to the soul of the sinner is melted away by the river of fire (for which, see below, at chapter 31). The great saints are able to recognize sinners or demons by the foul smell that emanates from them; see, for instance, *Questiones Horsiesii* (Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 18, 29–33), about Pachomius, and a famous passage from Athanasius’ *Life of Anthony* 63 (Bartelink, *Vie d’Antoine*, 300–302). Olfactory sensations are an important part of the universe of the

Apocalypse of Paul and the stench of the souls partly explains the foul smell of hell, which according to chapter 41 culminates in “the well of the abyss” and is counterbalanced by the delightful fragrance of celestial Paradise in chapter 58.

ⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲛⲉϥⲙⲁ ⲭⲡⲱⲥ, ⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲁⲓⲡⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲑⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲓⲙⲟⲥ, “its spirit rebuked it and its angel vexed it”: This sentence, which concludes the addresses of the angel and the spirit, has its exact positive counterpart in chapter 14, 5 (about the righteous soul; not extant in Coptic): *et spiritus eius confirmavit eam et angelus eius suscepit eam, deduxit in celo*, “and its spirit strengthened it and its angel received it and led it into heaven” (Latin, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 88, 1.11–13).

16, 2–3. Both here and in chapter 14, 6 (not extant in Coptic), the soul of the dying person is disputed between malevolent and benevolent angels. The latter are extensively described in chapter 12; the former, in chapter 11 (neither extant in the Sahidic manuscript) and again here. The lurid description of these “powers of darkness,” which takes up most of 16, 2–3, up to the interrogation of the soul (ⲉⲣⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ, ⲱ ⲧⲧⲁⲗⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲓϥϭⲏ, etc.), lacks in all other versions, including the Latin and the Syriac, and is usually considered an interpolation of the Coptic. Already James called it “an insertion” (“Some Coptic Apocrypha,” 166), which is “certainly *not* original” (*Apocryphal New Testament*, 533, n. 1, with his emphasis; cf. Silverstein, *Visio*, 105, n. 24). Also Erbetta considered it as “una descrizione tutta propria, tutto altro che originale” (“Apocalissi di Paolo,” 364, n. 24). More recently, Copeland thought it likely that “this particular section was composed in Coptic,” on the mistaken assumption that ibises were mentioned (*Mapping*, 190, n. 3; on the presumed ibises, see below). Notwithstanding the scholarly consensus as to the secondary nature of this description, there are strong indications that the Coptic version has preserved here a primitive component of the text (see already Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 171–174).

To begin with, even though they lack the careful enumeration preserved in the Coptic chapter 16, all other versions of the *Apocalypse* have preserved traces of similar descriptions. Thus, the punishments in hell may be inflicted by dragons (*drachones*) and “angels with fiery horns” (*angeli abentes ignea cornua*; 40, 4, Latin; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 150, 1.12–16, Paris; cf. Armenian 1, 37, Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 129). More to the point, the same demonic powers that appear at the death of the sinner are described in a largely parallel passage from chapter 11, 2–3 (not extant in Coptic), where they are depicted as “merciless angels, who had no pity at all, whose faces were full of fury, with teeth protruding from their mouth. Their eyes were flashing like the morning star of

the east and from their hair of their head and from their mouths sparks of fire went forth" (11, 3, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 82, 1.14–19). Variations on this passage are found in all other ancient versions of the *Apocalypse*, but for the Greek; thus in the Latin L³ (the Arnhem manuscript; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 83), the Syriac (chapter 8; Ricciotti, "Apocalypsis Pauli," 8–9), the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 257–258) and the Armenian (1, 5, Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 114). There is hence no *a priori* reason to consider the type of descriptions found in Coptic 16, 2, as secondary.

Furthermore, rather than representing an extraneous element, the descriptions in chapters 11 (Latin) and 16 (Coptic) both adhere to an established tradition in the literature of Christian Egypt. The moment of death, the soul's "going forth from the body," is accompanied and often provoked by the apparition of menacing, animal faced monsters, for which in Coptic the term ⲱⲁⲃⲉⲗⲟ, "terror faces" or "change faces," is used (see Behlmer, "Zu einigen koptischen Dämonen"; Frankfurter, "Amente Demons"; id., *Christianizing Egypt*, 218–228; Łajtar and Van der Vliet, *Empowering the Dead*, 217–218, all with further references). As several earlier scholars observed, the description of Latin chapter 11, 3, cited above, echoes a passage from the Coptic *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, which is usually considered to be one of the direct sources of inspiration of the *Apocalypse of Paul* (see our chapter 3, section 1). This literary tradition can be traced back, if not to Pharaonic models, at least to the monstrous apparition of Death in the *Testament of Abraham*, another influential model of our *Apocalypse* (in particular, the long Greek recension, chapter 17, Schmidt, *Testament*, 152–156; cf. the short recension, 14:2–4, Schmidt, *Testament*, 80, and the Bohairic version, Guidi, "Testo copto," 177–178; see Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, 219–220, and, again, the discussion in our chapter 3, section 1). The vivid representations in Coptic chapter 16, 2, are therefore firmly embedded in a local literary tradition, which the *Apocalypse of Paul* in turn passed on to later compositions, most notably the Sahidic *Testament of Isaac* (Kuhn, "Sahidic version," 233–235; Doehhorn, "Testament Isaaks," 302–304) and the Bohairic *Life of Pesynthios*, in the famous episode of the resuscitated mummy. Both contain condensed echoes of the passage found in the *Apocalypse of Paul* in 16, 2, which are quoted and discussed in our chapter 3, section 2.

Finally, in addition to these more general arguments, there is also a precise textual indication for assuming that this section is not an interpolation. The opening of 16, 2, is phrased almost identically in the Latin and the Coptic versions. Thus in L¹, the Paris manuscript has: *cum ergo peruenissent ap potestate, cum iam ingredi celum habiret, labor inpositus est ei super alium laborem. Nam obliuio et susuracio abuiauuerunt eam et spiritus fornicationis* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 1.15–19). However, where the Coptic continues with

the phrase $\mu\bar{\eta}$ $\nu\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon$, “and the powers of darkness,” which marks the beginning of their description, the Latin has the empty expression “and other powers” and omits any further description (Paris: *et relique potestatis*; L³, Arnheim: *et cetere potestates*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 99, 2.18–19). The particular phrasing suggests that at this spot a more complete and varied description, such as provided earlier in chapter 11 (cited above), has been cut short, to be replaced with a platitude. To sum up, while it cannot be excluded that the extensive description of the powers of darkness as found in the Coptic of chapter 16 has been subject to embroidery in the course of the text’s transmission, it is quite unlikely that its complete absence in the Latin version is original.

16, 2. $\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\eta$, “the spirit of wrath”: The second word was misread as $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\eta$ (for $\bar{\eta}\tau\omega\rho\eta$?) by Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 556) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 250). The Latin (Paris) has *spiritus fornicacionis* here, “the spirit of fornication” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 1.98, 19), but compare chapter 11, 2: *spiritus f[ornicacio]nis et spiritus furoris* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 82, 1.11), where the Greek has “great and terrifying powers, full of wrath: $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\rho}\gamma\eta\varsigma$ ” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 40; no Coptic extant). “Four angels of wrath” ($\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\rho\eta$) are found in hell, in chapter 35.

$\nu\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon$..., “the powers of darkness ...”: The remainder of this paragraph is devoted to a description of the “powers of darkness.” It elaborates in more detail the picture sketched in chapter 11 of the malign angels that prowl on the soul of the dying sinner (not extant in Coptic, but partly cited above). While essentially associated with “darkness,” the habitat of these evil angels is the zone below the firmament and heaven proper. This is very explicitly stated in both the Greek and the Latin of chapter 11 (*sub firmamento caeli*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 82, 13; cf. Greek: $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$; Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 40) and confirmed by the state of affairs depicted in the Coptic of 16, 2–3. Even though the term is not used, apparently the $\acute{\alpha}\eta\rho$ is meant, a zone in ancient cosmology traditionally inhabited by demons; see, for instance, Eph. 2:2, the *Ascension of Isaiah* 7:9–12 (cf. 10:29–31), and, in particular for the present context, the *spiritus aeris* and the *aerae potestates* in the Origen passage, quoted below.

The role of these powers is defined quite explicitly. Their activity covers the period from “the agony of death” ($\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\kappa\eta$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\mu\omicron\gamma$) up to the moment of the soul’s appearance before the divine judge. They are destined to “harass them (sc. the sinners) in the agony of death” ($\epsilon\gamma\tau$ $\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha\gamma$ $\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma\kappa\eta$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\mu\omicron\gamma$; cf. 11, 3: *destinantur ad animas impiorum in ora necessitatis*, Latin, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 82, 22–23), until they drive forth their souls from their

body, a process described in 15, 2–3 (not extant in Coptic). Then they seize the sinful souls and take them up, since they are said to be $\text{NEZOYCIA EYNA\text{X}IT\text{C}}$ EZPAI ETPE , “the powers that should bring it (sc. the soul) up to heaven.” At the same time they may block its way up (16, 3: $\text{EPBHK ETWN, O TTALLIPWPOC IY\text{Y}XH}$, “Where are you going, O wretched soul?”). The righteous and the sinners have to go the same way to God’s tribunal (chapter 12, 2, not extant in Coptic), but the latter find the powers on their way, whose hold on the soul depends on its degree of purity or impurity.

In the way the “powers of darkness” are represented in chapters 11 and 16 of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, two originally distinct traditions appear to converge. The Egyptian tradition of monstrous agents of death, the OABEZO of Coptic sources (see above), and that of intermediate powers who, as demonic way-layers, may block the ascent of the soul. They are entitled to do so when they find that they “own” something of theirs inside of the dying, as their address of the sinner’s soul in 16, 3, shows: $\text{O O IT\text{N}NA\text{Y} \text{XE OYNTAN I\text{Z}HT\text{E}}$, “Wait, so that we may see whether we own something inside of you.” What the powers of darkness “own” in the soul is the evil and impurity that is proper to them and may now give them a rightful claim against the soul. In the righteous soul, they find nothing of their own, and it is granted free passage in order to worship before the throne of God, as is told in chapter 14 (not extant in Coptic). This state of affairs has an exact parallel in a passage from Origen’s *Homilies on Psalm 36*, 5.7 (in the translation by Rufinus, *CPG* 1428 [1]), frequently cited in the past as an early witness to the text of the *Apocalypse of Paul* (see our chapter 4, section 1). In Origen’s account, too, at the moment of death the *adversae potestates* and the *spiritus aeris* come to meet the soul in order to block its ascent and claim it for themselves (*detinere et revocare ad se*). They intercept the soul to see whether they recognize in it something of their own evil: *si inveniant in ea aliquid suum*, which would give them power over it (cf. Recheis, *Engel*, 152–158). The same representation can be found in a well-known prayer attributed to the Virgin Mary in the late-antique Egyptian Dormition literature. Thus, for instance, in Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem’s *Twenty-First Exegesis on the Virgin Mary* (*CANT* 132), where the Virgin on the brink of death addresses her son Jesus: “Remove from before me all stumbling stones as well as those (demons with) terror faces (NEIOWEZO). May they who are at the left of me fall and may they who are the right rise with me full of joy. May the powers of darkness be ashamed because they have not found anything of theirs within me ($\text{MAP\text{E} NEZOYCIA MPKAKE \text{XI OIPE \text{XE} IPOY\text{Z\text{E} \text{LAA\text{Y} NTAY N\text{Z}HT}$). Open for me the gates of righteousness that I enter through them and proclaim your holy name, my God (cf. Ps. 117:19). May the dragon flee before me so that I may boldly appear in front of you” (Sahidic, ch. 49; Campagnano, *Omélie copte*, 188, 12–18, with minor

adaptations; for context and transmission, see Łajtar and Van der Vliet, *Empowering the Dead*, 208–219; cf. Saweros and Van der Vliet, “Naqlun N. 76/93”). For the phrasing (“whether we own something inside of you”), compare John 14:30, about the ruler of this world: ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν / ἡντῷ λαλῶ ρραῖ ἡρητ, “he has nothing in me” (that is, in Jesus), a verse that is actually quoted in the Origen passage.

The description of chapter 16, 2, enumerates powers with the faces of lions, bulls, bears, dragons, serpents, donkeys, crocodiles and unspecified beasts. Discounting the generic beasts (θηριον) in the end, which primarily seem to introduce the nice chewing scene (see below), the remaining animal faces are seven in number. Septiform death was a common trope in late-antique Egyptian sources, see for instance the Gnostic *On the Origin of the World*, par. 36–37 (NHC II, 5; Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, II, 48), where androgynous Death, “mixing with his own nature,” begets seven androgynous offspring that realize as two sets of seven personified sins. In one of the models of the present text, the *Testament of Abraham* 17:12–17, personified Death appears with “seven fiery heads of dragons and fourteen faces,” including a lion face and different kinds of snakes and dragons (long recension; Schmidt, *Testament*, 154–156); for the further ramifications of this mytheme, see Dosoo, “Powers of Death.”

The seven faces of lion, bull, bear, dragon, serpent, donkey and crocodile vividly recall the series of seven theriomorphic planetary rulers as represented in the famous “Ophite diagram,” transmitted by Origen (*Contra Celsum* 6.30–31; 7.40.19–27) and related sources such as the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John*. In the Berlin manuscript of the latter text (BG 8502, 2), the archons have faces of lion, donkey, hyena, seven-headed serpent, dragon, monkey and shining fiery flame (for a synoptic rendering of the different versions, see Waldstein and Wisse, *Apocryphon of John*, 68–73). Both series of seven animal shaped archons, in the *Apocryphon of John* and the “Ophite diagram,” with their variants, are extensively discussed in Van der Vliet, *Image du mal*, 179–218 (for the diagram, add the more recent studies by Ledegang, “Ophites,” and DeConick, “The Road for the Souls”). For the theriomorphism of the powers of darkness, see furthermore *Pistis Sophia*, in particular chapters 102 (a long catalogue of sins and punishments; Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 256–260) and 126 (about the twelve “punishment chambers,” ταμιον ἡκολασις, of outer darkness, with their animal faced archons; Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 317–319). As it appears from these various sources, in order to visualize the terrors of death, Christian authors of late-antique Egypt could choose from a vast repertoire of animal shapes with a partly traditional Egyptian background, recalled in our passage in particular by the Typhonian donkey-face (see Fauth, “Seth-Typhon”; Van der Vliet,

TABLE 8 Comparative table of the animal forms in 16, 2

Animals 16, 2	Attributes 16, 2	Animals “Ophite diagram”	Animals <i>Apocr. John</i> (BG)
Lion	Sword	Lion	Lion
Bull	Lance	Bull	Donkey
Bear	Razor	Dragon	Hyena
Dragon	Saw-edged hook	Eagle	Seven-headed serpent
Serpent	Scorpion tail	Bear	Dragon
Donkey	Spear	Dog	Monkey
Crocodile	Dagger	Donkey	Flame of fire

Image du mal, 198–199). For such representations, the number seven provided a widely applied structuring grid. The *Apocalypse of Paul* conformed to the pattern.

In order to clarify the structure of the passage, Table 8 lists the animal forms of the powers in 16, 2, with their attributes, adding the animal forms of the archons from the “Ophite diagram” and the *Apocryphon of John* in a third and fourth column, for the sake of comparison.

Their address of the soul in 16, 3, “Wait, so that we may see whether we own something inside of you,” shows that the text’s “powers of darkness” should not be seen as mere instruments of punishment. Rather, they also impersonate the guardians of heaven, the authorities governing the planetary spheres, who consequently control the souls on their way down to earth or up to heaven. In this sense, it is possible to place this section of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in the long and ancient tradition concerning the descent/ascent of the soul. According to a well-known view, on their way down to the world the souls pass the (seven) planetary spheres, acquiring from each planet the powers that would mark their earthly existence; conversely, on their way up, the souls needed to divest themselves before being allowed to return to heaven.

According to Richard Heinze and Hans Joachim Krämer, the origin of this view of the seven planetary spheres and the archons controlling them must be traced back to Xenocrates’ demonology (Heinze, *Xenocrates*; Krämer, *Geist-metaphysik*, 361). The matter seems to be more complex, however, since the testimonies reflect views and evaluations of both the astral region and the figures governing them that are too much divergent to bring them back to one single ancestor. More plausibly, the notion experienced a long and slow development, as a result of which different factors played a role in its formation.

At any rate, we recognize the confluence of two different sets of notions: on the one hand, the astrological belief in the influence of the stars and planets on human beings; on the other hand, Aristotle's view of the planetary spheres as efficient causes of the processes of generation and corruption in the sublunary realm (Aristotle, *GC* 336A15–337A33; *GA* 336A23–336B24; 338B3–5; *Metaph.* 1072A 10–18; *Meteo.* 346B20–23; *Cael.* 286B2–9). See Roig Lanzillotta, *Acta Andreae apocrypha*, 194–197; Theophrastus, *Metaph.* 5b 19–26, and additionally Bos, *The Soul and Its Instrumental Body*, 222–223.

Later tradition preserves up to three interpretations of the planets' influence on human beings: neutral, positive and negative. The neutral view is echoed by Macrobius' commentary on Cicero's *Scipio's Dream* (*De Ley*, *Macrobius*, 7), where the powers provided by the planets are not qualified as good or bad, but simply presented as energies that planets transmit to the souls (Mead, *Thrice-Greatest Hermes* 1, 417–428). The positive interpretation appears in Clement of Alexandria's angels and archangels that populate the seven spheres (*Eclogae* 57.4), which true Gnostics pass before reaching the ἀνάπαισις of the *ogdoas* (*Strom.* 7.57.1; *Exc. Theod.* 27.4–5). It is difficult to decide whether Clement develops the neutral conception of the planets found in Macrobius or whether he is reacting against the (Hermetic or Gnostic) negative interpretation (see below). In any case, Clement's positive view of the *hebdomas* is due to the fact that the seven spheres are created by the divine Logos and not by the Demiurge (see Lilla, *Clement*, 182–184, who thinks that Clement's view of the guardians of heaven was influenced by Gnosticism). The *Chaldaean Oracles* present the same positive, monistic view of creation, even if they stress, in line with Aristotle, the decreasing quality of the planetary spheres as we approach the sublunary world (*Or. Chald.* 57; 164; 168 Des Places). Given their positive view of the *heimarmene*, which is said to retain some of the Father's light (*Or. Chald.* 69), the figures of the three Teletarchs in charge of the heavens are also judged positively. Placed over the Empyrean, Aetherial and Material realms these powers help (rather than hamper) souls in their ascent (on the three planetary spheres: Empyrean [Sun], Aetherial [Saturn, Jupiter and Mars]; and Material [Venus, Mercury and Moon], see Proclus, *In Tim.* 11 57, 10–14; Psellus, *PG* 122, 1149C1–3. See, on the issue, Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 137, n. 270, and, in general, 122–126; more recently, Majercik, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 16–19). Teletarchs are responsible both for transmitting the rays of sun through which the souls ascend to heaven and for purifying and guiding these souls in their way up (Majercik, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 11–12; see also *Or. Chald.* 85, 86, 177, with Majercik, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 17–18).

The negative view of the planets' influence, finally, appears in Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* 6. The energies transmitted by the planets are

now seen as hampering the soul's use of its own powers (Servius, *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil* 6.714: *docent autem philosophi, anima descendens quid per singulos circulos perdat: unde etiam mathematici fingunt, quod singulorum numinum potestatibus corpus et anima nostra conexas sunt ea ratione, quia cum descendunt animae trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iovis regni desiderium: quare faciunt perturbationem animabus, ne possint uti vigore suo et viribus propriis* [our emphasis]). This is the stage we find in Hermetic and Gnostic lore, where the confluence of astrological beliefs and the view of the planets as efficient causes referred to above is a fact. The Aristotelian notion of a gradual decrease of divinity as we are further removed from the transcendent region is here taken to its last consequences and the earthly realm equated to Hades. At the same time, we also see the personification of the guardians of heaven, perhaps under the influence of Plato's frequent references to "world rulers" (ἄρχοντες; *Leges* 905D–906E; *Phaedr.* 247A4–5; *Polit.* 271D3–E3; cf. *Epin.* 984D3–985A). Indeed, several Hermetic (*Corpus Hermeticum* 1.9; 13) and Gnostic texts are witness to a conception of the planetary spheres as inhabited by demons or rulers who, as anti-divine powers, influence or dominate the processes of the lower realm, tyrannising humanity. Thus, for instance, in *Poimandres*, the planets no longer represent simple planetary energies, but vices of which the souls need to free themselves during their ascent (*Corpus Hermeticum* 1.25). The *Apocryphon of John* (already quoted above) provides direct testimony for the names of these archons, confirmed by Irenaeus and Origen for the Valentinians and Ophites, respectively. As Origen informs us in his book against Celsus, the seven archontic rulers (ἄρχοντες) were in charge of the seven gates after the "Barrier of Evil" separating the realm of light from and the underworld of death and darkness (*Contra Celsum* 6.30–31). The Ophite diagram, mentioned earlier, provides due testimony to this view. The archons have become anti-divine figures who try to hamper the soul's ascent and to whom souls owe to give passwords to be allowed through. Differently than the more neutral or positive views of the astral region and the personifications in charge of the gates of the heavens, the "powers of darkness" of the *Apocalypse of Paul* reflect a rather negative interpretation, similar to the one we find in some Hermetic and Gnostic texts.

ερε ζενζωκ ἡπενιπε εγμογζ ἡκωζτ το ζιωογ, "dressed in iron armor blazing with fire": For the word ζωκ, "girdle, armor," see Crum, *Dictionary*, 662a, s.v. ζωωκ (ζωκ is the standard form, however); it occurs again with the donkey faces below.

ερε ζενσιλ ἡμοογ ἡε ἡνειρωμε, "and hands like men's": For the generic interpretation of the demonstrative article (here νεi-) in comparisons, occurring *passim* in our text, see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 219–220.

ϣΟΙΝΕ Ν̄ϣΟ Ν̄ΑΡ̄Ξ, “some had faces of bears”: The form ΑΡ̄Ξ, ἄρξ (instead of habitual ἄρκτος or ἄρκος) seems proper to Egyptian (and Nubian) Greek and Coptic; see Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Lexicon*, 245a, s.v., and von Lemm, *Koptische Studien*, no. 11, 60–64 and 183; cf. Van der Vliet, *Image du mal*, 196–198, for the symbolism of the bear.

ϣΕΝΝΟϢ Ν̄ΤΟϢ ΜΠΕΝΙΠΕ, “huge iron razors”: Compare the ΤΟϢ Ν̄ΚΩΞ̄Τ̄, “razor of fire,” used to lacerate the tongue and lips of an unfaithful reader in 36, 2. For the word ΤΟϢ, “knife, razor,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 403a, s.v. ΤΟΚ.

ΤΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΜΠΜΟΥ, “the agony of death”: In late-antique sources from Egypt, ἀνάγκη often has the precise meaning “agony, throes of death,” for instance in a *Catechesis*, attributed to Pachomius (died 346; Lefort, *Œuvres*, textus, 8, 23–24), or in the fifth-century Panopolite author Shenoute, *De iudicio* (Behlmer, *Schenute* 7–8, with 200, n. 39). The same in our text; see the Greek of chapter 11, 3: ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἀνάγκης, “in the hour of your agony” (not extant in Coptic); similarly Coptic chapter 17: ΜΠΜΑΥ Ν̄ΤΟΥΔ̄ΝΑΓΚΗ, “in the hour of your agony,” and in particular 46: ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΤΑΝΑΓΚΗ Μ̄ΜΑΔ̄ΤΕ Ν̄ΤΕῩΓΙΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ CΩΜΑ, “except for the agony alone, at the moment when they go forth from the body.” The Latin translates *necessitas* (sc. *ultima, suprema*), which seems hardly idiomatic; for a very general discussion of ἀνάγκη and death, after classical Greek sources, see Schreckenberg, *Ananke*, 66–71.

ΟῩΕΛ̄ΖΩ<Β>, “steam”: As Copeland duly noted (*Mapping*, 251, n. 11), the same unetymological spelling occurs in chapter 44, 5, of our text, in either case without visible justification.

ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΡΑΞ ΕῩΘ̄ ΝΛΑ Ν̄ΒΑΩΟΥΡ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΕῩΓΙΧ, “carrying saw-edged hooks in their hands”: For the κόραξ, literally “raven,” as an (iron) instrument of torture, see Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Lexicon*, 980a; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 768b; for the translation, we followed Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 434, s.v., and Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* I, 826: “hook, cramp.”

ΛΑ Ν̄ΒΑΩΟΥΡ, “saw-edged”: Read ΡΑ Ν̄ΒΑΩΟΥΡ; cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 47b, s.v. ΒΑΩΟΥΡ, and 289a, s.v. ΡΟ. It is unlikely that the very common ρ/λ swap reflects Fayoumic influence.

ϣΟΙΝΕ Ν̄ϣΟ Ν̄ϣΟΥΙ ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝCΑΤ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΙΟΥΩ̄ΖΕ, “some were serpent-faced and had tails like scorpions”: ϣΟΥΙ are “snakes, serpents” (plural; singular ϣΟΥ), not “ibises” (pace Copeland, *Mapping*, 190, n. 4); see Crum, *Dictionary*, 740b–741a. In the Bohairic *Testament of Abraham* (Guidi, “Testo copto,” 178), Death has many heads, “some of them serpent-faced,” ΖΑΝΟΥΟΝ Ν̄ϣΟ Ν̄ΕΒΟΥΖΙ (read Ν̄ΕϣΟΥΙ). For the scorpion tails, cf. Rev. 9:10.

ΕῩCΒΤΩΤ ΕΛΩ̄C̄C̄ Ν̄ΝΕῩΥΧ̄[Η], “ready to sting the souls”: For the word λΩ̄C̄C̄, “bite, sting,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 139b, s.v. ΛΩΚC. There seems to be insufficient space for Ν̄ΝΕῩΥΧ̄[ΟΟῩΕ], or similar, pace Budge (*Miscellaneous*

mention of “the powers of darkness,” the text clearly marks the resumption of the narrative after the long descriptive passage that preceeds.

The scene depicted here became a favorite among Egyptian homilists; compare, for instance, Ps.-Theophilus of Alexandria, *On the Virgin Mary*, who in a similar way contrasts the death of a righteous and a sinner: “When he is a merciless person, however, he will see all the evil ones, I mean the powers of darkness (ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ἸΠΚΑΚΕ), rank after rank (ΕΥΟ ΝΔΔΓΜΔ ΔΔΓΜΔ, τάρμα), marching along with him until he hears the verdict pronounced by God” (Sahidic; Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts*, 315).

ΕΡΒΗΚ ΕΤΩΝ, Ω ΤΤΑΛΛΙΠΩΡΟΣ ἸΥΓΧΗ; ΕΡΒΗΚ ΕΤΠΕ, “where are you going, O wretched soul? Are you on your way to heaven?”: In chapter 14, 6 (not extant in Coptic), the righteous soul is subject to a similar interrogation: *ubi cures, anima, et audes ingredi celum?* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 88, 13–14), but with a different outcome, of course.

In the *Gospel of Mary* (BG 8502, 1), the ascending soul is confronted by the powers (ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ) that try to stop it with the very same question: ΕΡΕΒΗΚ ΕΤΩΝ, “Where are you going?” (15, 14; 16, 15; Till, *Gnostischen Schriften*, 70–72).

ΘΩ ἸΤῆΝΔΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΝ ἸΖΗΤΕ, “wait, so that we may see whether we own something inside of you”: For this phrase, see our commentary above, at 16, 2.

ΜΜΟΝ Μῆ ΒΟΗΘΟΣ ΕΦΟΥΔΑΒ ΜΟΟΥΕ ΝῆΜΕ, “for no holy helper accompanies you”: The rather singular concept of a “holy helper” seems proper to the present text, where otherwise the term βοηθός appears to be reserved for God, as is usual (see below at 32, 1). Also in the passage from Origen’s *Homilies on Psalm 36*, 5.7, quoted above at 16, 2, it is the Lord himself who acts as the protector of the ascending souls of the righteous. When they die, he helps them (*adiuvabit eos*) and rescues them from the hostile powers (cf. Recheis, *Engel*, 156). Here, however, the “holy helper” seems a distinct power. In chapter 12 (not extant in Coptic), the angel explains: “There is one way by which all pass over to God, but the righteous, since they have a holy helper with them (*habentes secum sanctum adiutorem*), are not confounded when they set out to appear before God” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 84, 14–18). According to chapter 14 (likewise not extant in Coptic), the spirit of the righteous soul promises to be its helper (*adiutor*) to support it during the dangerous passage to the other world. Most likely, however, the precise figure of the “holy helper” that accompanies the righteous soul is one of the “holy angels” (cf. Latin, Arnheim: *auxilatorem angelum*) that are depicted in chapter 12; compare the three angels that accompany the souls of the holy according to Pachomius’ Vision at Thmoushons, in the Bohairic *Life* (Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 88, 23–89, 4), and, for instance, Recheis, *Engel*, 56–66, about Clement of Alexandria. For more remote

parallels one may refer to *Pistis Sophia*, where the righteous souls of the non-initiate are snatched away from the hands of the demonic “avenging collectors” by another, friendly inclined class of psychopomps, the “collectors” (ΠΑΡΑΛΗΜΠΤΗΣ) of one of the Triple-Powered (Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 262, 18–22; 381, 24–382, 2, here identified as Bainchoooch; see below at 17, 1). In the likewise Gnostic *Zostrianos* (NHG VIII, 1), the “glories (ΕΘΟΥ),” which are “perfect thoughts,” act to the saved souls as helpers in escaping from the world: ΕΥΝΤΑΔ ΜΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΟΥ-ΒΟΗΘΟ[C], ΜΠΡ[ΗΤ]Ε ΘΑΥC[Ι]ΝΕ ΜΠΙΚΟCΜΟC, “and in this way, having the glory as helper, he (sc. the saved) will pass through this world” (46, 28–30; Sieber, *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, 114).

16, 4. ΠΕΧΔΥ ΧΕ ΜΙΘ ΔΝ, “they said: ‘No welcome to you ...’”: After “they said,” the other versions add “with one voice” (Latin *una uoce*; Greek μιᾷ φωνῇ), which the Coptic omits.

ΜΙΘ ΔΝ is the (rare) negation of the widely used greeting ΜΙΘ, “welcome!” See Crum, *Dictionary*, 159a (quoting our passage); cf. Funk, “„Wohl dir!“ auf koptisch-manichäisch.” The Latin has an anodyne *Ve tibi* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 100–101, all three versions).

ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ Δ ΡΩC ΤΩΜ, ἡΠΕCΕΩΧΩ ΝΟΥΘΑΧΕ ἡΠῆΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἡΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “immediately its mouth shut and it was unable to say a word in the presence of God”: The other versions all phrase differently, with the angels asking the soul how it will defend itself in the presence of God, which appears more logical and fits the narrative better. A copyist of the Coptic anticipated on the judgment scene that still has to take place, whence he copied the muteness of the soul; compare, a few lines lower: Δ ΤΕCΤΑΠΡΟ ΟΥΝ ΤΩΜ ἡΠΕCΕΝ ΘΑΧΕ ΕΧΩ, “then its mouth shut and it did not find a word to say” (16, 6; cf. the similar sentence in 17, 2).

ΧΕ ἡΠΟΥΤ ἡΤΟΝ <ΝΑΙ Ζ>ἡ ΤΕΥΓΧΗ ΕΤΘΑΛΩΟΥ ΕΡΟC, “for no ease was given to me in the soul with whom I was dwelling”: The manuscript has “for no ease was given to the soul with whom I was dwelling,” which might be taken to refer to the following condemnation of the soul. Yet the past tense (ἡΠΟΥΤ) indicates that the text should be corrected in accordance with the Latin: *requiem enim non inueni in hac anima*, “I have not found ease in this soul” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 100, 1.10–11). The sentence has an exact pendant in the earlier statement of the spirit: ἡΠῆΤ ἡ[Τ]ΟΝ ΝΑΙ ἡΠΑΚΟΥΙ [ἡ]ΟΥΘΕΙΩ ἡΤΑΙΑΔ [ΕΙ]ΘΑΛΩΟΥ ΕΡΟ, “you have not given me ease in the short time that I have been dwelling with you,” in 16, 1. The scribal error probably reflects the influence of the common funerary prayer † ἡΤΟΝ ἡΤΕΥΓΧΗ ἡ-, “(God), give rest to the soul of ...” (for which see, Van der Vliet, “What is Man,” 402–404).

ἀγογῶν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἀγγελος δε φησὶ, φησὶ ἡμεῖς τενμμητε, δε χιν ἡμεῖς νταν-
 ναγ ερος, ἀγνος ἡμεῖς τβων ὡπε ἡμεῖς τενμμητε, “take it away, take it from our
 midst. For since the moment we saw it, a strong stench reigned in our midst”:
 On the soul’s stench, see above on 16, 1.

16, 5. ἀ πεσαγγελος συμανε εφξω ἡμος δε, “its angel reported and said”: For
 σημαίνω, “to announce, report, inform,” see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* II, 454–455;
 Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 723; the Latin (L¹/L³; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*,
 102–103), has more banal verbs here (L¹: *precucurrit*; L³: *antecedebat*).

εἰνε νακ ἡμεῖς βηγε, να περοογ μῆ να τεγωη, “I bring you its deeds,
 those of the day and those of the night”: All of the soul’s deeds are meant,
 whether done secretly or in the eyes of the world. The same idea is expressed
 in the words of the angel in the beginning of the chapter: νογπεθοογ ἐτρεπε
 ἡμοογ ἡμεῖς (ο)ογ μῆ τεγωη, “your evil acts that you commit by day and
 by night” (16, 1; see above). In the context of judgment after death, this was
 apparently a standard formula. Thus, it occurs in the *Apocalypse of Elijah* 5:26:
 “the sins of each will confront him in the place where they were committed,
 whether those of the day or those of the night (εἰτε να φοογε, εἰτε να τογχι)”
 (Achmimic 41, 7–10, ed. Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 102; cf. Frankfurter, *Elijah in*
Upper Egypt, 326, n. 110), and in Pseudo-Theophilus of Alexandria, *On the Virgin*
Mary: “Do you then not know that after a short while books will be opened (cf.
 Dan. 7:10) and that our shortcomings and our sloppiness and our negligences
 will all come to light, those of the day and those of the night (να περοογ μῆ να
 τεγωη)?” (Sahidic; Worrell, *Coptic Manuscripts*, 313–314).

The Latin translation of this passage: *cuius opera tibi referebam die ac nocte*,
 “whose works I reported to you day and night” (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst,
Apocalypse, 102, 2.3), obviously misses the point here, but has it correctly in 16,
 1: *opera tua maligna quaecumque egisti per noctem uel diem* (Paris; Silverstein
 and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 98, 1.4–5).

κρινε ἡμος κατὰ περζαπ, “judge it as it deserves”: The Paris manuscript has
 a faulty *non faciens secundum tuum iudicium*, “not acting according to your
 judgment,” whereas the St. Gall manuscript has *fac ei secundum tuum iudicium*,
 “act with it according to your judgment” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*,
 102, 1.4 and 2.3–4), which makes better sense (cf. the similar phrases in the
 Latin of chapter 14, 7, about the righteous soul, not extant in Coptic; Silver-
 stein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 92–93). Both here and in the similar statement
 of the spirit, below, the Coptic reads κατὰ περζαπ, “as it deserves,” against the
 Latin *secundum tuum iudicium* (Paris and St. Gall) and the Greek κατὰ τὸ κρίμα
 σου, “according to *your* (i.e. God’s) judgment” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 46).
 Although the latter is perhaps a more original reading, the Coptic phrasing is

grammatical and fits the context; we therefore retained the reading $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\zeta\alpha\pi$, which was interpreted in the same way already by Copeland (*Mapping*, 192).

$\alpha\lambda\omicron\kappa\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$, $\pi\eta\iota\upsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\alpha\lambda\omega\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$. $\kappa\rho\iota\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\zeta\alpha\pi$, “I am the spirit, the breath of life that dwelt with it. Judge it as it deserves”: These words of the spirit echo the earlier report of the angel. The Latin inserts a phrase: “it did not follow my will” (*non est secuta meam uoluntatem*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 102, 1.7), which in light of the earlier words of the angel and the spirit seems redundant. The Coptic merely leaves the judgment to God and the brevity of both reports may be original. On the “breath of life,” see above at 16, 1.

16, 6. $\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\bar{\nu}\omega\upsilon\gamma$ (read $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\bar{\nu}\omega\upsilon\gamma\upsilon$) $\tau\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\alpha\gamma$, “where are all the good things that you have done?”: For the spelling $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\bar{\nu}\omega\upsilon\gamma$, see our chapter 1, section 4. The Latin (Paris and St. Gall) adds a phrase “in exchange for the good things that I did for you,” *pro bonis que feci tibi* (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 102, 9; it is omitted in the Arnhem manuscript and the much abridged Greek). A similar phrase may have dropped out in the Coptic, on account of the repeated expression for “good things” (*saut du même au même*).

$\mu\eta\ \alpha\pi\omicron\rho\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$, “Did I even for a single day make a difference between you and my righteous ones?”: $\omicron\gamma\alpha\epsilon$ stands for $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$, as very often (for instance, here in chapter 29, 4; the preposition $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ is in both instances mistaken for Greek $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, and Copeland, *Mapping*); Crum, *Dictionary*, 272b, s.v. $\pi\omega\rho\chi$, quotes our passage with an erroneous $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$.

$\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\eta\ \omega\alpha\ \epsilon\chi\omega\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\tau\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma$, “does not my sun rise over you as over the righteous and all my chosen ones?”: The phrase $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\varsigma\omega\tau\tau\iota\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma$, “and all my chosen ones,” lacks in all other versions.

The judge’s rhetorical question echoes Matt. 5:45: the Father $\chi\tau\rho\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\phi\rho\eta\ \omega\alpha\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\pi\omicron\bar{\eta}\rho\omicron\varsigma$. $\alpha\gamma\omega\ \psi\zeta\omega\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\psi\chi\iota\bar{\nu}\omicron\varsigma\omicron\bar{\nu}\varsigma$, “makes his sun rise on the good and the wicked, and sends rain on the righteous and on the wrongdoers” (Sahidic, Aranda Pérez).

16, 7. $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\mu\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\pi\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\omega\gamma[\tau\epsilon]$, “the voice of God”: The Latin has *uox iterum*, “the voice again,” and the Greek phrases similarly; apparently, the Coptic copied the same phrase from a few lines earlier, which made an expression for “again” superfluous.

$\mu\bar{\eta}\ \chi\iota\zeta\omicron\ \bar{\eta}\pi\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\pi\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\omega\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \omicron\gamma\zeta\alpha\pi\ \mu\bar{\eta}\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\omega\alpha\psi\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$, “there is no partiality before God and a fair judgment is rendered”: Compared to the

Latin (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 102, 1.16–17) and the Syriac (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 18–19), the Coptic changed the order of the two clauses. For the first, see Rom. 2.11: $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}} \text{X}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}} \text{Γ}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{P}} \text{Ζ}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}} \text{Π}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Υ}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$ (Sahidic, Thompson); cf. for the context Col. 3:25; more generally 1 Pet. 1:17.

Theodicy is a central theme in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. In the similar judgment scenes of the Greek *Testament of Abraham* and the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*, other figures preside over the trial (see above chapter 3, section 1, with table 7). In the present text, God is the judge. The text repeatedly highlights that he is a righteous judge (16, 1 [twice]; 16, 7; 17, 3; 18, 2 [twice]) and that his judgement is righteous: “You are righteous, Lord, and just are your judgements” (16, 7; 18, 2). Just are also his helpers in the ministration of his justice and especially all those who follow God’s commandments and act accordingly. In fact, demonstrating the fulfillment of God’s justice is one of the main goals of the *Apocalypse*. Its author emphasizes that punishment always strikes the sinners and that, even if not always visible in this life, reward always repays the virtuous. In this sense, the *Apocalypse*’s description of God’s judicial machinery is intended to assure the existence of an eschatological judgment. God’s justice always prevails and finally it will redress the balance between righteous and sinners, distributing reward and punishments according to everyone’s deeds. See further our chapter 2, section 4. On the reciprocity of God’s justice, see below.

$\text{Π}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{P}} \text{Τ}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}} \text{Q}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}} \text{Τ}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}} \text{N}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Q}}, \text{Π}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{P}} \text{Π}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}} \text{Q}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}} \text{Π}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}} \text{N}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Q}}$, “with him who practiced justice, justice is practiced. With him who practiced mercy, mercy is practiced”: Instead of two positive statements about showing justice and mercy, the Latin (L¹/L³) and the Greek have a positive and a negative statement, both about mercy only (*quicumque enim fecerit misericordiam ... quicumque non misertus fuerit*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 102, 1.17–20, cf. Arnhem, 103, 2.11–13; Greek: Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 46). As the latter statement clearly echoes the famous verse James 2:13 and is shared by the Latin and the Greek, it is quite likely original. By way of hypothesis, it may be supposed that a Coptic negative habitual ($\text{Π}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{P}}$ or $\text{Π}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{P}}$) was by careless reading interpreted as a statement about somebody practicing $\text{Τ}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}$, “justice.” Given the principle of reciprocity that sustains God’s notion of justice, this seems indeed an acceptable hypothesis, all the more since God’s words in 17, 1, paraphrase the opposition between positive and negative statements about mercy, found in the Latin and the Greek: $\text{ΔQOY}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{B}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}} \text{Π}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{C}} \text{X}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}} \text{OY} \text{Ζ}\bar{\text{M}} \text{ΠKOCMOC}; \text{Π}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}} \text{OY}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}} \text{X}\bar{\text{E}} \text{AY}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}} \text{E}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}. \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Π}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}, \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Π}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}[\text{CO}]\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}} \text{N}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}} \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Π}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}} \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{Δ}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Γ}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{H}}$, “and the judge answered: ‘What have you done in the world? Probably you were merciless, for you have been handed over to merciless angels. As you did not do what is right, they did not do what is right to you in the hour of your agony.’” Briefer

but similarly in the Greek: πάντως ἀνελεῖμων ἐγένου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως παρεδόθης τῷ τοιούτῳ ἀγγέλῳ (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 47), and the Syriac: *si fecisses misericordiam, esset super te misericordia; et propter hoc in die quo sublata es [de mundo], non fuit super te misericordia* (translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 21). The section highlights that not simply revenge, nor the *talio*, but reciprocity underlies God’s notion of justice (cf. Jackson, “The Problem of Exod xxi 22–25,” at 281, n. 1; Jüngling, “Auge für Auge”). This retributive justice defends the validity of God’s law system, which means that punishment is not intended as revenge owed to the victims of injustice, but rather as the chastisement for transgressions of God’s law. See in general Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?”

ΕΓΝΑΤΑΑΣ ΕΤΟΟΤῚ ἄφτεμελοχος, παττελος ετρίχῃ ἡκολασις, “it will be handed over to Aftemelouchos, the angel in charge of the punishments”: The Sahidic text names two different angels, acting in more or less similar capacities, as overseers of hell, Aftemelouchos (once spelt Aftimelouchos) and Tartarouchos. Note that they are angels, instruments of divine justice, not demons or devils. They appear in chapters 16, 7 (ἀφτεμελοχος), 18, 2 (ταρταροχος), 34 (ἀφτεμελοχος) and 40, 2–3 (ἀφτεμελοχος). In the medieval Greek version, their names are extant as Τεμελοῦχος (here and in 34) and Ταρταροῦχος (18, 2). In 40, 2–3, the Greek omits the name, which is nonetheless original (as the Fayoumic of this passage, in ms. FL, shows: [Te]mellouchos). In the Latin versions, the name Temelouchos / Aftemelouchos has been suppressed; it has become Tartaruchus in 16, 7 (Paris), 34 (St Gall) and 40, 3 (St Gall), and Tartarus in 18, 2. The Arabic versions have throughout Mālūḥ, apparently abbreviated from Temelouchos, once (in 18, 2) Ṭāṭārūṣ (Tartarouchos); see Bausi, “First Evaluation,” 145–147. These two figures are clearly inherited from the older *Apocalypse of Peter*, Ethiopic, 8:10 (Temelouchos / Temlakos), and 13:5 (Tartarouchos / Tatirokos; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 206–207 and 226–227). For their often interchangeable names and their origins, see Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* III, 86–88, and, in particular, Rosenstiehl, “Tartarouchos–Temelouchos,” who quotes the present text *in extenso* (but cf. Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Peter,” 275–277).

The form Aftemelouchos of our Sahidic manuscript is obviously a variant of Temelouchos. It is proper to Coptic sources and discussed by Rosenstiehl, “Tartarouchos–Temelouchos,” 47–49, who plausibly attributes Aftemelouchos and its variants, all with an apparent prefix Afte- / Abdi-, to Semitic influence (against earlier speculation by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1060, n. 1; also Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 101–103, is unsatisfactory). Only, in our opinion, the influence would come from Arabic, rather than Hebrew or Aramaic, and postdate the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the mid-seventh century. It most

likely combines an echo of the common Arabic name Abd-al-Malik (“The king’s servant”), borne by various Islamic governors of Egypt in the post-conquest period, with a pun on Moloch (the latter option already suggested by Rosenstiehl, “Tartarouchos–Temelouchos,” 48). As $\alpha\beta\alpha\delta\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma[\chi\omicron\varsigma]$, the name occurs also in the tenth-century Tebtynis paintings and, in various orthographies, in several other Coptic texts, some of which discussed in our chapter 3, section 2. The same character appears as Temelouchos in two Coptic ritual texts, to wit P. Michigan inv. 4932 f, vo., 3–4: $\mu\pi\omega\rho, \pi\alpha\chi\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma, \mu\pi\rho\tau\alpha\alpha\tau \epsilon\tau[oo]\tau\eta \bar{\nu}\delta\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\chi\varsigma, \pi\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\iota \epsilon\chi\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma$, “no, Lord, do not hand me over to Dimelouchs (Temelouchos), who is in charge of the judgment” (Worrell, “Coptic Magical and Medical Texts,” 185), and P. Berlin 10 587, col. 1, 3–6: $\mu\alpha\tau\eta\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma \{\bar{\nu}\}\eta\alpha\bar{\iota} \langle\eta\rangle\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma, \pi\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\chi\eta\bar{\nu} \bar{\eta}\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma \bar{\eta}\eta\alpha\tau\eta\eta\alpha, \pi\epsilon\tau\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma\epsilon \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma \mu\bar{\eta} \bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varphi\chi\iota\varsigma\omicron\lambda \mu\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta} \bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varphi\omega\rho\bar{\kappa} \bar{\eta}\eta\omicron\gamma\chi$, “send me Temelouchos, who is in charge of the merciless punishments, who tortures the criminals and the liars and the perjurers” (cf. ll. 22–24; Richter and Wurst, “P. Berol. 10 587,” 41–42). Since both spells preserve clear and precise echoes of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, it is likely that in our Sahidic text, too, Temelouchos was the original form of the name (in FL, 40, 2, the first half of the name is in a lacuna, but a reading [Te]mellouchos seems most probable).

$\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon \epsilon\tau\rho\iota\beta\omicron\lambda, \pi\mu\alpha \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon \pi\rho\iota\mu\epsilon \bar{\eta}\gamma\eta\tau\bar{\eta} \mu\bar{\eta} \pi\varsigma\alpha\lambda\varsigma\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\beta\epsilon\epsilon$, “outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth”: For this place, after Matt. 8:12 and similar passages, see below chapter 42.

$\pi\varsigma\alpha\lambda\varsigma\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\beta\epsilon\epsilon$, “gnashing of teeth”: For $\varsigma\alpha\lambda\varsigma\bar{\epsilon}$, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 798b, s.v. $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\epsilon$; the present spelling is very frequent, however (here also twice in 42, 1), and etymologically represents the original Sahidic form; see Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 441, s.v. $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\epsilon$, with further references.

$\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\kappa} \omicron\gamma\alpha\iota[\kappa\alpha\iota]\omicron\varsigma, \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma, \alpha\gamma\omega \gamma\epsilon\eta\mu\epsilon \eta\epsilon \eta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\pi$, “You are righteous, Lord, and just are your judgments”: Chapters 14, 8 (not extant in Coptic), and 18, 2, end with the same refrain-like acclamation that recalls a series of biblical models, among which Tob. 3:2, Ps. 118:137, and Rev. 16:7. A variant is used by the victims of the murderers in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:11 (Ethiopic; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 202–203) / 25 (Achmim codex; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 6).

17–18. After the symmetrically laid out episodes of the death and judgment of a pious person (14) and a sinner (15–16), all major versions of the text introduce a second judgment of a sinner. This episode is slightly at odds with the consistent symmetry observed in the earlier chapters and strictly spoken redundant. Its evident links with other texts would indicate that it was an already traditional element, inserted here *en bloc*. In fact, the judgment scene of chapters 17–18 has very close parallels in two other texts from late-antique Egypt, the

Testament of Abraham (Greek, short recension, chapters 10–11; Bohairic, Guidi, “Testo copto,” 171–173) and the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* from Nag Hammadi (NHC V, 2: 20–21). For a comparison of these versions, see our chapter 3, section 2, where further literature is quoted. There are intertextual links with other Egyptian apocalyptic texts, too, most notably the fragmentary *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (see below).

17, 1. [ΔΙΝΑΥ | Ε]ΚΕΨΥΧΗ, “I saw another soul”: The space for ΔΙΝΑΥ at the bottom of f. 25b seems hardly sufficient, but the verb, though omitted by Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 558) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 253–254) is demanded by both grammar and context. Cf. Latin (L¹): *et iterum ui[d]i et ecce anima que ad[d]ucebatur* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 104, 1.1–2).

ΕΔΥΕΝΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΣΩΜΑ, ΕΥΤΟ ΕΡΟC ἸΒΙ ΔΓΓΕΛΟC CΝΑΥ, “that had been brought forth from the body, while two angels were in charge of it”: For the two clauses of the Coptic, the Latin has only one: *que ad[d]ucebatur a duobus angelis*, “that was brought by two angels” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 104, 1.1–2). The Greek (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 46–47), which is even briefer, has only one angel, which must be secondary.

εCΠΙΜΕ {εC} ΕCΩΘΥ ΕΒΟΛ, “and it wept and cried out”: The second εC- is one of the manuscript’s many cases of dittography, explained by the transition from one line to the next.

ΠΑCΑΘῶ ἄν<π> ΠΟΘΥ ΔΙΝ ἸΤΑΙΜΟΥ, ΔΥΤΑΔΤ ΕΤΟΟΤῶ ἸΠΕΙΔΓΓΕΛΟC CΝΑΥ. ΔΥΧΙ ἸΜΟΙ ΕΞΕΝΜΑ ἸΤῆCΟΟΥΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΔΝ, “today it is seven days since I died and was handed over to these two angels. And they took me to places that I did not know”: Instead of “places that I did not know,” the Paris and St Gall manuscripts of the Latin read with a minor variant: “which I had never seen” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 104, 5–7). The Coptic reading is confirmed by the Arnhem manuscript, *loca que numquam noueram*, “places which I had never known” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 105, 5–6), and the Latin of chapter 14, 5 (quoted below).

In the period between death and judgment, the soul of the deceased is toured around by its angelic psychopomps, in the case of a sinner, as here, by “merciless angels.” The idea of such an interim period is fairly widely attested in apocalyptic and hagiographic literature; for its background, see van Lantschoot, “Révélation”; Dagron, “Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours.” The seven days interim period of the present text is found also in the *Apocalypse of Ezra* (4 Ezra) 7:100–101 (as was observed already by Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 68–69), where it is represented as a period of *libertas*, “freedom” (Klijn, *Lateinische Text*, 52). Similarly, in the Vision of Siophanes, from the Sahidic *Book of Bartholomew*, quoted in extenso in our chapter 3, section 2, the soul of Sio-

phanes is shown around the “places of immortality” and allowed to rest for seven days in the shade of the trees of celestial Jerusalem (Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 182, f. 20r, ll. 3–5). In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, monstrous psychopomps, called ΝΕΥΤΗΡΕΤΗΣ ΜΠΣΩΝΤ ΤΗΡΩ, “the attendants of the entire creation,” tour the souls of the sinners through the air (ϩῆ πανρ) for three days (Achmimic 4, 13–5, 14; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 40–42). In *Pistis Sophia*, chapter 103 and later chapters, a class of demons called ΠΑΡΑΛΗΜΠΤΗΣ (or, ΠΑΡΑΛΗΜΠΤΩΡ) ΝΕΡΙΝΑΙΟΣ, “avenging collectors,” obviously descendants of the Erinyes, take the souls of the sinners for a three days tour “around all the creatures of the world,” ϩραῖ ϩῆ ἄσωντ τηροϩ ἡτε πκοσμος (Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 262–263), and “around all the places, showing it (sc. the soul) all the eons of the worlds,” ϩραῖ ϩῆ ἡτοπος τηροϩ· εϣταϣο ἡμος ἐναιδων τηροϩ ἡτε ἡκοσμος (chapter 111, Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 284, 9–13). The righteous souls of the non-initiate escape the demons and are taken up by another, more friendly class of “collectors” (compare the “angels of justice” in our text, chapter 12), but only the perfect initiate travel directly, by virtue of their own inner light, to the world of light.

In our passage, the soul has been taken to unspecified “places that (it) did not (previously) know,” hardly pleasant places, as it seems. The seven- or three-days tour is not a privilege of the sinner, though, as is clear from the Vision of Siophanes and, in our text, from chapter 14, 5 (not extant in Coptic), where the soul of righteous is thus comforted by the spirit: “do not fear and do not worry even when (?) you come to a place that you have never known (*quousque ueneris in locum quem non noueras umquam*), but I will be a helper (*adiutor*) to you” (Latin, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 88, 7–9); cf. the Urmia text of the Syriac: “do not fear, in that behold thou seest a place thou hast never seen” (translation Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 42). The situation in all of these cases is notably different from that in the *Testament of Abraham*, where Abraham himself asks to be toured around to see the whole of God’s creation as a favor, before he dies.

ἡταρῶ οϩ ϩῆ πκοσμος, “what have you done in the world?”: The phrase ϩῆ πκοσμος, “in the world,” lacks in the Latin. It is a logical addition, though, and used again, with the same verb, a few lines lower. The Greek and the Syriac omit the entire question.

παντωσ ἡτο οϣατνα, “probably you were merciless”: The loan word παντωσ (πάντως), “probably, surely,” introduces an inference (cf. Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 183–184, par. 238); it is retained in the Greek of this passage, cited above at 16, 7, after Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 47. The word is correctly rendered by the Latin of St Gall (*puto*, “I assume”; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 104, 2.7), but skipped in the Paris manuscript.

This section again highlights the principle of reciprocity behind God's justice and the fact that everyone receives according to his deeds; see our commentary above at 16, 7.

ΑΥΤΑΔΤΕ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν̄ΡΕΝΑΤΝΑ, “you have been handed over to merciless angels,” literally “to merciless ones”: Compare the similar Latin: *tradita es ... angelis qui non abent misericordiam* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 104, 1.9–10); in the Greek there is only one angel, δεινὸς καὶ ἀνελέημων, “terrible and merciless” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 47). For these dreadful powers, who receive the souls of the sinners when they die, see above at 16, 2–3.

The figure of the merciless angel derives from Prov. 17:11, where he is an instrument of divine chastisement on earth. In this role, he is evoked by Shenoute, *Is It not Written*: “As for the merciless angel (παγγελοῦς νάτνα) that God sends, as it is written, to take revenge on evil people who raise disputes, his wrath is terrible and woe to those who will be handed over to him (ογοεὶ ννετογνατααυ ετοοτγ)!” (Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* III, textus, 189, 23–26; for the text: Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 2.580–581); for “merciless angels” in Shenoute in general, see furthermore Behlmer, *Schenute*, 284, n. 735. In our text, merciless angels act as psychopomps for the sinners, which is a common motif. Thus, in the so-called *Apocalypse of Shenoute* (for which, see our chapter 3, section 2), the death of a priest is described who is seized by ρεναγγελοῦς νάτνα, merciless angels “with different terrifying faces and fiery smoke blowing from their mouths” (Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* IV, textus, 199, 19–21). Later in our text, merciless angels appear as punishing angels in hell, which is likewise common (see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 54–62; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 120–121). We find them in 36, 2, ογαγγελοῦς ἡάτνα μῆ ογτοῖς ἡκωῖτ, “a merciless angel with a razor of fire,” and 40, 4: ρεναγγελοῦς ἡάτνα ... ερε ρενταπ ἡκωῖτ ριχῆ νεγαπηγε, “merciless angels ... with fiery horns upon their heads.” As punishing angels, they appear also in a passage from the *Catechesis on a Spiteful Monk*, attributed to Pachomius, that likewise highlights the principle of reciprocity that rules divine judgment: εωχε ακριογε επεκcon, ειε σεναταακ ετοοτοῦ ἡρεναγγελοῦς ἡάτνα, ἡσεφραγελλοῦ ἡμοκ ρῆ ρεημαc†rῆ ἡκωῖτ ωα ενεε, “when you have beaten up you brother, you will be handed over to merciless angels and they will flog you with whips of fire for ever” (Lefort, *Œuvres*, textus, 17, 9–11).

ἡπειρε ἡπετcoγτων, “you did not do what is right”: The manuscript has ἡπειρε, by forward assimilation, which we corrected, following Copeland, *Mapping*, 254.

17, 2. ἡτερεc.χοοc χε ἡπειρ̄ nove, πεχε πεκριγης ναc χε ..., “when it said ‘I did not sin’, the judge told it: ...”: The Latin and the Syriac describe God's anger at the

answer of the soul (*et iratus est in furore*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 104, 1.14–15; Syriac: *tunc exarsit ira eius super animam illam*, translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 21), which the Coptic omits (and the Latin Arnhem manuscript likewise), but which may be original. The Latin manuscripts of Paris and St Gall, but not the Syriac, add an unconvincing and redundant *quoniam esset mentita*, “for it had lied,” which is certainly not original (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 104, 1.16, 2.13–14). As the sequel shows, the judge was shocked in the first place by the soul’s arrogance. It may be argued, though, that both the omission in the Coptic and the addition of the phrase “for it lied” in the Latin were motivated by the same embarrassment about God’s ire.

ερμεεγε νε δε πκοσμος πε παι, ερε πογα πογα̃ ρ nove εφρωπ ἡπεφνωβε ἐπιετρητογωϋ; εγωδανει δε ἡπῆτο εβολ ἡπεθρονος ἡπνογτε, ωαρε ἡnove ἡπογα̃ πογα̃ ἡη νεφαγαθον ογῶνῆ εβολ, “do you imagine that this is the world, where everybody sins and hides his sin from his neighbor? When one appears before the throne of God, however, the sins of each person as well as his good deeds come to light”: For this passage, compare the judgment scene in the *Testament of Abraham*: “For the soul imagined (νασμεϋι γαρ νας πε ἡχε ἡγγχη) that all the things that it had done would not be remembered. God, the true judge, told it: ‘Can falsehood be told in this place, where no falsehood is?’” (Bohairic; Guidi, “Testo copto,” 171–172). According to an ancient tradition, going back to Plato, both the sins and the good deeds of a person are manifest on the soul. In Plato’s *Gorgias* 524DE, Socrates explains how Radamantis, the judge of the afterlife, is able to do justice thanks to the marks visible on the souls. The individual’s behavior leaves indelible traces on the soul that are still visible after death. See also above, our comments to 16, 3 and 16, 4. In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, however, the soul’s angel produces a written record of the sins committed by the soul during its life on earth. Here, therefore, rather than visible on the soul, the sins are manifest in the written record presented by the soul’s angel. See below our commentary at 17, 3.

εγωδανει δε ἡπῆτο εβολ ἡπεθρονος ἡπνογτε, “when one appears before the throne of God, however”: literally “when they appear” (referring *ad sensum* to πογα̃ πογα̃, “each”). For the text’s wavering between the plural and the generic singular, see our chapter 1, section 4.

17, 3. παγγελος ἡτεγγχη, αμογ ἔτμηντε, “angel of the soul, come forward”: In the very similar judgement scene in the *Testament of Abraham* (Greek, short recension, chapters 10–11, Schmidt, *Testament*, 68–74; Bohairic: Guidi, “Testo copto,” 171–173), it is Enoch, “the scribe of righteousness” (for whom see below, at chapter 20), who keeps the books of the soul’s sins. In the long recension of the Greek *Testament of Abraham*, chapters 12–13, two different angels record

respectively the sins and the good deeds of the deceased (Schmidt, *Testament*, 132–138; cf. Nickelsburg, “Eschatology,” in particular 36–38, who argues for Jewish antecedents). Similarly, in the closely related Coptic *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the bookkeeping is done by two distinct classes of angels, one in the service of God, the other in that of a monstrous angel prosecutor, who is called “the accuser that dwells upon the earth,” ΠΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ ΕΤΖΟΟΠ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ, and who “accuses men before God” (Achmimic; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 38–40 and 52); this κατήγορος occurs in chapter 59 of our text too (see our commentary below). In the present text, each person has a single dedicated angel who reports directly to God, on a twice-daily basis during his lifetime (see above 16, 1, and in particular the precise description in chapter 7, not extant in Coptic, though), and again during the individual judgment after death.

ΖἸ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ {Ε} ΕΤῪΜΑΥ ΔΑΦΕΙ ΕΤΜΗῒΤΕ ἸΒΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, ΕΡΕ ΟΥΧΕΪΡΟΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΤΟΟΤῪ, “right away the angel stepped forward with a written record in his hand”: The extra epsilon is due to dittography (duly noted by Budge and Copeland) in the transition from one line to another.

All ancient versions agree in mentioning the angel's written record (χειρογραφον) of the soul's sins, thus the Latin, *cirographum* (Paris and Arnheim), *habens in manibus graffum* (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 106–107); the Syriac, *tenens in manu sua veluti chirographum* (translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 21), and the Greek, χειρόγραφον (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 47). Following the famous passage in Col. 2:14, χειρόγραφον became an almost technical term for a written record of human guilt. Interestingly, the parallel judgment scenes of the *Testament of Abraham* (Greek, short recension, chapter 10; Bohairic: Guidi, “Testo copto,” 171–173) and the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V, 2: 20, 24; Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse*, 104) do not use this term. They stick more closely to the βιβλοι of Dan. 7:10, mentioning books (βιβλία) or a book (ἄνωμ / ἄνωμε), once “notes, minutes” (ὑπόμνημα / ὑπομνήματα: *Testament of Abraham*, Greek, short recension, 10:7, Schmidt, *Testament*, 70, with the apparatus). For our text, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is most pertinent: “I saw that he (sc. the κατήγορος, an angel prosecutor) had a big χειρογραφον in his hand. He began to unfold it and when he had spread it out, I read it in my own tongue. I discovered that all my sins that I had committed had been written down by him; those that I had committed from my childhood until the present day, they were all written upon that χειρογραφον of mine and there was not a false word among them” (Achmimic 10, 21–11, 9; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 52). As it appears, an analogous document is kept for the good deeds of the soul; both may then be compared (Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 54–56; similarly in the long recension of the Greek *Testament of Abraham*, 12–13, Schmidt, *Testament*, 132–138). In the *Apocalypse of Shenoute*, the seer first witnesses the cruel

tortures undergone by a dying sinner and subsequently hears the latter's *χειρογράφων* being read out to him by "his angel" (*πεφάγγελος*), "charging him with the thefts and the obscenities that he had committed" (Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* IV, textus, 201, 4–6). An example from a paraenetic context is offered by a Sahidic *Catechesis*, attributed to Theodore, the successor of Pachomius: "For if we love to praise ourselves in this world, we oblige God to produce the written record (*χειρογράφων*) against us and (reveal) the shamefulness of our works and our inner thoughts in the tribunal of Christ, in the presence of the angels and all the saints, while we stand naked and there is no way of fleeing anywhere for the fire that will devour the enemies, and no way at all to cover our shame" (Lefort, *Œuvres*, textus, 44, 7–12).

The *Apocalypse of Paul* puts a strong emphasis on the variety of the sins committed by the sinners that gives rise to the terrible punishments of hell. The text provides ample testimony to a wide array of sins, which in any case cover the well-known list of seven deadly sins: lust (*luxuria*), gluttony (*gula*), greed (*avaritia*), sloth (*acedia*), wrath (*ira*), envy (*invidia*) and pride (*superbia*). Moreover, the *Apocalypse* mentions other sins that are normally included in the well-known seven, such as slander and malice (normally classed under *invidia*); adultery and fornication (classed under *luxuria*), and vanity (classed under *superbia*). Taking this into consideration, *luxuria* is mentioned eleven times in connection with the punishments (18, 1; 22, 5; 31, 4 [twice]; 34; 36, 1; 38, 3; 39, 1; 39, 4; 40, 3; 43, 2); *gula* on two occasions (34; 39, 3); *avaritia* also on three occasions (18, 1; 37, 1; 39, 2); *acedia* or "sloth" on four occasions (35; 37, 2; 39, 2; 40, 4); *ira* three times (16, 2; 18, 1; 18, 2); *invidia* six, if we count slander under it (16, 2; 17, 3; 29, 1; 30, 1 [twice]; 37, 2), while *superbia* appears eight times (24, 2; 24, 3 [thrice]; 29, 1; 30, 2; 31, 4; 36, 1). For the monastic origins of the seven (originally eight) capital sins, see Hausherr, "Origine", mainly on Evagrius; cf. Guillaumont, *Un philosophe au désert*, 205–220.

ΚΟΥΩΩ, Ω ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ, ΕΤΡΑΤΑΥΘ ἦΝΕΣΝΟΒΕ ΧΙΝ ΕΣΖῆ ΜΗῆΤΕ ἦΡΟΜΠΕ, "do you want me, O my Lord, to relate its sins since it was ten years old?": The scribe of the Paris manuscript of the Latin got confused over the number of years, here and also in the next paragraph (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 106, 1.5–20). By contrast, the Coptic of this passage is both smooth and economical. The Greek and the Syriac have a garbled text.

17, 4. †ΩΡΚ ἦΜΟΙ ἦΜΙΝ ἦΜΟΙ, "I swear by myself": For the idiom, compare Gen. 22:16, where the angel of the Lord says to Abraham: *ἔἡ οὐωρκ ἄἰωρκ ἦΜΟῖ ἦΜΙΝ ἦΜΟΙ*, "I have sworn a solemn oath by myself" (Sahidic, Ciasca); cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 169a, s.v. *ΜΙΝ*, and 529b, s.v. *ΩΡΚ*. Divinity can only swear by itself.

ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣ ⲡⲱⲃⲱ̅ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, “I would have forgotten all those of the past and I would have granted it forgiveness of them”: Crum, *Dictionary*, 284b, quotes several examples of substantival ⲡⲁⲫⲟⲩ, “the past,” all with zero article, as in the present case.

Both here and in 22, 5, the text underlines that repentance is only possible before death, which implies that the *Apocalypse of Paul* rejects the notion of repentance in the afterlife (and pardon of the victims) as a way to obtain forgiveness and salvation, so important in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 14 (at least according to the Rainer fragment; text: Van Minnen, “Greek Apocalypse,” 37–39). In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, this theme has no more place, even though the intercession of the righteous can earn the punished sinners temporary relief (chapters 43–44). The Ethiopic version of the *Apocalypse of Peter* also shows a tendency to replace the (apparently original) corrective justice of the *Apocalypse* with personal retaliation; see Roig Lanzillotta “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?,” 150–152; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 349; Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 125–140. The present passage of the *Apocalypse of Paul* underlines the importance of repentance *before* judgement, which seems to exclude the more “lax” view of a corrective kind of justice that in the *Apocalypse of Peter* might open the door for salvation. In general, see Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 145–148.

At the end of the judge’s speech, the Paris manuscript of the Latin adds a redundant *nunc uero pereat*, “but now let it perish” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 106, 1.20), absent from all other versions (including the St Gall and Arnhem manuscripts of the Latin).

ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲃⲓ ⲡⲏ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲣⲓⲛⲗ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲓⲛⲗ, “God called Uriel and Suriel”: In the Latin, the angel of the soul asks God to order another (anonymous) angel to fetch the souls of the victims (Latin, Paris and St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 106, 1.21–23 and 2.18–19). The Greek and the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 285) do the same, which may be original. The Coptic simplifies the interlocutive situation and gives names to the angels who bring in the souls. Like the soul of the murderer (17, 1), the souls of its victims are brought in by two angels. Note that also the Greek recension has “angels” in the plural here, though without naming them (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 47).

In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Ethiopic, 7:10, it is a single angel Ezrael who brings in the souls of the murder victims (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 200–203; the name lacks in the Greek Achmim codex 25, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 6). Here they are a pair, Uriel and Suriel. Both appear again in chapter 56, 3, where they sing before Paul’s (still empty) throne in heaven. These are common names of archangels, in various contexts, including apocalyptic texts. Since they are used as alternative names of the fourth in the canonical series of seven archangels, they occur only rarely together, for instance in Coptic ritual texts; see Polotsky, “Suriel”;

Müller, *Engellehre*, 54–57; Mach, “Uriel.” Their names, here and in chapter 56, might look like an intrusive element. Yet, in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Uriel figures prominently as the angel presiding over the judgment (Ethiopic, 4:9; 6:7, and 12:5; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 184–185; 196–197; 222–225), a role confirmed for the text of chapter 6 by the witness of the *Sibylline Oracles* 2.190–338 (see Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 522). Given the indubitable relationship between the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (see our chapter 3, section 1), it seems attractive to consider the couple Uriel and Suriel part of the original text.

εΙΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕΤΕΤῆΕΙΝΕ, “I would like you to bring”: The second present marks a polite request, which may therefore originally have been addressed to God (as in the Latin, see above).

18, 1. ΑΡCΟΥΕΝ ΝΑΙ ἸΤΑΧΕΝΤΟΥ ἸΠΟΥῖΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ, “did you recognize those who were brought into your presence?": This question is omitted in the Latin, but not in the Greek (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 48). It seems that the Latin collapsed the interrogation, at the expense of the liveliness of the text.

ΑΥΩ ἡΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΑΙΩΩΠΕ ΝῆΜΑC ΕῖΝ ΟΥΠΟΡΝΙΑ, “and with that other one I lived together in adultery”: The manuscript has ΑΥΩ ἡΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΑΙΩΩΤΒ ἸΜΟC ΕῖΝ ΟΥΠΟΡΝΙΑ, “and that other one I killed in adultery / adulterously,” which is awkwardly phrased and most likely incorrect. The scribe or his model mechanically copied the verb (ΑΙΩΩΤΒ) from the preceding sentence. We introduced a minor correction (ΑΙΩΩΤΒ > ΑΙΩΩΠΕ) in accordance with the Greek (οἰκησα μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 48) and the Latin versions (*cum alia fornicatus sum*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 108, 1.8–9); for the phrasing, compare 40, 3 below.

Prototypically, the second sinner’s soul is responsible for a series of crimes, all of which are conceived of as interconnected: murder, fornication, adultery, greed, violence. While murder and violence (in 18, 2) are classed under the sin of wrath (*ira*), greed (here and at 37, 1) is a deadly sin in its own right. Besides being mentioned in 16, 1 (“the spirit of wrath”) and twice in the present section, *ira* appears also in 39, 2 (oppression of orphans). As for adultery, it is normally classed under *luxuria* or lust, the sin most frequently mentioned in the *Apocalypse*. Lust can adopt many forms or incite people to commit many other crimes, such as adultery, fornication, and other offences in order to satisfy its typically unbridled sexual desire. In fact, from a total of eleven occasions, lust appears in four cases in connection with adultery (18, 1; 22, 5; 38, 3; 39, 4), once with abortion (40, 3), once with defilement of virginity (39, 1), and in the other five examples with simple fornication (31, 4 [twice]; 34; 36, 1; 43, 2).

αιϣι ἡπετῆτας τηρῷ, “I took all that it possessed”: The Greek and the Latin introduce this sentence with a brief introductory phrase (οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καί, “and not only this, but also,” Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 48), which the Coptic omits.

αιτωωβε νας νξεναωη ἡπεθουγ επμα ἡἡπετνανωου τηρου ἡτασαδγ ἡἡμα, “and repaid it with a lot of evil for all the good things that it had done for me”: Although this sentence lacks in the Greek and the Latin, it may well be original.

18, 2. ροταν ερωαν ογα ρι ογα ἡβονῶ ἡῖμογ, “whenever someone does violence to a person so that he dies”: The manuscript has καν ερωαν, “even if, although,” which does not make sense. καν must be a reading error for ροταν, which we restored after the Greek (which indeed has ὅταν); for ροταν ερωαν, see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 273. The Greek and the Latin introduce this phrase with a rhetorical question (οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι, “don’t you know that ...?”, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 48), which looks like an original feature (cf. 56, 3).

ωαγροεῖς ερωγ, “the latter is being kept”: The Greek and the Latin each specify “in this place” (Paris: *servatur in hunc locum*, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 108, 1.13; Greek: εἰς τὸν τόπον, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 48); our manuscript lacks a corresponding expression, such as ρη πεμα. As the Coptic gives good sense without this specification, we did not emend the text.

Beyond the close parallels in the *Testament of Abraham* (Greek, short recension, and Bohairic) and the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* (all discussed in chapter 3, section 1), the motif of the murdered soul as a plaintiff occurs also in the Sahidic homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria, 30, in a story about a deacon whom Pachomius exposed as a murderer. The ghost of the deacon’s victim haunted the murderer by night, telling him: “I am the merchant whom you have murdered with violence. From the day you murdered me, I daily accuse you before the judge, saying: ‘Ruler of the universe, claim my blood that has been shed violently!’” (Saweros, *Another Athanasius*, textus, 30). Similarly, the aborted children in chapter 40, 2–3, of our text are vociferously accusing their parents before the divine judge, a motif found already in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8 (see below). Also in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the souls of the murdered are watching with satisfaction the punishment of their murderers (Ethiopic 7:10–11, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 200–203; Achmim codex 25, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 6). Note, however, that these are the only two cases in the *Apocalypse of Peter* in which justice seems to slide to personal retaliation, which may be due to the serious natures of the crimes; see Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?,” 140–141. Retaliation, however, is not within the scope of the *Apocalypse of Peter*,

whose notion of justice seems to fluctuate between a retributive and a corrective kind of justice; cf. Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 131–139. The presence in the *Apocalypse of Paul* of the victims as accusers and their testimony may be intended to emphasize the fulfilment and righteousness of God's justice. The motif elaborates on widely held beliefs concerning the βιοθάνατοι; see Waszink, "Biothanati."

† ἡ τε ψυχή ἐτοιوتῇ ἡπταρταρουχός ἡ ἀμῆν τε. μαρῶ βαζανίζε ἡμους ὡς περ οὐγ ἡ τῆνος ἡ κρις, "hand the soul over to the Tartarouchos of hell. Let him torture (βασανίζω) it until the day of the great judgment": In spite of some lexical variation (βασανίζω instead of φυλάττω, "to guard"), the Coptic has the same text here as the Greek of Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 48; the Latin (Paris and St Gall) unnecessarily expands God's order, which is likely to be secondary. Compare the very similar phrasing in 16, 7, where the angel is named Aftemelouchos (see our commentary on these names, at 16, 7). As Rosenstiehl, "Tartarouchos–Temelouchos," 33, with n. 25, aptly remarks, "the Tartarouchos of hell" occurs also (with the trident of chapter 34) in the Sahidic version of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, no. 212 (Chaîne, *Apophthegmata*, 61, 8–9, quoted *in extenso* in our chapter 3, section 2), a saying that very clearly reflects the influence of the present text. For other occurrences of Tartarouchos in ritual and literary texts, see Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* 111, 86–88, and the study by Rosenstiehl.

19–20. In these chapters, Paul is taken up for a quick trip to the third heaven, where he merely sees the gate (19) and meets Enoch and Elijah (20), then to descend again in 21.

The text's reticence about the third heaven is understandable in light of 2 Cor. 12:4, to which the text of 21, 1, alludes, but it is no less required by the grander plan of the text, which reserves the third heaven for its final climax in chapters 55–62. Even if brief and sketchy, Paul's visit to the third heaven in 19–20 has an important cosmographical and structural function. The author here completes, in a preliminary manner, a first description of the vertical axis, which connects the earth with the third heaven and divides the world in two equivalent halves, one destined for the righteous, the other for the sinners. In this sense, cosmography in the *Apocalypse of Paul* is closely intertwined with theodicy and the functioning of God's justice, another important theme of the text. By means of combining specific geographical references and cosmographic descriptions, the text manages to provide a well balanced description of the cosmos. Geographical descriptions such as the present one, allows both Paul and the readers to orient themselves in the structured cosmos of the *Apocalypse*. After showing Paul the judgement of the souls in the middle of the air,

the angel completes their ascending trip through the vertical line in order to proceed immediately to a description of the horizontal axis, which opposes the east, with the bliss of the righteous, to the west, with the despair of the sinners. See further our chapter 2, section 4.

The *Apocalypse of Paul* can be seen as a sequel to 2 Cor. 12:2–4. It develops Paul's mention of his rapture to the third heaven, amplifying both the story and the cosmological description of the extremely concise Pauline verses. Another late-antique spin-off of Paul's 2 Cor. passage is the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* in Nag Hammadi codex v, 2 (for which, see our chapter 3, section 1). While our text develops its narrative within the cosmological framework set by 2 Cor. and expands the cosmos horizontally, the other expands it vertically, adapting the narrative to a more developed Gnostic cosmology, which follows the most recent cosmological trends in late antiquity. See Roig Lanzillotta, "The Apocalypse of Paul (NHC v, 2)," 114–125. On the present text's interest in cosmography, see our chapter 2, section 4.

19, 1. ΠΩΤῆ ἡΠΝΟΥΤΕ, "chosen of God": Together with "beloved of God" (and variants), this is the text's favorite form of address of Paul; cf. his qualification as σκευός ἐκλογῆς in Acts 9:15, Sahidic (Thompson): παῖ οὔσκεγος καὶ ἡΠΩΤῆ πῆ.

ΟΥΑΖῆ ἡΠΩΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ἡΤΑΧΙΤῆ ἡΤΑΤΣΑΒΟΚ ΕΠΜΑ ἡΩΩΠΕ ἡΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ, "now follow me and I will take you and show you the abode of all the saints": The *angelus interpres* had already announced this, right at his first appearance in chapter 11 (not extant in Coptic): *sequere me et hostendam tibi locum sanc[torum]*, "follow me and I will show you the place of the saints" (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 82, 1.1–2); the Greek reads: "the place of the righteous" (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 40).

ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΤΠΥΛΩΝ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ {ΕΥ} ΕΥΝΟΥΒ ΤΗΡῆ ΤΕ, "I saw that that gateway was entirely of gold": The repetition of ΕΥ is a dittography, due to the transition from one line to the next.

ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΠΛΑΞ ἡΝΟΥΒ ΖΙΧῆ ΝΕΣΤΥΛΛΟC ΕΥΜΕΖ ἡC(ε)ΑΙ, "upon the pillars, there were golden tablets, full of letters": The Latin of the Paris and Escorial manuscripts has "golden letters," against all other witnesses (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 110, 1.8, and 111, 1.8). For the fairly common orthography CΑΙ for CΖΑΙ, see Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 128, par. 108. For the general picture, cf. Rev. 21:12.

ΝΑΙΑΤῆ, ὦ ΠΑΥΛΟC, ΕΥΩΑΝΧΙΤῆ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ζῆ ΤΕΠΥΛΗ, "blessed are you, O Paul, when you are taken inside this gate": The formal address of Paul ("O Paul") is at odds with the generic interpretation of the text's "you's" suggested by the Latin and the Greek versions and the general context (which privilege a reading "blessed is one, when one is taken inside of this gate"; cf. the Greek, μακάριος

ὅστις εἰσέλθοι, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 49). The Coptic may have introduced the vocative “O Paul” under the influence of the frequent repetition of the formula of address, “blessed are you, Paul,” in the later parts of the text. For “generic you” in Coptic, see Brakke, “In the Midst,” 60–61.

ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ ΜΗ ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΕ ΜΗΤΑΥ ΚΑΚΙΔ ΕΠΤΗΡῶ, “only the guileless (ἀκέραιος) and the simpleminded and they who are entirely free of malice (κακία)”: The Greek has “only those in whom there is simplicity (ἀπλότης) and innocence (ἀκακία) and a pure heart” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 49; the Latin abridges). As we saw above (cf. our commentary at 16, 3), affections are not allowed in the divine world. As a result, in their ascent to heaven the souls must leave behind every trace of their earthly existence, most importantly all (base) passions that may pollute the soul. In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, however, the souls should have completed this purification process during their live on earth. Implicitly, the text refers to Paul’s stainless soul, even while still in the body. The terminology echoes the monastic ideal of simplicity; see below at 29, 2.

19, 2. ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ, ΝΕΥΡΑΝ Ζῆ ΤΠΕ ΜΠΑΤΟΥΕΙ ΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC; ΑΦΟΥῶΥῆ ΝῆΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΕΥΡ[ΑΝ] Ζῆ ΤΠΕ ΜΜΑΔΤΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΩῶΥῆ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΗΡῶ ΠΕΥCΜΟΤ ΟΝ Ζῆ ΤΠΕ, “My Lord, are their names in heaven even before they come forth from this world?” The angel answered and told me: ‘Not only their names are in heaven, but also the likeness of those who serve God with the whole of their heart is in heaven’: Here the Paris manuscript of the long Latin version omits the greater part of Paul’s question and the beginning of the answer of the angel, probably due to homoioteleuton: *Et iterum dixi: Domine, ergo nomina eorum *** et uultus eorum et similitudo ministrantium deo est in caelo et noti sunt angelis* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 110, 1.17–20). The St Gall manuscript, however, supports the Coptic: *Et iterum dixi: Domine, ergo nomina eorum scripta sunt in caelo constitutes eos in seculum? Et respondit et dixit mihi: Non solum nomina eorum, sed et uultus eorum et similitudo ministrantium deo in seculo est et noti sunt angelis* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 110, 2.17–22). The Greek has a lacuna here, but the Slavonic supports the St Gall and Coptic versions (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 288–289). The Urmia version of the Syriac preserves the main elements of the narration, but introduces slight changes (Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 48). Ricciotti’s codex A (Vaticanus syr. 180) also presents a lacuna due to homoeoteleuton, but his codex B (Borgianus syr. 39) preserves the section in Syriac chapter 18 (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 22–23). Cf. Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 177–178. For the name of the just that are written in heaven, see Luke 10:20 (verbally quoted in the Syriac) and Hebr. 12:23.

ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲙⲱⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲉ, “also the likeness of those who serve God with the whole of their heart is in heaven”: The scribe began the generic free relative clause (cf. Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 434) in the plural (ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲙⲱⲉ) and now switches to the singular (ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ); see the discussion of this phenomenon in chapter 1, section 4. In our translation, we retained the plural, yet without changing the text.

The Coptic has only ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲙⲟⲧ, “his likeness,” here; the Latin “also their face and the likeness” (St Gall: *et uultus eorum et similitudo*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 110, 2.21), which is supported by the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 288–289).

20. This chapter introduces the couple of Enoch and Elijah, who occur again as a pair in chapters 51–52, where they come to greet Paul in Paradise. Here, Enoch and Elijah’s place is at the gate to the third heaven in accordance with the situation depicted in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (*Acta Pilati*) 9 (25). In the *Gospel*, following the harrowing of hell, Jesus takes Adam as the first of the saints of the Old Testament to Paradise. At the gate, the saints meet Enoch and Elijah, who never died and therefore never descended into Hades, but dwell in Paradise with body and soul (see, for instance, de Vuippens, *Paradis terrestre*, 13–15). They predict their return at the end of times when they will resist the Antichrist and be martyred, according to the scenario of Rev. 11:3–12, about the two witnesses (Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 331, Greek; 404–405, Latin). The apocalyptic role of Enoch and Elijah, for which see Bauckham, “Martyrdom,” may be presupposed in 51–52 (see below), but is mentioned here only in the Greek of 20, 1, where Enoch is called ὁ μάρτυς τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας, “the witness of the last day” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50). Instead, the behavior of Enoch and Elijah, who now laugh, then weep, and the general setting of the scene at the gate of heaven are modeled upon the depiction of Adam, sitting and weeping at the two gateways to life and perdition in the *Testament of Abraham*, Greek, long recension, chapter 11 (Schmidt, *Testament*, 128–133); short recension, chapter 8 (Schmidt, *Testament*, 64–67); Bohairic, Guidi, “Testo copto,” 168–169. Like Adam, they have a clear reason to weep, for not many will enter the gate of heaven. The substitution of Enoch and Elijah for Adam did not prevent the author from retaining another tradition, likewise found in the *Testament of Abraham*, that makes Enoch “the scribe of righteousness” (see below and our chapter 3, section 1).

20, 1. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲣⲟ ⲡ̅ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲏ, “whose face shone like the sun”: A favorite comparison of the author, also used in chapter 23, 2 (of the City of Christ), 29, 3 (the face of David) and 56, 1 (the face of the prophets and other inhabitants

of Paradise); its principal source is Matt. 13:43a: ΤΟΤΕ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΣΕΝΑΡ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΡΗ ΖΗ ΤΜΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ, “then (sc. at the end of times) the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their father” (Sahidic, Aranda Pérez); cf. *Apocalypse of Peter*, Achmim codex 7, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 2; for the color symbolism, see also below at chapter 38, 3.

ΔΙΟΥΤΟΤῚ, “I was shocked”: This phrase lacks in the other versions.

ΝΗΜ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ, ΠΑΧΟΕΪΘ, “who is that, my Lord?": ΠΑΧΟΕΪΘ bears a long stroke over the group IC, whereas the trema is put in between O and Ε. The scribe may have corrected a minor error here.

ΕΝΩΧ, ΠΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΝΤΑΙΚΑΙΘΣΥΝΗ, “Enoch, the scribe of righteousness”: Already in Jubilees 4:23, Enoch is transported to “the garden of Eden,” where he records “the judgment of the world” and the sins of humanity, and the present epithet occurs in 1 Enoch 15:1. For Enoch as scribe, see also the vivid depiction in 2 Enoch 10. In accordance with these traditions, Enoch plays an active role as the scribe in the judgment scene of the *Testament of Abraham*, Greek, chapters 10–11 (short recension only; Schmidt, *Testament*, 68–75; cf. above at 17, 3), where he is called ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης, “the schoolmaster of heaven and scribe of righteousness” (11:3); the Bohairic, Guidi, “Testo copto,” 171–173, merely has: ΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΝΤΕ ΤΔΙΚΕΘΣΥΝΗ, “the scribe of righteousness” (173). In a similar context, he appears as ΕΙΝΩΧ ΠΕΓΚΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΕΥΣΖΑΙ ΝΝΕΝΟΒΕ ΝΝΕΡΩΜΕ, “Enoch the scribe, who writes down the sins of men,” in the tenth-century Tebtynis wall-painting, discussed in our chapter 3, section 2. In the judgment scenes of the present text, in particular chapters 17–18, which are very similar to the *Testament of Abraham* 10–11, he plays no such role, however, nor is he depicted as a scribe in any other part of the text. This shows that the epithet is given here, so to say, by default, which is a clear hallmark of the text’s Egyptian origin. Only remotely connected with the shadowy biblical figure (see Gen. 5:21–24; cf. Hebr. 11:5, 1 Clem. 9:3), Enoch was widely venerated in late-antique Egypt, not only as a scribe in literary and visual representations of the celestial tribunal, but also—together with his presumed sister, the prophetess Sibyl—as an important patron of Middle-Egyptian monasticism; see Pearson, “Enoch in Egypt,” and the further references given in Van der Vliet, “Coptic,” 73, n. 3, to which add Wietheger, *Jeremias-Kloster*, 225 and 238. Enoch’s epithet, popular in Christian Egypt, occurs both in the long Latin versions, as *scriba iusticiae* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 112, 1.12, Paris), and in the Syriac, and must hence belong to the original text. In the abridged Greek version, which omits the paragraph about Elijah, it is replaced by “the witness of the last day” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50), referring to the apocalyptic role of Enoch (and Elijah), for which see above.

20, 2. ΔΙΝΑΥ ἔπικεζηλιας, “I also saw Elijah”: Of the long Latin versions, only Arnheim (L³) has correctly Elijah here; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 113, 2.12; cf. Hilhorst, “The Apocalypse of Paul,” 10; the Greek omits this paragraph.

ΔΥΩΒΕ, “and laughed”: The Latin and the Syriac have a double expression (*illarens et ga[u]dens*, “laughing and joyful,” Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 112, 1.14–15), which may be original.

ΞΑΜΟΙ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΔΥΧΙ ΝΕΚΡΙΣΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΚΑΔΥ ΜΝ ΤΗΝΤΡΩΜΕ, “if only you could see that your pains that you took for humanity were accepted!”: Instead of ΞΑΜΟΙ, the manuscript had a nonsensical ΔΜΟΥ, “come!” At some stage in the transmission of the Coptic text, the counterfactual conditional conjunction ΞΑΜΟΙ, “if only, would that,” was mistaken for the phonetically and formally very similar imperative ΔΜΟΥ (a reading or dictation error). Coptic ΞΑΜΟΙ corresponds to Latin *utinam* in the Paris manuscript: *utinam u[el] [tu] recipias labores tuos q[uos] pa[teris] in genere humano*, “would that you should receive (the fruits of) your pains that you took for the human race” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 112, 1.16–18). For ΞΑΜΟΙ followed by the conjunctive, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 675b; Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories*, 211.

ΝΑΥΕ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΤ, “for numerous are the favors of God and his promises”: The Latin quite unnecessarily expands this phrase (Paris and St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 112, 18–20,); the Coptic is clear and economic.

ΖΙΤΝ ΖΕΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΧΡΟΝΟC ΟΥΔΕΝ ΖΕΝΟΥΔ ΟΥΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΙΤΟΠΟC, “indeed, only from time to time a few are admitted to these places”: For the temporal use of ΖΙΤΝ, “during, after,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 429a; cf. here 49, 3: ΖΙΤΝ ΟΥΟΜΗΤ ΝΖΟΥ, “within three days.” Copeland (*Mapping*, 197) translates “during certain seasons and times,” which misses the point.

Instead of ΖΙΤΝ ΖΕΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΧΡΟΝΟC, “from time to time, now and then,” the Latin (Paris) has *per multas labores*, “through great efforts” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 112, 1.21–22), which is clearly an inferior reading, not supported by any of the other versions. For the general idea, compare the *Testament of Abraham*: ΖΑΝΚΟΥΧΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΥ ΝΕ ΝΗ ΕΤΖΗΛ ΕΒΟΥΝ ΕΪΠΥΛΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝ, “few, however, are they who enter the gate of life” (Bohairic; Guidi, “Testo copto,” 169).

21–22. Paul descends again to the firmament and travels to the east where he finds first, beyond the Ocean, the Land of Inheritance, with its miraculous growth of date palms and grapevine (22, 1). Then, he proceeds even further east, to the shore of the Acherusian Lake (22, 5).

The *Apocalypse* includes fourteen important cosmographical descriptions (see our chapter 2, section 4, Table 4), which together with the numerous geo-

graphic references give the text its peculiar character. Section 21, 1–3, is the first of the six important lengthier descriptions that provide a complete description of the world along the horizontal axis from east (21, 1–3; 22, 1; 23) to west (31, 1–2; 31, 3; 42, 1).

Of all versions, the Coptic offers by far the best account of Paul's journey from the third heaven to the east. Our manuscript includes all the elements necessary for unfolding the narrative in a logical and coherent sequence:

- (a) Paul is taken from the third to the second heaven,
- (b) then to the firmament,
- (c) and finally to the east, where he sees the firmament's foundations resting on the River Ocean.
- (d) Going eastwards he reaches a very luminous region, the Land of Inheritance, and then the Acherusian Lake and the City of Christ.

By contrast, the other versions fail to describe Paul's position in relation to the River Ocean and the east. The long Latin version has Paul going back and forth without providing a coherent idea of his spatial situation (see Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.3–10, Paris). The River Ocean is only briefly mentioned and the east is completely absent. At the same time, the Latin testimonies exhaust all possible combinations of the words “gate,” “heaven” and “firmament” without reaching a sound solution. The St Gall manuscript offers a good example of this confusion: *Inde exiui primum caelum et deduxit me in celum alium. Et iterum deduxit me de firmamento et duxit me super ianuas caeli. Et aperuit hostium et erat initium eius fundatum super flumina quae erant super omnem terram. Et interrogaui angelum dei: Qui est hic fluuius aque? Et dixit mihi: Hic est Oceanus. Et subito exiui celum et intellexi quod lumen caeli est, quod lucet omni terre* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 2.5–13; for manuscripts Escorial and Arnhem, 115, 4–13). The Greek presents a summarizing and confusing description that omits any reference to gates, only briefly mentioning the River Ocean and the bright light of the place (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50). The Syriac testimonies either omit any reference to these landmarks (Urmia; Perkins *apud* Tischendorf) or echo the confusion apparent in the Latin witnesses (codices A and B; Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 121). The Armenian (Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 116–117) and the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 290) omit the entire section.

In addition to the logic of the narrative, also the balanced and symmetric description of the cosmos and the antithetic regions of righteous and sinners appears to confirm the correctness of the Coptic version of this section. As a matter of fact, the place “where the sun rises,” described in this section, acts essentially as a counterpoint to the darkness of the land of the wicked in the west, “where the sun sets,” preserved in chapter 31, 2, of both the Coptic and the

Latin L¹. The latter description mentions the same elements and in the same order: the River Ocean (*oceanus qui circuit omnem terram*, Paris; Coptic: παι πε ποκεανος. παι πε περο ετκωτε ετοικογμενη τηρς), the setting of the sun (*occasum solis*, St Gall; Coptic: ἡμα ἡρωτῖ ἡπρη) and the darkness beyond it (*et cum fuisset ad exteriora Oceani, aspexi et non erat lumen in illo loco*, Paris; see Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 136–137; Coptic: αγω ἡτερειρ πβολ ἡπορεανος, ἡπειναγ ελααγ ἡ πμα ετῡμαγ νσα λγπει ρι αωαζομ ρι ἡκαρ ἡρητ ρι γνωφος ρι κακε ρι ρτομη ρι τακο).

21, 1. ΝΕΝΤΑΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ἡ ΠΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ ἡ ΠΡΟΥΟΝΖΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ἡ ΤΣΑΡΞ, “do not make known what you have seen in this place as long as you live”: The text alludes to 2 Cor. 12:4, quoted verbally in the Latin manuscript of Paris, which is clearly not original, however (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.4–5; similarly paraphrasing, the Syriac, chapter 20: *et nunc audiui illic verba quae non dicuntur, neque fas est hominibus dicere ea*; translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypse Pauli,” 121). The other Latin witnesses offer various errors, whereas the Coptic presents a clear and intelligible text. The Greek abridges as usual. In line with the implicit prohibition referred to in 2 Cor 12:2–4, Paul is not allowed to relate what he has seen up to now. The angel therefore proposes to show him something that he *may* make public (ἡΤΑΤΣΑΒΟΚ ΕΠΕΤΚΝΑΟΥΟΝΖῶ ΕΒΟΛ). The revelation that follows, including the description of the land of the righteous and the sinners, belongs to this part.

21, 2. ΑΦΧΙ ἡΜΟΙ ΕΤΜΕΖCῆΤΕ <ἡΠΕ>, “he took me to the second heaven”: The manuscript has only “to the second” (fem.), which in the context might seem to refer to a second gate, as Budge assumed in his translation (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1049; followed by Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 179–180). We restored “heaven,” as does Copeland (*Mapping*, 197), in accordance with the Latin, *et induxit me in secundo caelo* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.8), and the logic of the text. Paul descends again. Here and elsewhere the Coptic gives a superior rendering of the spatial aspects of Paul’s journey; cf. Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 179–180.

ΑΦΧΙΤ Εἡμα ἡωα ἡπρη, “and took me to where the sun rises”: The Latin (Paris) has *super ganuas* (sc. *ianuas*) *celi*, “to the gates of heaven” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.10), which is incongruous in terms of Paul’s actual journey.

παι πε πουκεανος περο, “this is the River Ocean”: Cf. the *Testament of Abraham*, short recension, 8:3: καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἡ νεφέλη ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ποταμόν, “and the cloud brought him (sc. Abraham) up to the River Ocean” (Schmidt, *Testament*, 64); cf. the Bohairic: αςσωκ ἡρωου ωα νσα ἡτε πωκיאνος, “and

it (sc. the cloud) flew them (sc. Michael and Abraham) to the regions of the Ocean" (Guidi, "Testo copto," 168). Beyond the Ocean, Abraham sees the two gates that lead to the other world, overseen by Adam and a crowd of angels. Similarly, in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the Ocean marks the limits of our human world: "the water flood (sc. the Ocean) surrounded the entire inhabited world" (thus again in 31, 2).

The angel's reference to the river Ocean, here in 21, 2, is repeated at 31, 2, in order to convey and highlight the symmetric conception of both the cosmos and Paul's journey. Paul's questions and the angel's answers provide precise descriptions of their geographical location, which allows its audience to place them at the antipodes of the world. At 21, 2, after descending from the third to the second heaven, and then to the firmament, Paul sees the foundations of heaven resting on the water flood. Paul's question indicates that the water flood surrounds the earth: "My Lord, what is the water flood that surrounds this entire world?" In 31, after traveling through the eastern region, Paul returns first from the City of Christ to the same spot where he started his trip, heaven's foundations on the Ocean in the eastern part of the world. He is then taken (plausibly via the firmament) to the west in order to initiate his journey in an opposite direction, and he does so starting from the firmament's foundations on the Ocean in the west. This is emphasized in 31, 2, by the angel saying: "That is the Ocean. That is the river that surrounds the entire inhabited world." (See chapter 2, section 3.2, Figure 5.)

For a discussion of the Ocean in our text and further parallels, see Copeland, *Mapping*, 51–81, recapitulated in ead., "Thinking with Oceans," who emphasizes its classical Greek antecedents. In other sources from contemporaneous Egypt, however, the Ocean seems less classically inspired than indebted to indigenous representations of the primeval waters. Thus, a Gnostic prayer preserved as an appendix to the *Books of Jeu* addresses a primordial "mystery" whose radiance materialized as water of the Ocean (ⲟⲩⲭⲙⲟⲩⲛⲡⲟⲩⲕⲉⲁⲛⲟⲥ), in the middle of which the earth is situated (Crégheur, *Deux Livres de Jéou*, 342). The same idea may be at the background of an invocation in the so-called Wizard's Hoard, a Coptic ritual text. It addresses a power of light (the sun?), whose "origin sprang prior to the River Ocean (ⲛⲱⲣⲟⲩⲛⲉⲡⲉⲓⲣⲟⲩⲛⲡⲟⲩⲕⲉⲁⲛⲟⲥ) and who beams until the end" and for whom apparently a primordial status is claimed (Worrell, "Wizard's Hoard," 251).

21, 3. ⲛⲧⲉϥⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲣ ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲡⲟⲩⲕⲉⲁⲛⲟⲥ, "as soon as I went beyond the Ocean": The Latin has "I came out of heaven," *exiui de celo* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.14). As usual, the Coptic presents a more precise picture of Paul's route. Paul had already descended. He now crosses the Ocean and sees from a distance in the east the Land of Inheritance "seven times brighter than

silver,” *clarior argento septiaes* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 16–17; similarly the Syriac, chapter 21, Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 120–121). Ever since antiquity, the River Ocean symbolizes the confines of the known world. Paul’s passing of the river marks his venture into the unknown, which is the object of the revelations recorded in the *Apocalypse*. In this sense, even if it remains within the borders of New Testament cosmology, the *Apocalypse* does provide an expansion of the ancient worldview that aims at accommodating diametrically located places of reward and punishment.

ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ἩΠΡΗ ΠΕΤΡ̅ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΠΚΑΞ ΕΤ̅ΜΑΥ, “it was the light of the sun that illuminated that land”: In the Latin, it is illuminated by the *lumen caeli*, “the light of heaven” (only the Arnhem manuscript has *lux dei*, “the light of God”; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 115, 2.10–11); the much abridged Greek merely has a “great light” (φῶς μέγα; Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50).

ΝΕΡΕ ΠΚΑΞ ΕΤ̅ΜΑΥ ΟΥΘΩ̅ ἩΘΕ ἩΠΞΑΤ̅ ἩΣΑΥΩ̅ ἩΣΩΒ ἩΣΟΠ, “that land was seven times brighter than silver”: Thus again in 22, 1. The author delights in this kind of expressions; compare the City of Christ “shining seven times brighter than the sun” in 23, 2; the hyperbolic “seven suns” in 42, 1, and the faces of the prophets in Paradise that beam “seven times more than the sun” in 56, 1.

ΠΚΑΞ ἩΤΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ, “the Land of Inheritance”: The long Latin version has *terra repromissionis*, “the Land of Promise,” which is incongruous in light of the following quote of Matt. 5:5, meant to offer an explanation; it may have been inspired by the repeated reference to God’s promises in the next few paragraphs (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114–115; similarly the Syriac, Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 120–121, and the Slavonic, Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 291–292). The Greek reads ἡ γῆ τῶν πραέων, “the Land of the Meek” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50). The Greek and the Coptic, though differently, both anticipate the wording of the quote of Matt. 5:5. The reading of the Coptic version (“the Land of Inheritance”) is supported by a Coptic ritual text (O. Cairo 49547) cited in our chapter 3, section 2.

The Latin and the Greek introduce the quote of Matt. 5:5 by an introductory formula “that it is written,” which may have dropped out in the Coptic. It is the only formal quote from Holy Scripture in the entire *Apocalypse*, literally reproducing the Sahidic of this verse (conform the text of Aranda Pérez).

ΝΕΨΥΧΗ ΔΕ Ἡ̅ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΥΘΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̅Ν ΣΩΜΑ ΝΣΕΑΠΑ<Ν>ΤΑ Ε̅ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΘΑΥΚΑΑΥ Ζ̅Ν ΠΕΙΚΑΞ, “when the souls of the righteous come forth from the body to meet God, they are placed in this land”: In the morally structured cosmos of the text, the east is conceived as the exclusive abode of the righteous. The *angelus interpres* underlines this, in the same way as he will do later in 31, 2. See our chapter 2, section 4 above.

ⲛⲥⲉⲡⲁⲗⲛⲧⲁ ⲉⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, “to meet God”: This phrase is omitted in the Latin. The omission of the ⲛ reflects its weakened quality in later Sahidic (see our chapter 1, section 4); it is to be excluded that the scribe had been thinking of the verb ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁ, ⲁⲡⲁⲧᾶω, “to mislead,” which is not constructed with ⲉ-.

ⲡⲁⲅⲕⲁⲁⲅ ⲉⲙⲓ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲅ, “they are deposited in this land”: The Coptic verb is ⲕⲱ very unspecific; the Latin (*interim dimituntur*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.22) and the Greek (φυλάττονται, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50) are more explicit about the provisional character of the souls’ sojourn.

21, 4. ⲉⲓⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲅ ⲛⲁⲟϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲏⲛⲥⲁ ⲟϥⲉⲓⲱ, “Will this land be revealed after a while?”: For ⲙⲏⲛⲥⲁ ⲟϥⲉⲓⲱ, “after a while,” the Latin of the Paris manuscript has a strange *ante tempus* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.23–24), explained by Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 215, as “avant le temps du Jugement,” which seems unlikely; the St Gall, Escorial and Arnhem manuscripts confirm the reading of the Coptic (*post tempus*).

ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲟϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲅⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲏⲧⲉⲣⲟ, “When Christ appears in his kingship”: The Latin inserts a clause “(Christ), whom you (sc. Paul) preach” (*quem tu predicas*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.25–26), which may seem redundant, but is supported by the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 290–291). It announces the theme of Paul’s praise that is fully elaborated in chapters 46 and later; cf. for instance 46, 2: (Paul) ⲉϥⲧⲁⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥ.

The phrase ⲅⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲏⲧⲉⲣⲟ, “in his kingship,” can alternatively be translated as “in his kingdom” (thus Copeland, *Mapping*, 198); with the Latin of the Paris manuscript, *ut regnet*, “in order to reign,” we take it to refer to an event, rather than a place.

ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲅ ⲅⲱⲱϥ ⲛⲁⲟϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲭⲙⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ, “this land too will be revealed upon the present earth,” literally “upon this one”: Compare the Latin of the Arnhem manuscript: *operiet illam* (sc. *terram istam*), “it will cover it (sc. the present earth)” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 115, 2.21).

Preceding this sentence, the Latin had mentioned that the present, first earth will previously be dissolved (cf. Rev. 21:1): *sententia dei soluitur terra prima* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 1.26–27; cf. the Slavonic, Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 290–291), which produces a more coherent text. A similar clause may have fallen out from the Coptic, which remains understandable though.

ⲛⲓⲥⲟϥⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲡⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲃⲓ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, “and God will recognize all his saints”: Of the long Latin versions, only L³ preserved this phrase correctly: *et cognosceat dominus omnes iustos* (Arnhem; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 115, 2.22–23); likewise, the Syriac, Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 120–121.

ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲡ̄ ⲡ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲭⲱⲗⲟϥ: “and Christ will reign over them”: Thus with Copeland (*Mapping*, 259); the manuscript reads ⲉⲭⲱ. For the uncertainty of

the scribe over $\omega/\omicron\gamma$, see our chapter 1, section 4. The reconstruction is confirmed by the Latin, *regnabit Christus super illos* (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 114, 2.27–28).

$\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\rho\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon$, “for many years”: The manuscript has $\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\omega\eta$, by vowel assimilation. The Latin (L^1/L^3) reads “for a thousand years,” in conformity with Rev. 20:4.

22. The portrayal of the Land of Inheritance is the second lengthy cosmographic description of the *Apocalypse* (see our commentary at 21, 2) and has an important structuring function in the text. The Land of Inheritance is the counterpart of the parched land at the other side of the world described in chapter 31, 3. The text of the Coptic version is far superior to all other witnesses, as can be seen in the careful description of the region, its abundance, and the ascending degree of beauty as Paul proceeds from west to east. For this reason, translations of the *Apocalypse of Paul* regularly follow the Coptic text in this section; see Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic Apocalypse of Paul,” 181–183.

The Coptic coherently describes the wealth of plants and fruits on either side of the river of milk and honey. The date palms are thirty, twenty and ten cubits high and have thousand branches each, with ten thousand bunches of fruit each. The Latin (L^1) fails to describe it properly. In addition to its numerous textual corruptions, important omissions alter the normal flow of the narrative, affecting the textual symmetry and the accurate geographical description (thus, the Paris manuscript, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 116, 1.1–17). Also the Greek version lacks a good description. It describes the impressiveness of the land by simply referring to the great size and the numerous fruits of the trees and that it was “brighter than silver *and gold*” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 51: $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$). It does mention the east, but then introduces various errors in its description. Thus, it places the City of Christ *in* the Acherusian Lake, even if the city is said to be surrounded by the four rivers (23). The Syriac (Urmia) rewrites and transforms the whole section, simply mentioning that this land was very bright and that “in it were trees of life, and they were full of fruit, from their root to their top” (Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50–51). Codices A and B similarly only mention the brightness of the place and trees full of fruit (chapter 22, Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 122–123).

22, 1. $\alpha\iota\omicron\epsilon\omega\gamma\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \rho\bar{\eta}\ \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\alpha\gamma\ ,\ \alpha\iota\eta\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\varsigma\omega\kappa\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\ \rho\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\beta\iota\omega\ ,$ “I looked around in that land and I saw a river flowing with milk and honey”: The Land of Inheritance has as its first landmark a river of milk and honey, at either side of which there is a great profusion of vegetation and fruits. This river

is the exact counterpart of the river of fire, described in 31, 4, together with the desolation and aridity of the parched land full of pits (31, 3).

ⲛⲱⲙⲛ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲧⲏ ⲛⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ, “with trees laden with fruit”: The Coptic noun ⲱⲙⲛ, “tree,” can be used in the singular as a collective term; see Crum, *Dictionary*, 568b.

The Latin adds a sentence, lacking in the Coptic, which says that “each tree bore twelve fruits annually, having a variety of different fruits” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 116, 3–5). As both this detail and the general picture derive from Ezek. 47:12 (cf. Rev. 22:2) and as the Syriac has a similar sentence (Urmia; Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 50), it is most likely original.

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲧ̅ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁ ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲃⲧ̅, “I looked to the east”: This clause is omitted in the Latin, but preserved in the Greek (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 51).

ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲅⲉⲛⲃⲏⲛⲉ ⲉϥⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲉⲡ̅ ⲡⲓⲁ ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲁⲩ, ⲟⲩⲉⲧ̅ ⲧ̅ⲃⲟⲧ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ, “I saw date palms growing there, each of them different in size”: The second clause is omitted by the Latin; from the sequel it is clear that the somewhat ambiguous ⲃⲟⲧ̅ must refer to size here.

ⲉⲟⲩ̅ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲅⲏⲧⲟⲩ̅ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲣ̅ ⲙⲁⲁⲃ ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲅⲉ ⲛ̅ⲱⲙⲛ, ⲟⲩ̅ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲣ̅ ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧ̅, ⲟⲩ̅ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲣ̅ ⲙⲏⲧ̅, “some of them about thirty cubits in height, some about twenty, some about ten”: For the use of future tenses with ⲛⲁ to express estimates (“about, approximately”), see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, 156, par. 306.

The long Latin versions have different measurements. Paris omits the palms of thirty cubits and St Gall, those of twenty, whereas Arnhem mentions thirty, twenty-five and ten cubits. Only the Escorial manuscript, which agrees verbally with the Coptic, shows that the correct original sequence is thirty, twenty and ten cubits: *Et erant ibi palmas cubitorum triginta, alias uero cubitorum xx et alias uero cubitorum x* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 117, 1.6–8; similarly in the Slavonic, Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 291–292). However, Escorial fails to describe the abundance of fruit in a proper way, generally mentioning that *erant plenas fructibus de radice usque ad sumam, ordines decem miliorum fructos super terram* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 117, 1.8–10).

ⲟⲩ̅ ⲟⲩⲧⲃⲁ ⲛ̅ⲅⲱⲡ̅ ⲉⲓⲭ̅ ⲟⲩⲧⲃⲁ ⲛ̅ⲕⲱⲟⲩ̅, “there was a myriad of branches over a myriad of clusters”: This sentence looks redundant or even faulty in light of the next. One would expect, on the basis of the analogous description of the grapevine that follows: ⲉⲓⲭ̅ ⲧⲃ̅ⲛ̅ⲉ, “upon the date palm.” In our translation, we took the preposition ⲉⲓⲭ̅ as referring to the specific position of the clusters of dates that sprout from under the leaves of the palm (cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 696b, s.v. ⲉⲱⲡ̅), but a scribal error cannot be ruled out. Otherwise the Coptic offers a superior text, whereas the Latin is confused here (thus already James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 537). The Greek and the Latin each phrase some-

what differently, abridging the description; for an analysis, see Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*," 181–183.

ἀγῶ <οὔτβα> ἄσμελζ ἑῆ πῶλεῖ πῶλεῖ, “and a myriad of bunches on each shoot”: The missing word οὔτβα is required to obtain a grammatical sentence.

The traditional eschatological motif of the abundant growth of the grapevine is found, for instance, in 1 Enoch 10:19, the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* 29: 5, and in Irenaeus' famous Papias quote; see Bogaert, *Apocalypse* 2, 64, and more recently Carlson, "Eschatological Viticulture." In our text, the grapevine is doubled by the date palm (cf. the olive in 1 Enoch). The description of the trees of Paradise in Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On John the Baptist* (Sahidic, *CANT* 148), exaggerates even far more and adds to the fantastic dimensions of the grapevine and the date palm those of the fig, the ear of wheat as well as citrons, apples and peaches (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 142, cited in our chapter 3, section 2). In a more modest form, the motif occurs in a vision attributed to Pachomius, in Sahidic *Life S*², Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 19–23.

22, 2. ΠΕΧΑΙ ἸΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΧΕ Ω (ms. ΟΥ) ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ, ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΕΙΩΗΝ ΖΕΝΤΒΑ. ἸΝΤΒΑ ΝΕ ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΙΟΣ, “I said to the angel: ‘O my Lord, why do these trees bear myriads upon myriads of fruits?’”: The Coptic gives Paul’s question coherently. While the Latin manuscripts (but not Arnheim) properly mention the ten thousand branches with their ten thousand fruits, they fail to render Paul’s question correctly, since he asks the angel why the plants carry *thousand* fruits: *Et dixi angelo: quare unaqueque arb[or] milia fructum adferet?* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 116, 1.16–17). The other versions omit Paul’s question altogether.

ερε πνουτε † μη̄ῑζητ τηρ̄ η̄νηετη εκληρονομει ἡμοοϋ, “God devotes himself entirely to those who are due to inherit them”: Copeland (*Mapping*, 199), translates: “It is with his whole heart that God gives (the fruits) to those who are supposed to inherit them” (similarly, Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1050), but this is not what the Coptic says (cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 716). The Latin phrases somewhat differently: *dominus deus abu[n]dans fluenter presta[t] do[na] condignes*, “the Lord God generously grants his gifts in abundance to those who are worthy” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 116, 1.18–19; cf. Carozzi, *Eschatologie* 216, 13).

ἀγχιτοῦ ἄβου ἔμ πῶς κοσμος, “they took pains in the world”: As the Latin shows (*adflixce[runt] semetipsos*, Paris; Silverstein and Hillhorst, *Apocalypse*, 116, 1.20–21), the construction is to be taken in an active reflexive sense. Differently, Copeland, *Mapping*, 199: “they were abused in the world.”

22, 3. ΝΕΡΗΤ ἡΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ..., “are these the promises of God ...?”: The Latin adds: “the *only* promises” (*sole*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 116, 1,23–25); the clarification does not seem indispensable.

ἔΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΡΩ ΔΥΩΔΞΕ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζἢ ΤΑΤΑΠΡΟ (ms. ΤΕΝΤΑΠΡΟ) ἢ ΔΙΣΩΝΤ̄ ΕΠΕΤ-
ΖΙΤΟΥΔΙ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ, “why did I even for a single day speak a word in
anger against my neighbor?,” literally: “why has even a word come out of my
(ms. our) mouth or have I been angry with my neighbor for a single day?”:
The Coptic, undoubtedly following its Greek *Vorlage*, uses a disjunctive *ἢ* to
make one question into two for rhetorical effect, a usage often found in bibli-
cal Greek and Coptic; see Boud’hors, “La particule *ἢ*.” The Syriac, too, appears
to have calqued the double question: *cur exiit verbum ex ore nostro, et fuit cura*
de nobis? (translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 123). The Latin, however,
translates idiomatically and turns the two questions into a single one: *ut quid*
uerbum emisemus de ore nostro ad inritandum proximum uel una die? (Paris;
Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 118, 4–6).

Our Coptic manuscript once more wavers between generic singular and plu-
ral pronouns and we introduced a minimal correction, changing “our mouth”
into “my mouth,” for the sake of clarity (as the Latin and the Syriac show, the
plural may have been original).

22, 4. ΝΕΙΕΡΗΤ ΝΑΙ ΝΑ ἡΚΟΜΙΚΟΝ ΝΕ, ΝΑΙ ἡΤΑΥΖΑΡΕΖ ἑΠΕΥΓΑΜΟΣ ΕΦΟΥΑΔΒ,
“these are the promises destined for the secular people who have kept their
marriage pure”: Copeland (*Mapping*, 261) unnecessarily corrects ΚΟΜΙΚΟΝ to
ΚΟΜΙΚΟΣ; for the broad use of the neuter form ΚΟΜΙΚΟΝ in Coptic, see Förster,
Wörterbuch, 435–436.

ΝΕΤΖΟΡΚ̄ ΔΕ ἡΤΟΥ ἡἢ ἡΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΝΔΧΙ ἡΝΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ἑΝΑΙ ἡΣΑΩḲ̄ ἡΣΩΒ
ἡΣΟΠ, “the solitaries, however, and the virgins will receive things that are seven
times more splendid than these”: In ΝΕΤΖΟΡΚ̄, “solitaries, hermits,” the sta-
tive ΖΟΡΚ̄, from ΖΡΟΚ, “to be still, quiet (etc.),” is the equivalent of Greek ἡσύ-
χιος / ἡσυχιαστής (cf. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1051: “but those who
are chaste and are virgins”). However, Crum, *Dictionary*, 702b, s.v. ΖΡΟΚ, sug-
gests (with hesitation) an error for ΖΟΚΡ, “to be hungry,” on the basis of the
Latin *esurientes* that follows later in the text (see below). His suggestion is fol-
lowed by Copeland (*Mapping*, 200: “but those who hunger and the virgins”),
yet the emendation must be rejected. The manuscript’s ΝΕΤΖΟΡΚ̄ does not cor-
respond to Latin *esurientes* in the following sentence, but to *et continentium*
se, which the Latin links to the preceding sentence about “the secular people
who have kept their marriage pure” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 118,
1.8–10; cf. the Armenian 1, chapter 15, Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 118–119: “who
have kept themselves quiet”). In order to repair the maimed next sentence,

the Latin inserts, following the mention of the virgins, a phrase “and for those who hunger and thirst for justice” (*virginibus autem et esurientibus et sicientibus ius*[*t*]iciam, Paris, after Matt. 5:6; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 118, 1.10–12), for which the Coptic has no equivalent and which looks like an interpolation, even though it is found in the Syriac too (cf. Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 122–123; the entire passage lacks in Tischendorf’s Greek as in the Slavonic). The Coptic offers a superior text here, both more precise and more economical than the Latin. To the married people who refrain from intercourse, the text opposes two gendered classes of ascetics, hermits and virgins.

22, 5. This paragraph is famous for its description of the “baptism in the Acherusian Lake” (for which see below). Proceeding further to the east the angel takes Paul to a place where he sees a river whiter than milk. To Paul’s question about the nature of the river, the angel answers that this is the Acherusian Lake and goes on to describe its function in relation to the City of Christ, which is situated even further beyond.

ⲁⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲃⲧ̅ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲛ, ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲩⲧ̅ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ (ms. ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ) ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱ̅ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ, “next he (sc. the angel) took me to the east of the good river. I looked and saw a river, the water of which was whiter than milk”: In the second sentence, we introduced a minimal textual correction, changing ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, “the river,” into ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, “a river,” in order to clarify the topographical situation. In the manuscript, the sentence reads: ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲩⲧ̅ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱ̅ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ, “I looked and saw that the water of the river was whiter than milk.” The definite article in ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, “the river,” suggests that at one stage of the text’s transmission, a scribe took this sentence to refer to the “good river” that Paul has been passing to the east, mentioned in the first sentence. The following dialogue with the angel shows that this is not correct: Paul sees something new, namely yet another stretch of water, “whiter than milk,” and this appears to be the Acherusian Lake. This state of affairs is confirmed by the Latin: *et post haec adsumpsit me ex loco illo, et uidi, et ecce flumina aque cuius erant aque candide ualde super lac*, “and after that he took me out of that place and I looked and there was a water flood, the waters of which were whiter than milk” (Paris, Carozzi’s reading of the slightly garbled text, *Eschatologie*, 216; cf. Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 118, 1.14–16, with the apparatus), as well as by the Syriac (chapter 23, translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 123: *et post haec deduxit me ad orientem ab illo loco, et vidi ibi flumen aquarum*). In the first sentence of the Coptic, ⲁⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲃⲧ̅ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲛ, “next he took me to the east of the good river,” the phrase ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲑⲟⲛ, “the good river,” looks suspect. Even though it quite plausibly refers to the “river flowing with milk and honey” described in the

beginning of the chapter (22, 1), one rather would expect ἀρχιτὸν ὀν ἡσὰ πινεῖτ ἡπκαρ ἡαγαθον, “next he took me to the east of the good land,” that is, the land just described (cf. the Latin *ex loco illo*, “out of that place”; Syriac: “to the east of that place”). The Greek collapses the entire chapter 22 and jumps from one river, the one “flowing with milk and honey” to the other, the Acherusian Lake.

ταὶ τε τὰρχιῆροῦσα λίμνη, “this is the Acherusian Lake”: The text’s ἀρχιῆροῦσα, “Archierousa,” is a clear textual corruption of the Greek term Ἀχερουσία, “Acherusian,” in ἡ Ἀχερουσία λίμνη (cf. in the Greek version, ἡ ἀχέρουσα λίμνη; Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 51). As it seems, the adjective Ἀχερουσία was at a certain moment reinterpreted as a composite beginning in ἀρχι- / ἀρχι-, possibly under the influence of the following ρ. This appears to be confirmed by the strange spelling τὰρχιελύμνη (and variants), found later in this chapter (see below). Practically the same spelling as the present (τὰρχιῆροῦσα λίμνη) is found in the Sahidic *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 17c (Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 53, 27 and 32; cited in our chapter 3, section 2). Ἀχερουσία is the name given by Plato to the purification lake in which sinners, after repenting for their sins, ask their victims for forgiveness (*Phaed.* 112E; 113A; 113C; 114A; more on this below).

The long Latin versions all mention the Acherusian Lake, slightly transmogrified (Paris: *Acerosius lacus*; St Gall: *Acherusius lacus*; Escorial: *Agerusius lacus*; Arnhem: *Acerusius locus*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 118–119). In spite of minor corruptions (see below), the Paris manuscript of L¹ is quite close to the Coptic. The Greek version names the lake (see above), but considerably reduces the entire section. As for the Syriac, it transforms the name in either *sapientia eucharistiae* (translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 123) or “sea of the Eucharista” (Urmia; translation Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 51). The Syriac generically mentions repentance, but without relating this to the lake, since Michael is said not to wash or immerse the soul, but merely to transport those sinners showing a visible mark of repentance over the lake to the city: *si vero convertatur homo ab illis [peccatis] eumque poeniteat ante mortem eius ... et est ei signaculum poenitentiae: traditur Michaëli principi angelorum, et is transducit eum per hunc lacum eucharistiae* (chapter 23, translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 123).

ερε τπολις ἡνετοῦααβ, ταὶ ἡτα πειωτ κοτς ἡπεφμονογενης νωηρε, ἡσοῦς πεχριστος, ρι πινεῖτ ἡναι τηροῦ, “the city of the holy ones, which the Father built for his only-begotten son, Jesus Christ, is to the east of all this”: The Latin again lacks the spatial accuracy of the Coptic and omits most of this clause (Paris: *ubi est ciuitas Christi*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 118, 118; the other versions seem very corrupt).

εωωπε ογπορνος ἥρωμε <πε> ἡ ογρεφῆρνοβε νῆκοτῆ νῆμετανοι νῆτ-
 καρπος εφ|ῆπωδᾶ ἡτμετανοιᾶ, νῆει εβολ ῆν σωμα, ωαφογῶωτ ἡπνογτε
 ἡωορπῆ, ἡσετααδ ετοοτγ μιχαηλ νῆχοκμεγ ῆν ταρχιε<ρογσα> λγμνη,
 ἡσεχῆτῆ ερογν ετπολις ἐρατογ ἡνετε μογῆρ νοβε, “if someone is an adul-
 terer or a sinner and he converts and repents and bears fruit worthy of repen-
 tance and comes forth from the body, he will first pay homage to God and then
 be handed over to Michael and he (sc. Michael) will wash him in the Acheru-
 sian Lake so that he will be admitted into the city (sc. of Christ), to join those
 who have not sinned”: For the soul being cleansed in the Acherusian Lake, see
 the classic study by Peterson, “Taufe,” and the more recent ones by Copeland,
 “Sinners”; Kraus, “Acherousia and Elysion,” and De Jonge and White, “The Wash-
 ing of Adam.” Whereas Peterson claims a Jewish origin for the cleansing motif,
 the other authors emphasize its debt to Plato’s *Phaedo*; cf. Bremmer, “Birth of
 Paradise,” 20–22.

In Plato’s view of Hades, the Acherusian Lake is the place for purification
 and expiation of crimes (*Phaedo* 113D–114B). On the one hand, those who have
 carried a moderate life are purified in the lake; those who have committed for-
 givable crimes may also expiate their crimes in it. On the other hand, after
 spending a year or so in the Tartarus, curable sinners are also brought by the
 streams of Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus to the neighbourhood of the Acheru-
 sian Lake. There they get the chance to ask their victims for forgiveness; if
 granted, they are allowed to come to the lake in order to expiate their crimes
 and receive purification. In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, however, the Acherusian
 Lake is not a place for expiation of sins and forgiveness, but of purification
 only. Sinners who duly repented before their death are immersed in its waters
 by Michael and, once purified, are able to enter the City of Christ.

Despite considerable differences, the purifying function of the lake assures
 the connection between the *Apocalypse of Paul* and Plato’s Acherusian Lake,
 even if according to Erbetta the *Apocalypse of Paul* does not depend on Plato
 directly here, but on the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Erbetta, “Apocalissi,” 368, n. 34;
 cf. Peterson, “Taufe,” 316). The *Apocalypse of Peter* mentions the lake in 14:1–2
 (Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 226–230; Greek, Rainer fragment, f. 1, Van Min-
 nen, “Greek Apocalypse,” 37, cf. 39; cf. the *Sibylline Oracles* 2.335–338, cited in
 Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 524). However, the *Apocalypse of Paul* omits
 any reference to the theme of forgiveness, so important for the *Apocalypse of
 Peter*; see Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 132–148; Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punish-
 ment Reward the Righteous?,” 150–156; Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 121–122.

For the scene as depicted in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the most pertinent Chris-
 tian intertexts are, in addition to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the Greek *Life of Adam
 and Eve* 37 (cf. De Jonge and White, “The Washing of Adam”) and the Vision of

Siophanes from the Sahidic *Book of Bartholomew* (cited in our chapter 3, section 2). Our Coptic text and the Vision of Siophanes use the verb $\chi\omega\kappa\mu$, “to wash” (cf. *Life of Adam and Eve*: ἀπολούω), whereas the Latin has *baptizare* (cf. the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Rainer fragment, f. 110, 9–10: βάπτισμα, Van Minnen, “Greek Apocalypse,” 37). In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, this baptism is granted by Jesus, whereas it is performed by Michael here and in the Vision of Siophanes and by a six-winged seraph in the *Life of Adam and Eve*. It takes place thrice according to the *Life of Adam and Eve* and the Vision of Siophanes, which is conform the actual practice of Christian baptism by threefold immersion, but found neither here nor in the other versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Furthermore, in the Sahidic *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 17c (quoted chapter 3, section 2), the soul of a merciful pagan is baptized (βαπτίζει) by angels in the Acherusian Lake in the name of the Holy Trinity before being admitted to the Church of the Firstborn in heaven. In each of these texts, immersion in the Acherusian Lake represents a purificatory *rite de passage* that permits the acceptance of its subject in the domain of the sacred. As the *Apocalypse of Paul* clearly shows, the Acherusian Lake and the equally liminal river of fire (for which see below, at 31, 4) must be kept apart (thus correctly, Copeland, “Sinners,” 94–95). For a clear case of substitution, however, see Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On John the Baptist*, where Christ baptizes the devotees of John in the river of fire (see chapter 3, section 2).

More remote echoes of the same tradition appear in several other Coptic texts. The best known of these is a passage from a fourth-century monastic source, Paul of Tamma’s, *On the Cell*. It runs: “My son, listen to God and keep his commandments, and be wise and remain in your dwelling, which is dear to you, while your cell remains with you in your heart as you seek its blessing. And the labor of your cell will go with you to God. Your cell will bring you over the Acherusian Lake (τεκρη ναντκ εχλ ταχερογcia λιμνη) and introduce you into the Church of the Firstborn that is written in heavens (cf. Hebr. 12:23)” (*De cella* 1–2, Sahidic; Orlandi, *Paolo di Tamma*, 88). The perfect monk ascending to heaven needs neither the angel or the cleansing bath in the Acherusian Lake nor even a boat (cf. below 23, 1) since he has acquired the desired state of purity already through his way of life (Copeland, “Sinners,” 103–104). A curious passage in the so-called *Questions of Theodore* offers an allegorical interpretation of the Acherusian Lake and the four rivers of Paradise (cf. here chapter 23, 3) as Christ and the four gospels: πειρτοογ νεϊερο μμογ κωνε · και ετερε τεκ-τcic τηρεc ονηc νρητογ · και ετρετε εβολ γεν τειαχιερογca λιμνη ντε πτββδ νι(κcoγ)c · ειωαχε επειρτοογ νεγαττελιον, “those four rivers of living water, those from which the entire creation lives, those that flow from that Acherusian Lake of the purity of Jesus, I mean the four gospels” (Sahidic; van Lantschoot, *Questions*, 14;

for the phrasing, cf. John 7: 38). The association with purity and the four rivers distantly recalls the present context. A paradisiac landscape seems likewise to be depicted in a Coptic ritual text (already discussed in Peterson, “Taufe,” 318), where seven celestial powers are invoked who are dwelling “at the north side and the east side of Antioch, where there is a myrtle tree (ΟΥΒΩ ΉΜΩΡCΗΝΗ, μυρσίνη) the name of which is called the Acherusian Lake (ΤΑΧΕΛΟΥCΙΑ ΛΙΜΝΗ), that flows from under the throne of Iao Sabaoth, the name of the field in that place is called Salomites, the faith of Iao Sabaoth, the health of the mighty one” (P. mag. British Library Or. 5987, after Choat and Gardner, *Coptic Handbook*, 108, 19–26; cf. Stegemann, *Gestalt Christi*, 22–23; the discussion in Kraus, “Griechische Petrus-Apokalypse,” 91–92, is confusing). The scene is reminiscent of Rev. 22:1–2, for the tree and the river flowing from the throne of God, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which situates the Acherusian Lake in the Elysian plain (14:1; see above).

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΡΕ ΤΑΡΧΗΕΡΟΥCΑ ΛΥΜΝΗ ΖΙ ΤΕΖΙΉ, “for this reason, the Acherusian Lake is on the way”: The Latin (Paris) has a garbled text here: “For this is the road that leads to him (sc. Christ?)” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 118, 118).

ΕΩΩΠΕ ΟΥΠΟΡΝΟC ΉΡΩΜΕ <ΠΕ> Ή ΟΥΡΕΦΉΝΟΒΕ ΝΪΚΟΤΪ, “if someone is an adulterer or a sinner and he converts”: For the conjunctive extending an ΕΩΩΠΕ-clause, here a nominal sentence, see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 280–281, par. 353. The missing ΠΕ is required by correct grammar. Lust in connection with adultery, briefly referred to here, is a central crime in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. See our commentary at 18, 1.

ΝΪΤ|ΚΑΡΠΙΟC ΕΦ|ΉΠΩΑ ΉΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΔ, “and bears fruit worthy of repentance”: The phrasing echoes the words of John the Baptist in Matt. 3:8 (Sahidic ΔΡΙΠΕ CΕ ΝΟΥΚΑΡΠΙΟC ΕΦΜΠΩΑ ΝΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ, Aranda Pérez; cf. Luke 3:8).

ΩΑΦΟΥΩΩΤ ΉΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΉΩΟΡΪ, ΉCΕΤΑΔ ΕΤΟΟΤΪ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΝΪΧΟΚΜΕΦ ΖΉ ΤΑΡΧΙΕ<ΡΟΥCΑ> ΛΥΜΝΗ, ΉCΕΧΙΓΪ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC, “he will first pay homage to God and then be handed over to Michael and he (sc. Michael) will wash him in the Acherusian Lake so that he will be admitted into the city”: For Michael “washing” (ΧΩΚΜ) the soul, see above. Here and already in 14, 8 (not extant in Coptic) and again in 25–27, Michael acts in his well-known role of psychopomp, for which see Michl, “Engel VII,” 249–250, cf. 245; cf. Innemée, “Michael.” In Egyptian sources, he is attested in this role from a quite early date. In addition to the *Testament of Abraham*, a famous epitaph from Alexandria, dated to 19 March 409, may be cited. Its prayer asks that the deceased may be “deigned worthy to dwell—through the intervention of your holy and light-spending Archangel Michael: διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου σου καὶ φωταγώγου ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ—in the bosom of the holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob” (Dresken-Weiland, “Ägypten,” 216–218).

ΤΑΡΧΙΕ<ΡΟΥΣΑ>ΛΥΜΝΗ, “the Acherusian Lake”: Here and twice more, in 23, 1 and 31, 1, the scribe writes ΤΑΡΧΙΕΛΥΜΝΗ (or ΤΑΡΧΙΕΛΗΜΝΗ, in 23, 1, and ΤΑΧΙΕΛΥΜΝΗ, in 31, 3), which we corrected in each case. Perhaps, the scribe or one of his predecessors reinterpreted the name as “Primeval lake” (for the spelling with ΑΡΧΙ-, see above).

23–30. These chapters are devoted to Paul’s visit of the City of Christ, identified explicitly as celestial Jerusalem only in 27 and 29, 3 (and again in 46, 2). First he has to cross the Acherusian Lake, before he can proceed to the city, which boasts twelve walls and is surrounded by four paradisiac rivers (23). At the entrance of the city, he finds a group of huge trees bowing down for haughty ascetics, who are denied access to the city (24). Then each of the four rivers and their patrons are described (25–28). Finally, in 29, Paul arrives at the centre of the city, a visit that culminates in the vision of David presiding over the celestial liturgy. Chapter 30 offers an excursus on the Alleluia.

23. The cluster of cosmographical descriptions included in this chapter (23, 1: golden ship and Acherusian Lake; 23, 2: City of Christ, outside; 23, 3: rivers of the City of Christ, inside) plays a pivotal role in the overall structure of the text. It places us at the easternmost part of the world and completes the description of this half of the cosmos. The author shows a particular interest in cosmography and articulates his text by means of numerous geographical references and cosmographical descriptions (see above, table 4 in chapter 2, section 4). The result is a cleverly constructed and well-balanced view of the cosmos. More importantly, cosmography appears to be closely intertwined with theodicy, since the structure of the cosmos reflects the functioning of God’s justice. See our chapter 2, section 3.

23, 1. ΑΦΤΑΛΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΥΧΟΙ ΝΝΟΥΒ, “he brought me on board of a golden ship”: The Coptic version is very elaborate in its description of the golden ship, which nicely prefigures Théophile Gautier’s famous *Barcarolle (L’île inconnue)*. The disparaging remarks by Peterson, “Taufe,” 318, are entirely out of place and the Coptic of this passage is quite likely original. It does not only present a full array of narrative elements, but also perfectly fits the overall context. After the gradual crescendo of chapter 22, which depicts the beauty of the Land of Inheritance, the description of the golden ship brings the narrative to its next peak before it reaches its climax in the City of Christ; see Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 191–192.

The Latin is very summarizing here. It mentions the golden ship, but omits any other descriptive element, except the “about three thousand angels,” who

are not steering the ship, though, but merely singing hymns: *et misit me in nauem auream. Et angeli quasi tria milia ymnium ante me dicentes erant donec perueniremus usque ad ciuitatem Christi* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 120, 1.3–6). The omission of the angels sailing the ship in the Latin may be explained as a result of homoeoteleuton: ὁμοιῶς ἡ ἁγία πλοῖον ἔσται. Τότε ἡ ἀγγελία ἀγγελλοῦσα ἐροῖ. Similarly, the Syriac mentions both the golden ship and the “multitude of angels,” yet not as sailors, but as singers: *adduxerunt ad me navem unam et statuerunt me intra eam: et erat similis auro purgato. Et vidi turmas angelorum, plures quam tria millia, laudantium et psallentium et halleluiantum ante me* (chapter 24, translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 125). The Slavonic also retained the ship and the singing angels, but is much abridged otherwise (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 291). The Greek, finally, lacks any reference to both ship and angels.

Rich in initiatory symbolism, boat trips are the necessary prelude to visits of imaginary and utopian islands, such as, for example, Atlantis (Plato, *Timaeus* 25 and *Critias* 113A–120D), Thule (Virgil, *Georgics* 1.30), the Isles of the Blessed (Plutarch, *Sertorius* 7.2–8.3), Panchaea (Virgil, *Georgics* 2.139; Tibullus 3.2.23; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.308) or Plutarch’s Ogygia (*De facie* 941); see Sulimani, “Imaginary Islands.” The Coptic *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* describes a similar journey in a ship (ⲭⲁⲓ), which brings the seer, who has been acquitted in the judgment, to the celestial world, accompanied by myriads of singing angels (Achmimic 13, 1–11; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 56, quoted in our chapter 3, section 1). Similarly, in Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On John the Baptist* (Sahidic, *CANT* 184), the Baptist receives a “golden boat” (ⲥⲕⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ) to ferry his deceased devotees unharmed over the river of fire (for which see below, chapter 31, 4), to the third heaven (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 140–141, 143; the passage is cited in our chapter 3, section 2). In these latter two cases, as in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the boat trip represents a privilege, not the default way of passing from this world to the next. Since the traditions about the Acherusian Lake have a background in ancient Greece (see above at 22, 5), the angels in our boat trip are perhaps best seen as the Christian sublimation of the ferryman Charon (rather than an Egyptian equivalent; *pace* Mihálykó, “Christ and Charon,” 191–192). Parallels from traditional Egyptian religion, where the gods and the deceased prototypically travel by boat, and Manicheism, where the ships of sun and moon ferry the soul, may nevertheless have resounded as well in the present representation.

ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲏ ⲛⲉⲁⲧ, “that had a silver mast”: For the rare word ⲥⲧⲏ, see our chapter 1, section 4.

ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲁⲱ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲧ ⲧⲉ, “its sail of silver”: The manuscript’s ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲁⲱ stands for ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲁⲱ or ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲁⲃⲱ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 147b–148a), with drop of the intervocalic glide.

ερε ζενῶνε ἡμε τοῦς ερος, “inlaid with precious stones”: For the verb τῶς, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 406b–407a, s.v. τῶς.

23, 2. ερε πσοβτ πσοβτ ὁ ἡρε ἡσταδιον εγκῶτε, “each wall measured hundred stadia in its circumference”: It is difficult to imagine twelve walls of equal circumference, as the Coptic seems to imply. The Paris manuscript of the Latin has a somewhat different phrase here, *singuli muri abebant inter se singula stadia in circuitu* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 120, 1.10–11), most likely meaning that each wall was separated from the other by a stadium all around, which makes better sense. This reading is possibly confirmed by the Urmia version of the Syriac: “and between them every one was a furlong” (translation Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 52), which could, however, refer to the gates (cf. the Armenian 1, chapter 14, Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 117). There is no really obvious way of emending the Coptic, however.

The walls, towers and gates of the city and their pseudo-mathematics are stock elements in similar apocalyptic descriptions, such as most notably Rev. 21:10–21. For the text’s description of the city, see Nicklas, “From Heavenly Jerusalem to the City of Christ.”

παχῶεις, οὕηρ πε πεσταδιον ἡπνοῦτε, “My Lord, how much is the stadium of God?”: Similarly in the Latin: *Domine, quanto es stadium hunum?* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 120, 1.12–13). The question is neither silly nor irrelevant, but an effective means of enlivening the presentation of the author’s dazzling mathematics.

ῥαρε πεσταδιον ῖ οὕμνη, “the stadium equals a day’s journey (μονή)”: Instead of this laconic and slightly disappointing answer, the Latin has a much nicer, though not unproblematic reply: “That is as much as there is (distance) between the Lord God and humanity upon earth, for the great City of Christ is unique / for the City of Christ alone is great.” The latter half of the angel’s answer (*quia sola est enim magna ciuitas Christi*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 120, 1.13–16) seems somewhat obscure and out of place. Perhaps the enigmatic *sola*, variously interpreted in the manuscripts, might be a false translation of the Greek word μονή, found in the Coptic. Yet the Coptic is not entirely satisfactory either. The Syriac offers a garbled text.

23, 3. ἡπρῶν δε ἡτπολις ερε ειεπα νη ἡτε πεικοςμος ἡρητς, “Inside the city, there were all kinds of decorative art of this world”: Here the Coptic seems in disorder. The syntax of the sentence is dubious (before ερε ειεπα νη, a main clause seems to lack) and the text is not yet concerned with the interior of the city, which is described only in chapter 29. The Latin reads: “There were twelve gates in the circuit of the city, of great beauty” (Paris; Sil-

verstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 120, 1.16–17), and the rather garbled Syriac is similarly concerned with the city gates and their decoration (chapter 24, Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 124–125). As it appears, the Coptic skipped a clause about the twelve gates. For the latter, see Ezek. 48:31–34; Rev. 21:12–13.

For $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$, “decorative art, embellishment,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 81, s.v. $\epsilon\iota\pi\tau\epsilon$, and 315, s.v. $\kappa\alpha$. Compare a vision of Pachomius, describing how he admired in Paradise “the cities of the holy, the buildings and the decoration ($\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$) of which defy description, just like their boons, which the Lord prepared for those who love him” (Sahidic *Life* S², Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 20a; cf. our chapter 3, section 2).

$\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\ \tau\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, “four rivers surrounded it”: This section introduces the four rivers that surround the City of Christ, the role of which is further elaborated in chapters 25–28, after the brief intermezzo of chapter 24. The present section seems to have posed serious difficulties to the copyists of all versions, since all of them present problems, omissions or inconsistencies. The Coptic offers the best account, both in the introductory enumeration and in the subsequent comparison with the earthly rivers, preserving their proper sequence, and correctly indicating both the cardinal points at which they are situated and the nature of the fluids they contain.

The long Latin version preserves the right sequence of the rivers in their preliminary enumeration, but omits their respective geographical positions. Furthermore, when comparing them with the earthly rivers, it alters the position and the equivalents of the last two: *Erat autem flumen mellis et [flu]men lactis et flumen uini [et] flumen olei. Et dixi angel[o]: Que sunt flumina haec ci[r]cuientia ciuitatem histam? Et ait mihi: Haec sunt iiii^{or} flumina que decurrunt sufficienter his qui sunt in ac terra reprom[is]sionis, quorum nomina sunt h[ec]: flumen mellis dicitur Fison et flumen lactis Eufrat[es] et flumen olei Gion et flumen uini Tigris* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 120, 1.18–26). The Slavonic first gives the same order as the Coptic with the same cardinal points, but then also gives the equivalents in a slightly different order, with the Euphrates as last, and exchanges the attributes of Gihon and Tigris (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 294–295). The Syriac, for its part, mentions the geographical position of the rivers in the preliminary summary, but omits any reference to the fluids; and if the continuation mentions their earthly equivalents, it confuses the position of both Euphrates and Tigris (Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 52; Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 124–125). As far as the Greek is concerned, its description only retains the fluids in a wrong order (the position of the last two is inverted), omitting both cardinal points and earthly equivalents (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 52).

That the Coptic preserves the correct sequence of the rivers is not only apparent in the preliminary enumeration in the Latin of 23, but also in the more detailed description of Paul's tour of the City of Christ in chapters 25–28. Despite a minor omission (the river of oil on the northern side of the city) in the beginning of chapter 28 (see the commentary below), the Coptic describes Paul's journey as beginning in the west (25) and then moving anti-clockwise, first to the south (26) and then eastwards in order to end on the northern side, in accordance with 23, 3. The parallel section in Latin chapters 24–28 (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 122–129), does enumerate the rivers according to the same sequence of fluids (honey, milk, wine and oil), even though it confuses the cardinal points.

Concerning the cardinal points, the position of the first river is omitted in all Latin testimonies of 25 (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126–127). With the second river (milk), in chapter 26, Paris omits the cardinal point, but St Gall and Arnheim (L³) clearly place it to the south of the city: *et duxit me de noto ciuitatis, ubi erat fluuius* (Arnheim *flumen*) *lactis* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126, 2.16–17, and 127, 2.16–17). Latin chapter 27 confuses the position of the third river (wine) and wrongly places it on the southern, instead of the eastern side of the city: *iterum adsumpsit me et tulit me ad aquilonem ciuitatis et duxit me ubi erat flumen uini* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 128, 1.1–3). Finally, in chapter 28, the Latin correctly situates the fourth river (of oil) at the north of the city. The Greek omits the position of the first and third rivers in chapters 25 and 27, but places the second and the fourth, respectively, to the south and north (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 53–54). The Slavonic versions omit the position of the first river and skip the entire chapter 26, about the river of milk; they then assign the river of wine to the north (27) and the one of oil to the west (28), which is clearly at variance with the information given earlier in 23, 3 (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 296–299). The Syriac likewise does not mention the position of the first, but locates the three remaining rivers to the south, east and north respectively (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 126–127).

ⲡⲓⲕⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉϥⲧⲏⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲕⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲧⲫⲓⲕⲁⲗ, “those four rivers that surround this city correspond to the four rivers that are upon the earth”: The Latin here presents a strangely convoluted sentence that clearly reproduces a mistranslation and lacks in the other versions: *haec sunt iiii^{or} flumina que decurrunt sufficienter his qui sunt in ac terra repromissionis*, “these are the four rivers that flow sufficiently for those living in this Land of Promise” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 120, 1.22–24; the other manuscripts modify this variously).

The names of the “four rivers that are upon the earth” are not presented here in their canonical order, as given in Gen. 2:10–14 and later in chapter 45,

2, on terrestrial Paradise (cf. Van Ruiten, “Four Rivers”). The rivers of Paradise are introduced here by virtue of the general principle of the correspondence between celestial and terrestrial realities that shaped much of early-Christian thinking about the constitution of the heavenly world (Sagnard’s “exemplarisme inversé,” see *Gnose valentinienne*, 244–249). Their association with the elements of honey, milk, oil and wine most likely derives from the description of Paradise in the third heaven in 2 Enoch 5 (long recension, Vaillant, *Livre des secrets*, 88–89; cf. Van Ruiten, “Four Rivers,” 72–73; Bremmer, “Birth of Paradise,” 28–29), another text known and probably composed in late-antique Egypt (cf. Hagen, “No Longer ‘Slavonic’ Only”). Their present location, surrounding the City of Christ, is found also in a fragmentary Sahidic text on the Nativity, where the Virgin Mary is greeted as “heavenly Jerusalem, in the middle of which is the throne of God and which is surrounded by the four rivers, one of honey, one of [milk ...],” Coquin, “Fragments,” 257, where read: ερε περτοου νερο κωτε ερος· ογα νεβ[ιω,] ογα ν[ερωτε ---] (here the text breaks off).

The function of the four rivers surrounding the City of Christ is explained only after the intervening chapter on the haughty ascetics that are locked out (24); see below on chapters 25–28.

επειδην ἡδικα<1>ος ἡπογεω ῥ τεγπαρρησια, “because the righteous have not been able to enjoy their freedom”: In the manuscript’s ΔΙΚΑΟΣ (for ΔΙΚΑ-ΙΟΣ), the intervocalic glide dropped out, as more often. Copeland emends ἡπογεω, “have not been able to,” to ἡπογ<ογ>εω, “were not willing to” (*Mapping*, 263), which is both incorrect and unnecessary.

ἡογτβα ἡδωβ ἡσοπ, “ten thousand fold”: This agrees with the Greek μυριο-πλάσιον (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 52); the Latin phrases differently.

24. This chapter, about the trees that bow down for the haughty ascetics, is one of the most intriguing passages of the entire *Apocalypse of Paul*. It occupies a crucial position in the text, before Paul enters the City of Christ, interrupting the description of the four rivers that began in chapter 23, 3, and contrasts the exclusion of the ascetics with the warm welcome extended to the various classes of people received at each of the four rivers (chapters 25–28).

Even though the chapter interrupts the description of the four rivers, there is no reason to consider it an interpolation, as it occurs in all major versions of the text (though not in the Slavonic). Rather, its insertion at this point betrays a deeply felt monastic concern, highlighting the monostich “pride is the root of all evil” (24, 3, see below). According to a commonly accepted belief, the fall of the devil was precisely caused by pride; see Rosenstiehl, “Chute de l’Ange,” in particular 37–44; Adkin, “Pride or envy?”; cf. *Apophthegmata Patrum*, syst. coll. xv, 40 (Greek, Guy, *Apophthegmes* II, 314), about Macarius the Egyptian. Signifi-

cantly, pride is the second most mentioned sin in the *Apocalypse* after *luxuria* and gets an important place among the sins punished in hell. It appears all together eight times (or nine if one includes the arrogant rich usurers in 37, 1), of which four times in the current section (24, 2–3). Pride is also mentioned in 29, 1; 30, 2; 31, 4; 36, 1. The present context is in particular reminiscent of a saying attributed to John Colobos, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, syst. coll. xv, 34: “The gate of God is humility and through many insults our fathers joyfully entered the City of God” (Greek, Guy, *Apophthegmes* II, 308).

The motif of the bowing trees remains singular; the erudite parallels quoted by Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 104–105, are hardly illuminating. In a story from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, cited by Carozzi, a tree bows for a father as a sign of approval (syst. coll. XIII, 10; Greek, Guy, *Apophthegmes* II, 236). Here, however, the trees seem to parody the behavior of the ascetics, even though this is nowhere stated clearly, neither in the Coptic nor in any of the other versions. The Sahidic homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, attributed to Athanasius, chapter 36, relates a vision of Pachomius that might refer to a similar episode. It describes a beautiful tree in the middle of heaven, surrounded by angels, but not bearing fruit. Regrettably, the manuscript breaks off before the vision is explained (Saweros, *Another Athanasius*, textus, 33). Another vision of Pachomius, preserved in Sahidic *Life* S⁷ (quoted in our chapter 3, section 2), has a clearer kinship with the present passage. It tells about a monk whose way of life was very ascetic, but who persisted in resentful feelings against his fellow brethren. After the monk’s death, Pachomius sees how he is condemned to dwell just outside of Paradise, bound like a dog to a tree laden with fruit. He lives on the fruits of the tree, but is unable to get away from it (Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 86–87). As in the present passage, the tree appears to symbolize a single persistent sin, from which the monk in question was unable to detach himself. In either case, the men are punished *in spite of* their ascetic qualities.

24, 1. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ {ⲉⲁ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ} ⲉⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲱⲙⲛ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲕ ⲁⲩⲏⲩ, “and under the trees there were some men, who were naked”: The faulty ⲉⲁ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ is a mere copyist’s error by inadvertence. Copeland reports the nakedness of the men to the trees (*Mapping*, 202: “the barren trees”), which is grammatically and semantically less likely. The trees do have leaves, but bear no fruit. The Latin has here *paucos viros dispersos*, “a few men scattered around” (Paris and St Gall; Sil-verstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 122, 4; the clause lacks in the Greek), which is confirmed by the Syriac (chapter 25, Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 124–125) and the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* (Chaine, *Apocrypha*, textus 65–66; versio 55–56). Although the nakedness of the men in the Coptic text might be taken

to refer to their spiritual barrenness (this is how the Greek version seems to explain the lack of fruit on the trees; see below on 24, 3), this is nowhere made explicit and the Coptic may be corrupt here.

The Coptic, moreover, lacks an equivalent of the phrase *qui plorabant ualde cum uiderent ingredi aliquem in ciuitatem* (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 122, 2.5–6), “who wept bitterly when they saw someone entering the city,” which is indispensable to understand the situation of the men and Paul’s saddened reaction in 24, 2. Such a sentence in Coptic might have run: *εγωδανναγ εγρωμε εφει εζουν ετπολις, αγριμε εματε*, “whenever they saw a man entering the city, they wept bitterly.” If this reconstruction would be acceptable, it may be assumed by way of hypothesis that at one stage of the text’s transmission, a copyist inadvertently jumped from the first group with the verb *ναγ*, to wit *εγωδανναγ εγρωμε εφει*, to the next, to wit *εγωδανναγ εγρωμε ν̄σι ν̄ωην*, “whenever the trees saw a man (etc.).”

24, 2. *αγω ν̄τερειναγ εροογ αιριμε. πεχαι ν̄παγγελος κε ...*, “now when I saw them, I wept and said to the angel: ...”: This is the first of a long series of passages in which Paul expresses his compassion. Despite the various statements in the *Apocalypse of Paul* regarding God’s inflexible justice and the need for everlasting punishment for the sinners (see our commentary at 32–44), weeping is the most frequent emotional response to the suffering of the sinners. Paul’s weeping is mentioned on eleven occasions (24, 2; 33, 1; 36, 2; 37, 1; 38, 3; 39, 2; 40, 3; 40, 6 [twice]; 42, 2; 43, 1), but also other persons weep: besides the sinners themselves, crying for mercy (17, 1; 32, 1; 36, 1; 37, 1; 39, 1; 43, 1; 43, 3; 43, 4), the angels cry for the souls of the sinners (16, 4; 43, 1); Enoch (20, 1) and Elijah (20, 2) cry for the destiny of man, and Michael, Gabriel and the angels, together with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, are said to have wept at the time of Jesus’ crucifixion (48, 3).

ζε<N>ογ νε ναι, “what kind of people are these?”: In *ζε<N>ογ*, the weak intervocalic *ny* dropped out.

πεχε παγγελος ναι κε ν̄ωωε αν εριμε ε̄ναι παρα πκοσμος τηρ̄ι. πεχαι ναγ κε ογ ν̄τογ νε ναι, “the angel told me: ‘For nobody in the whole world it is less appropriate to weep than for them!’ I said: ‘But what kind of people are they?’”: This reply of the angel and Paul’s ensuing second question are missing in the Latin, whereas the Syriac supports the Coptic (chapter 25, Ricciotti, “*Apocalypsis Pauli*,” 124–125). As more often, the Latin collapses the dialogues, robbing the text of some of its liveliness.

This is the first of several occasions (including 33 and 40, 6) at which the angel corrects Paul’s compassion (see below, our commentary at 33). In so doing, the angel justifies the necessity of punishment using different argu-

ments, such as the human freedom to act, the possibility of repentance for one's sins before death, or the ineluctability of punishment as part of God's judiciary system. On other occasions, the angel does not check the apostle, but his emphatic sentence at the end of each section, "and they will be exposed to everlasting punishment," confirms both the guilt of the sinners and the justice of the punishment they receive (see 37, 2; 38, 3; 39, 2; 40, 3). In the present case, the angel refers to the nature of the sins committed by these sinners, who in his opinion do not deserve Paul's compassion. In the wake of the *Apocalypse of Peter's* treatment of ἔλεος or "compassion," the *Apocalypse of Paul* here problematizes the excessive type of compassion that Paul is experiencing. (On the *Apocalypse of Peter* and its treatment of ἔλεος, see our commentary to chapter 33.) The angel's reprimand seems to be based on a view of compassion that is very close to Aristotle's definition of *eleos* in the *Rhetoric* as "a kind of pain excited by the sight of the evil, deadly or painful, which befalls one who does not deserve it" (*Rh.* 1385B13–14). If he is checking Paul's compassion, this is because the apostle seems to be contesting the principle of merit or normative value that allows the distinction between justice and injustice.

ΝΑΙ ΞΕΝΑΠΟΤΑΚΤΚΟΣ ΝΕ ΕΥΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΓΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ, "they are persons who renounced the world and who kept an ascetic regime and fasted": The technical terminology, duly rendered in the Latin (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 122, 11–12, Paris) and Syriac versions (Ricciotti, "Apocalypsis Pauli," 124–125), but absent from the Greek, clearly shows that they are monks. For the term ἀποτακτικός, see the expert discussion in Wipszycka, *Moines*, 308–316, who underlines its currency in Pachomian sources; for πολιτεύω as "to lead a monastic life," hence "to perform ascetic exercises," see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 1114, s.v. under D.3, and s.v. πολιτεία, G: "ascetic practice"; cf. for this terminology in Coptic, Funk, "Πόλις," in particular 304–309.

ΕΥΤΜΑΕΙΟ ἩΜΟΥ ΜΑΓΑΔΥ, "praising only themselves": The manuscript reads ΕΥΤΜΑΙΕΙΟ, for either ΕΥΤΜΑΙΟ or ΕΥΤΜΑΕΙΟ; the copyist doubled the intervocalic glide, perhaps by hypercorrection.

ΟΥΑΥΤ ΧΑΙΡΕ ἩΝΡΩΜΕ, "they said hello to people": The light verb construction Τ ΧΑΙΡΕ, "to say χαίρε," seems absent from the current dictionaries; the next clause uses the verb χαιρε, that is χαίρω.

ΔΝ[ΟΚ] ΠΕΝΤΑΙCΑΝΟΥΩ[Υ], "it is I who nourished him": Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 565) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 264) restored ΠΕΝΤΑΙCΑΝΟΥΩ[Κ], "who nourished you." This is theoretically possible, but one expects a pronoun referring back to ΟΥΡΩΜΕ, earlier in the sentence, rather than a "you" introduced out of the blue. The phrase lacks in the Greek, Latin or Syriac.

24, 3. ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ἡΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΗΜ ΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΧΑΙΖΗΤ, “pride is the root of all evil”: A playful variant of the famous dictum from 1 Tim. 6:10: ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ἡΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΗΜ ΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΜΑΙΖΟΜΗΤ, “the love of money is the root of all evil” (Sahidic, Thompson), undoubtedly of monastic inspiration; see Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 104, who, in addition to monastic authors Evagrius and Cassian, cites John Chrysostom and Augustine.

ΜΗ ΝΑΙΑΔΥ ἡΤΟΥ ἔΠΩΗΡΕ ἡΠΝΟΥΤΕ ἡΤΑΦΕΙ Ζἡ ΟΥΘῸΒΒΙΟ, “are they perhaps greater than the Son of God who came in humility?”: In ΝΑΙΑΔΥ (for ΝΑΑΔΥ or ΝΑΔΥ), the scribe or his *Vorlage* introduced a junctural glide. The Latin of the Paris manuscript adds a nonsensical *ad Iudeos*, “who came to the Jews” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 124, 1.3); its absence in the Coptic is supported by the St Gall and Arnhem manuscripts.

ἡΠΕΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΕΥΖΙΧῃ <ΠΚΑΞ> ΕΥΩΜΩΕ ἡΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΩΔΥΘΒΒΙΟΥ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΠΕ ἡΝΡΩΜΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ἡΠΟΥΕΩΦΙ ΜΜΑΥ ἡΤΗΝΤΧΑΙΖΗΤ ΕΤΡΙΖΟΥΝ ΜΜΟΥ, “in the period they spent on earth, serving God, they bowed down once in a time, out of shame for men, but they were unable to dispel the pride that dwelt within them”: The angel’s reply, which is supposed to answer Paul’s question about why the trees bowed down, is not very satisfactory, neither here nor in the more verbose Latin (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 124, 1.4–13, Paris). In Tischendorf’s Greek text, the angel’s reply bears on the barrenness of the trees (*Apocalypses*, 53). It would reflect the inability of the men to throw off their arrogance, which makes sense, but does not exactly answer Paul’s question either.

24, 4. ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ, “Christ, the king of the ages”: After 1 Tim. 1:17, where the Sahidic, however, reads ΠΡΡΟ ἡἡΩΔΑΕΝΕΞ (Thompson).

ἡΞΕΧΙΤΟΥ ἔΖΟΥΝ ΩΔ ΟΥΘΕΙΩ, “and they will be received inside for a while”: The phrase “for a while,” ΩΔ ΟΥΘΕΙΩ, lacks in the Latin.

ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΝΑΩΠΑΡΞΗΝΙΑΖΕ ἡΜΟΥ ΔΝ, “but they will not be able to enjoy full freedom”: Erroneously translated by Copeland as “they will not be able to enjoy full intimacy with them” (*Mapping*, 204, whereas Budge translated correctly); the middle voice of Greek παρρησιάζομαι is rendered by a reflexive pronominal object in Coptic; cf. Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 627; the Latin translates *habere fiduciam* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 124, 1.23, Paris).

25–28. These four chapters each deal with one of the four rivers. They are each laid out in a largely identical manner, which clearly betrays the hand of the author and his love for parallelism, inner-textual echoes and refrain-like repetitions. In addition to boundary markers, the rivers are roads that give access to the city, each for a different class of people, the martyrs, the innocent, the hos-

TABLE 9 The rivers surrounding the City of Christ

Chapter	Cardinal point	Substance	Saints	People	Equivalent (23)
25	West	honey	prophets	martyrs	Phison
26	South	milk	infants	innocent	Euphrates
27	East	wine	patriarchs	hospitable	Gihon
28	North	oil	singers	joyful	Tigris

pitabile and the joyful singers of God's praise, who are each welcomed at the city gates by appropriate groups of saints. The classes of people and the saints who receive them have been artfully chosen in accordance with the nature of the rivers, as Table 9 shows.

For the evident superiority of the Coptic version of these chapters, see Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*," 183–185, and the discussion above.

25. α παγγελος σωκ ρητ εχμ̄ πειερω̄ νεβιω̄ ετ̄μ̄πεμ̄ντ̄ ν̄τπολις, "the angel preceded me to the river of honey to the west of the city": In the preliminary enumeration of the rivers surrounding the City of Christ, in chapter 23, 3, the river of honey is the first, found to the west of the city. In the present chapter, the Latin does not refer to the points of the compass, yet it does in the next chapters (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126–129), which shows that the topography as preserved in the Coptic must have been part of the original text.

αισινη̄ ν̄ησαιας̄ ν̄ρουν̄ ν̄ττγλη̄ μ̄ν̄ ιερεμιας̄ μ̄ν̄ ιεζεκιηλ̄ μ̄ν̄ ραμω̄ς μ̄ν̄ μιχαϊας̄ μ̄ν̄ <ζαχαριας>, ν̄κογῑ μ̄προφητης̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄νοϑ̄, "inside the gate I found Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezekiel and Amos and Micah and Zechariah, the minor prophets as well as the major ones": The manuscript's nonsensical μ̄ν̄, "and," after the name of Micah shows that the Coptic originally had the name of Zechariah here, just like the Latin. Since this is clearly an accidental omission, perhaps caused by the succession of two names ending in -ιας, his name is restored here. The phrase ν̄κογῑ μ̄προφητης̄ μ̄ν̄ ν̄νοϑ̄, "the minor prophets as well as the major ones," now logically follows their names as an apposition, as in the Latin of Paris and St Gall (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126, 2–5). As was aptly observed by Copeland, *Mapping*, 204, n. 67, these six, including Zechariah, are precisely the prophets that were martyred according to the *Lives of the Prophets* (cf. Satran, *Biblical Prophets*, 55–56; Schwemer, *Studien* 1, 81–82, n. 355). Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel reappear in chapter 49, 1, again in a context of martyrdom; the Zechariah in 53 is the father of John the Baptist.

ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ, ⲡⲁϭⲟⲓϥ, “Who are these, my Lord?": The Latin asks *que est uia haec?*, “what is this way?” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126, 6, Paris). This might seem to fit the answer better (“This is the way of the prophets”), but introduces a “way, road” out of the blue. The reading of the Coptic is confirmed by the Greek: *τινες εἰσιν οὗτοι*; (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 53).

ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϥⲛⲁϭⲱⲣⲏ ⲛⲧⲉϥϣϭⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, “every person who will lose his life for the sake of God”: The Coptic closely follows the wording of Matt. 16:25b (and parallels): ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϭⲱⲣⲏ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲧⲉϥϣϭⲭⲏ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ, ⲣⲛⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϭ (Sahidic, Aranda Pérez). The Coptic text’s explicit mention of martyrdom fits the present context, whereas the Latin, *omnes qui contristauerit animam suam*, “everyone who gave grief to his soul” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126, 7–8), is unconvincing.

ⲡⲉⲛⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ, “this is our child”: The Latin (Paris) reads: *et salutant eum sicut amicum et proximum suum*, “and they greet him as their friend and fellow” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126, 13–14).

ⲁϥⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲗⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲛⲡⲁϭⲟⲓϥ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, “and inherited the favors of the Lord God”: This sentence lacks in the Paris manuscript of the Latin, but St Gall has a similar phrase, which confirms the reading of the Coptic: *propterea ipsius ciuitatem hereditabit*, “therefore he will inherit his (sc. God’s) city” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126, 2.14). For the spelling ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉ, for normal ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ (from ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉⲱ), see Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 418.

26. ⲁϥϭⲓⲧ ⲟⲛ ⲉϭⲏ ⲡⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧϭⲁ ⲣⲏϭ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲓϭ, “he took me also to the river of milk to the south of the city”: Paul accomplishes his round of the City of Christ proceeding anticlockwise, from north to west and then to the south and east.

ⲡⲉϭⲁⲓ ⲛⲡⲁⲗⲧⲉⲗⲟϭ ϭⲉ ⲡⲁϭⲟⲓϥ, ⲙⲉϥⲕⲁ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉϭⲱ ϭⲁⲗⲧⲏ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ, “I said to the angel: ‘My Lord, not everyone is permitted to stay with these holy children?’”: Only the Latin of the Escorial manuscript preserved Paul’s question correctly: *Domine, qui sunt ysti?* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 127, 1.21). The Coptic skipped a full sentence. As the largely identical structure of chapters 25–28 dictates, Paul’s question should have been phrased ⲡⲁϭⲟⲓϥ, ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ, “my Lord, who are these?” (as in the Latin). Actually, however, it looks like the expected answer of the angel (cf. his similarly phrased explanations in 19, 1, and 22, 5). Presumably, a copyist jumped from ⲛⲓⲙ, “who?” (in Paul’s question) to ⲛⲓⲙ, “every” (in the angel’s answer: ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ, “everyone”). As the text remains correct and understandable, however, we did not correct it.

ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲗⲁⲣⲉⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲃⲱ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲉϥⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲗⲁⲁϥ ⲛϭⲱⲗⲉⲓ, ⲉϥⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϭⲏ ⲭⲱⲛⲁ, ⲱⲁϥϭⲓⲧⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲟϥⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, “all who will pre-

serve the purity of their virginity and are pure from any stain, when they come forth from the body, will be received in order to pay homage to God”: Children as representatives of pre-sexual humanity are traditionally a symbol of prelapsarian purity. Hence they are allotted a special place in the City of Christ together with those who did not stain their virginity and purity. Due to their purity, children have direct access to God’s kingdom (Matt. 18:1–4) and everyone should become a little child to enter it (Mark 10:13–16; *Gospel of Thomas* 46). Their connection with the river of milk seems natural, since milk is their nourishment; cf. *Gospel of Thomas* 22: “These infants being suckled resemble those who enter the kingdom.” The line between literal and symbolic meaning is thin, see 1 Cor. 3:1–2.

ⲛⲉϥⲱⲃⲏⲣⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲁϥⲱ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲛⲏⲩϥ ⲛⲉ, “they are their fellow members and their brothers”: For the Coptic ⲛⲉϥⲱⲃⲏⲣⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ, the Latin has *amici et membra* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 126, 25, Paris and St Gall); cf. our commentary at 64, 2.

The Holy Innocents at the river of milk occur also in the Coptic *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 20 (Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 60, 23–27), quoted in our chapter 3, section 2. The link between the saints (infants, innocent) and the nature of the river (milk) is here more obvious than with the other three rivers, except for the river of oil (see below).

27. ⲁⲓⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲗⲁⲙ ⲙⲏ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲙⲏ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ, “I found Abraham and Isaac and Jacob”: The Latin adds “and Lot and Job and other saints” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 128, 1.3–4, Paris), which is confirmed by none of the other versions, but fits the focus on hospitality (for Lot, see 49, 2) and may be supported by the angel’s answer that refers in a general sense to “all the righteous” (ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ).

ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲟϥ, “greet them”: the manuscript has ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲗⲉ ⲛⲙⲟϥ, slipping back for once into the singular, which we have not retained in our text and translation.

ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲗⲱⲃ ⲛⲡⲟϥⲁ ⲡⲟϥⲁ ⲱⲁϥⲟⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲏⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲓⲕ ⲛⲡⲉϥⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ, “in accordance with his deeds, each person will encounter the people whom he resembles in the City of Christ”: In this sentence, Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1055) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 206) mistook ⲉⲓⲛⲉ, “to resemble,” for ⲉⲓⲛⲉ, “to bring,” which not only produces a false translation, but misses the point of the entire chapters 25–28, that like is welcomed by like in the City of Christ. The principle of “like knows like” is well attested ever since the Pre-Socratics; see Müller, *Gleiches zu Gleichem*. The notion is very productive in Christian contexts; see Roig Lanzillotta, *Acta Andreae apocrypha*, 160–162. The same idea is expressed in the previous sentence, where the Cop-

tic has ⲁⲧⲉⲧⲏⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲏⲛⲏⲧⲙⲁⲓⲱⲛⲙⲟ, “you have imitated our hospitality,” rendered much less explicitly by the Latin as *seruasti humanitatem et susceptionem peregrinorum*, “you have observed kindness and hospitality towards strangers” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 128, 1.11–13).

The hospitality of Abraham is a major theme in one of the sources of inspiration for the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Testament of Abraham*; see in particular chapter 1 of the long recension and *passim* in the short (for instance, chapter 13) and the Bohairic version (for instance, Guidi, “Testo copto,” 162). In our text, it reappears in 47, 2 (the three patriarchs taking care of the deceased; see our commentary there).

28. <ⲁⲓⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲭⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲗ, ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲉⲛⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ>, “He took me along to the river of oil to the north of the city”: This or a much similar sentence must have dropped out at some stage of the text’s transmission; cf. Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 177. The passage is restored here *exempli gratia*, to preserve the cohesion of the text. In the following sentence, the Coptic adds ⲛⲡⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲡⲓⲗⲛ, “inside the gate,” which lacks in all other versions, but is found as well in chapter 25. The four groups of saints that welcome the souls and the corresponding rivers nevertheless occupy a clearly liminal position. Only in the next chapter, Paul is taken into the centre of the city.

The relationship between oil and joy is assured by the famous ἔλαιον ἀγάλλιάσεως, “oil of exultation” of Ps. 44:8 (Sahidic: ⲟⲩⲛⲉⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲛⲗ, Budge), cited in Hebr. 1:9. The somewhat forced link with singing people shows that the association of the rivers with the four substances, which is found also in 2 Enoch 5, must be older than their association with various classes of people, which may be an innovation of the present text.

ⲡⲱⲙⲉ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲙ ⲉⲩⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲗⲱ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ, ⲉⲩⲗⲩⲙⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲗⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲗⲛⲧⲧⲡⲓ, ⲱⲁⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲓⲗⲛ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲗⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ, ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲗⲁⲗⲧⲏ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ <ⲛⲙ>, “for all people who jubilate and sing, chanting for God with the whole of their heart, will be brought inside that gate and admitted into his city and admitted among the saints who at all times sing for Christ”: Singing (ⲧⲁⲗⲗⲉⲓ, ⲗⲩⲙⲛⲉⲩⲉ) is an important characteristic of the denizens of heaven throughout the text (for instance in the description of the celestial landscapes of chapters 55–62). Here and in the following two chapters, about David as the celestial cantor (29, 3–4) and the Alleluia (30), it is raised to an important theme, closely connected with the central place of the liturgy in the City of Christ. See below on chapters 29 and 30.

ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ <ⲛⲙ>, “at all times”: The word ⲛⲙ dropped out for an unknown reason, but is required by the context, as Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 535) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 267), recognized previously.

29. This chapter marks the culmination of Paul's vision of the City of Christ, both morally and physically. Morally, it shows the surpassing honor granted to the "fools for the sake of God," in a total reversal of human standards (29, 2). Moral superiority is reflected in the layout of the city itself with its twelve ascending levels (29, 1). In the middle of the city and at its summit, a huge altar where David is singing underscores the central importance of the liturgy, both on earth and in heaven (29, 3–4, with a sequel in 30). Thematically this chapter is echoed in the last chapters of the *Apocalypse* (56–62), where Paul's entire journey culminates in a vision of the thrones, gowns and crowns that await him and the other apostles and where again David and all the denizens of Paradise are singing.

29, 1. αἰὼν τῷ εὐφροῦ τῷ ἐροοῦ τηροῦ, εὐγὴ οὐνοῦ νῆροοῦ γῆ πσοβτ̄ ἐτῆμαγ, παῖ ἐμὴ ὅμ ἡλααγ νῆρῆνσαρξ̄ εἰω ἡπεροοῦ μν πταῖο ἡπσοβτ̄ ἐτῆμαγ, "I discovered that it surpassed all of them, for such a great glory was apparent in that wall that no carnal being would be able to describe the glory and the splendor of that wall": The Latin and the other major versions lack most of Paul's description, which makes his following astonished question somewhat difficult to understand. The Coptic undoubtedly preserves the original text. For similar phrasing, see 29, 2: ἀναγ ἐξενωοειμ νῆρονος ἡτ̄ναωαχε ἀν ἐπεγ-ταῖο, "I saw rows of thrones whose splendor I would not be able to describe"; 59: ἀκναγ ἐππαρὰδεῖκος ἡτῆε ἡν περεοοῦ, παῖ ἡπε λααγ ἡρωμε ἐνεξ ὅμ πλωκ ἡπῆταῖο, "have you seen the Paradise of heaven and its glory, the full splendor of which no human being has ever fathomed?" and 60, 1: ἀναγ ἐγῆρονος ἐγορῶ γῶ οὐστολη ἡπετῆε ἡπερονος ἐςῖ ραωε ἐβολ ἐμὴ ὅε ἡωαχε ἐτεσ̄τη, "I saw a throne standing prepared and, on top of the throne, a robe beaming with bliss, of unutterable worth."

οὐκοῦν οὐγὴ μα γῆ πειμα εὐφροῦ τῷ παρὰ οὐον, "so here one place surpasses the other?": The correction observed by Copeland (*Mapping*, 267) in the ο of οὐγὴ is most probably not there. Copeland translates "surpassing this one" (*Mapping*, 206), which seems based upon the Latin: *precedens in honore huic loco* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 130, 1.4), but renders the Coptic incorrectly. The same expression occurs in chapter 56: ἐρε οὐμνηωε νῆρονος γῆ πμα ἐτῆμαγ ἐγῆα εοοῦ, εὐγετ πεοοῦ ἡπογα πογα, ἐρε οὐον οὐοτῆ εὐογον γῆ πεοοῦ, "A great number of splendid thrones stood in that place, each of them different in splendor, one surpassing the other in glory" (both passages were already compared by Crum, *Dictionary*, 482a).

ἀνοκ δε πεχαῖ μπαγγελοσ δε παχοεις, ματοῦνο ειατ ἐβολ δε ἡτ̄σοοῦν μμοοῦ ἀν, "I said to the angel: 'My Lord, enlighten me, for I am ignorant of them'": The Latin more straightforwardly asks for the reason of the distinc-

tion between the walls: *ob quare, domine, unus alium precedit in gloriam significā mihi*, “explain to me, Lord, why does one surpass the other in glory?” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 130, 8–9). Possibly a Coptic scribe assumed that this question was redundant in light of the preceding one (“so here one place surpasses the other?”). He retained the equivalent of *significā mihi*, ματοϥνο ειατ εβολ, “enlighten me,” and replaced the remainder with a standard formula that mainly serves to enliven and explicitate the interlocutive situation; cf. the Bohairic *Testament of Abraham*: πεχνη μπαρχηαγγε-λος μιχαηλ ξε ματσαβοι ξε ογνη τρωογν αν, “and I (sc. Abraham) said to the Archangel Michael: ‘Inform me, for indeed I do not know’” (Guidi, “Testo copto,” 171, in a dialogue about the number of people that daily die). As a result the transition to the next sentence (see below) is even less clear than in the Latin.

εωωπε ογν ογα ερε ογκογι νκαταλαλια νζητq η ογκωξ η ογμντχασι-ζητ, ωαγβοσq μπεφταιο νζογν ντπολις ηπεχριστος, “When someone has a bit of slander within him or jealousy or pride, it will be deducted from his honor within the City of Christ”: Both here and in the Latin (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 130–131), the reply of the angel seems to abandon the theme of the walls abruptly, apparently skipping an amount of text. Only the Syriac more or less clearly explains that the twelve ascending walls correspond to ascending degrees of moral worth. The more one has sinned, the sooner one is barred by one of the walls (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 128–129). This interpretation is confirmed by the Coptic *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 16, where Andrew asks Jesus what will happen to the souls of the sinners who have fully done penance for their sins. Jesus replies: “Whoever is worthy to stay in this great field, will stay there to be requited in accordance with his worth, unless—when he did a little good in the world—he will be allowed into the first eon of light; <then he will be taken to the second> and the third and, in brief, up to the seventh eon of light <and he will be left there>. Similarly, whoever is worthy to be taken up to the first wall of <celestial> Jerusalem will be taken there and whoever is worthy to be taken up to the second and the third, in brief, up to the twelfth (ωαεζραϊ επμεζμνητcnooyc), will be taken <there>. Yet to each will be given in accordance with his acts and his behavior” (Sahidic; Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 46, 14–22, with additions from the Fayoumic version, at 47, 13–22, given within pointed brackets; for this text, see our chapter 3, section 2). Originally, the *Apocalypse of Paul* must have provided a similar explanation, which—so it seems—was drastically cut short already in the common model of the Coptic and the Latin.

Slander (here καταλαλια) can be associated both with jealousy and pride (see 31, 4: people “sneering at each other”). For pride as the “root of all evil,”

see above, our comments at 24. Envy or jealousy was a socially very important phenomenon in the ancient Mediterranean world and probably also in monastic contexts. The enormous amount of ancient testimonies and the vocabulary tend to conceive and describe envy in two ways: on the one hand, paying attention to the internal dimension of the affection (φθόνος, κότος, ζήλος, μεγαίρω, ἄγαμαι); on the other, by focusing on its external expression, namely the destructive action of the envied good that the affection triggered. Ancient thought conceived of this destructive action as taking place either through the eyes (*baskanos*, evil eye, etc.) or the voice (πάρφασις, διαβολή, μῶμος, ψόγος). In this sense, slander is one of its most characteristic manifestations. See Roig Lanzillotta, *Envidia*, 27–30; in particular for late antique Egypt, Van der Vliet, “Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” 255–259.

ϣΔΥΒΟϚ ἡΠΕΡΤΑΙΘ, “it will be deducted from his honor”: For the construction, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 627a, s.v. ϣΩϚ B.

29, 2. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΙΝΔΥ ἘΞΕΝΘΡΟΝΟϚ ἨΝΟΥΒ ΕΥΧΗΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ ΗἨ ΖΕΝΘΡΗΠΕ ἨΕΘΟΥ ΕΥΚΗ ΖΙΧἨ ΤΑΠΕ ἨΝΕΘΡΟΝΟϚ, “I also saw golden thrones prepared everywhere, with glorious diadems posed on top of the thrones”: The Latin and the Syriac of this passage have a more complete description, adding respectively girdles (*zonas*, Latin, St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 130, 2.15) and robes (Syriac, chapter 29: *stolas*, in the translation of Ricciotti, “Apocalypse Pauli,” 129) to the thrones and diadems. There can be little doubt that these girdles or robes are an original feature that somehow fell out from the Coptic. The Greek and the Slavonic lack the present description.

Similar visions of thrones occur in 56, 1 and 3, 60 and 62, 1, where Paul is allowed to see his own future throne as well as the thrones of the prophets, the other apostles and the martyrs in Paradise. In all of these episodes, vestments play an important role. Thrones, crowns and robes combined are significant attributes of celestial citizenship; compare, for instance, Rev. 4:4, about the Twenty-Four Elders in the vision of the throne hall. For further discussion, see below at 60, 1.

ΕΥΧΗΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ, “prepared everywhere”: Copeland (*Mapping*, 207) translates “distributed in separate places” (Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1055: “which were set about in divers places”), which is incorrect; cf. the Latin *positos per singulas portas*, “placed at each gate” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 130, 1.14–15), where the “gates” may be a translation error, however. Cf. 60, 1: ΔΙΝΔΥ ΕΥΘΡΟΝΟϚ ΕΡΠΟΥ, “I saw a throne standing prepared,” where ΠΟΥ is the rough equivalent of ΕΥΘΡΟΝΟϚ here. The Syriac does not situate the thrones and somewhat abridges the description.

ΖΕΝΘΡΗΠΕ ἨΕΘΟΥ, “glorious diadems”: For ΘΡΗΠΕ, the Latin has *diadema*, διάδημα; cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 829a. It is worn by Christ himself in 44, 2 (there

perhaps echoing Rev. 19:12); for the crowns of the apostles and the martyrs in chapter 58–60 and 62, 1, a different term, κλον, is used.

ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΞΕΝΩΘΕΙΜ ΝΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΑΩΩΑΧΕ ΔΝ ΕΠΕΥΓΤΑΙΩ, “I saw rows of thrones whose splendor I would not be able to describe”: For the phrasing, see above at 29, 1.

ΖΕ(Ν)ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΖΑΠΛΟΥΣ, “guileless persons and simple ones”: In ΖΕ(Ν)ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ, the weak intervocalic ny dropped out. The Latin phrases slightly different: *qui bonitatem et innocentiam habent et intellectum cordis*, “who have goodness and innocence and understanding of heart” (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 130, 2.20–22); the phrase *et intellectum cordis*, lacking in the Coptic, fits the context well and may be original.

ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥΓ ΝΚΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ, “who made themselves fools for the sake of God”: The phrasing may seem ambiguous, but the identical Latin (*semetipsos stultos fecerunt*) argues for an active, reflexive interpretation. The Coptic word κοσ, “fool,” corresponds to Greek μωρός.

The description of this class of people may seem general at first sight, yet the entire passage again bears a clear monastic stamp, as was recognized already by Copeland, *Mapping*, 145–147. The use of the technical term πολιτεία in the sequel confirms this. In fact, the text appears to offer an early example of the monastic topos of the “fools for the sake of God,” see, for instance, Ivanov, *Holy Fools*. For the ideal of simplicity, see above 19, 1, with our commentary.

ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΛΕΞΙΣ ΝΜΑΤΕ, “but only brief passages”: For λέξις as “phrase, brief passage, line”: Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 797a, sub 4; Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 469, s.v. under 2.

ΝΚΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΝΟΣ ΜΠΟΛΥΤΕΙΑ, “and who accomplish great ascetic practices”: For πολιτεία as “ascetic practice,” see above at 24, 2.

ΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ, “as their heart is focused on God”: For ΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-, “being stretched out, directed towards,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 372a.

ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΜΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, “the righteous in the City of Christ”: In the Latin these are *omnes sancti*, “all saints” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 130, 1.29, Paris), which looks like a simplification.

29, 3–4. The middle of the city, and its summit, is taken by a huge altar, where David presides as the prototypical *magister cantus* over the celestial liturgy (29, 3). His role is clarified in a brief explanation about the correspondence between terrestrial and celestial liturgy (29, 4), followed by an excursus on liturgical singing (in chapter 30). This culmination of Paul’s visit of the City of Christ underscores the central place assigned to the liturgy in the text’s representations of celestial space, visible also in the final chapters, in particular 55 (about

the third heaven) and 56–62 (about Paradise, where also David reappears). Already Copeland, *Mapping*, 144–145, convincingly connected this liturgical bias with a monastic background, but it also bears out a very basic Christian view of the Eucharist as a site where heaven and earth meet (see below at 29, 4).

ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΝΟΣ ΝΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΖΝ ΤΜΗΗΤΕ ΝΤΠΟΛΙC, ΕΦΧΟΟCΕ ΕΜΑΔΤΕ, “I saw in the middle of the city a huge altar, highly elevated”: The altar marks not only the centre of the city, but also its highest level.

ΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΖΟ Ρ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΡΗ, “whose face shone like the sun”: For the expression, see above at 21, 1.

ΕΡΕ ΟΥΚΙΘΑΡΑ ΝΤΟΟΤῚ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΟΥΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΒ, ΕΦΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ, “and who had a golden lyre in his hand and a golden psalter and who exclaimed: ‘Alleluia!’”: The Syriac omits the psalter; the double addition “golden” seems proper to the Coptic (cf. Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 128–129). In chapter 61, David carries only his lyre. The Latin and the Greek add a phrase: “and whose voice filled the entire city” (Latin, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 132, 1.8–9; the Syriac and the Slavonic similarly), which must be original.

The word ψαλτήριον is ambiguous, as it may either refer to a musical instrument or to a book, and our translation, “psalter,” is chosen to reflect this. The background of the entire clause ΕΡΕ ΟΥΚΙΘΑΡΑ ΝΤΟΟΤῚ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΟΥΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΒ is to be found in the combination of the “ten-stringed harp (ψαλτήριον)” and the lyre (κιθάρα) that occurs in quite a number of Psalm verses; for instance Ps. 32:2: ΟΥΩΝΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΧΘΕΙC ΖΝ ΟΥΚΙΘΑΡΑ, ΨΑΛΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΝ ΟΥΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΗΗΤ ΝΚΑΠ, “confess the Lord with a lyre, sing for him with a ten-stringed harp” (Sahidic, Budge). For the present passage, the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* confirms the interpretation as a musical instrument: *cithara et lyra* (Chaîne, *Apocrypha*, versio 59). Yet in common late-antique usage, the ψαλτήριον is a book, the Book of Psalms, rather than a harp; see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 514a, s.v. 2; Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 894; the same holds for the *psalterium* of the Latin version; cf. Souter, *Glossary*, 331. The Alleluia verses that are sung before the Gospel reading during the liturgy are always taken from the Book of Psalms; in Shenoute’s White Monastery, these verses were simply called “the Psalter,” ψαλτήριον, cf. Zanetti, “Liturgie,” 209; cf. also the *Book of the Investiture of Gabriel* 8, where the audience is urged to attend the Mass and “listen to David in the ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ” (Sahidic; Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 77, 26–27).

ΘΑΡΕ ΝΕΤΡΙΧΝ ΜΠΓΛΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΡΙΧΝ ΜΠΓΡΓΟC ΟΥΩΞΜ ΝCΩΦ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΙΑ, “those upon the gates and those upon the towers all responded after him: ‘Alleluia!’”: Compare the ritual of O. Cairo 49547, where “those upon

the gates and those upon the towers” and “those within the twelve worlds of delight” all respond after (ΟΥΩΞΕΙΜ ΕΩΣ) the celestial singer (Saint-Paul Girard, “Fragment de liturgie magique,” 64, 23–27, quoted in our chapter 3, section 2). The general picture betrays the inspiration of Rev. 19:1–6.

ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ, ΠΕΙΩΤ ἸΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ, “that is David, the father of Christ according to the flesh”: A favorite epithet of David in Coptic texts, for instance in the ritual cited above: ΤΑΥΙΔ {ΠΕ} ΠΩΤ <Μ>ΠΕΚΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)C, “David, the father of Christ” (Saint-Paul Girard, “Fragment de liturgie magique,” 64, 19–20). It lacks in all other versions, while the Greek has ὁ προφήτης, “the prophet,” instead (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 55).

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΘΕΙΡΟΥCΑΛΗΗ ΝΤΠΕ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ, “for this is celestial Jerusalem”: According to the logic of the text this assertion may sound contradictory, since the City of Christ is not said to be in heaven, but rather in the eastern parts of the earthly realm. Statements such as this make it difficult both to distinguish between the several blessed places mentioned in the text and to locate them at a precise spot on the cosmic plan of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. These regions are the third heaven mentioned in chapters 19–20 and 55; the City of Christ in chapters 23–30; earthly Paradise (45–54) and celestial Paradise with its various compartments (56–62). In the present context, the reference to Jerusalem apparently serves to clarify the role of David as the prototypical singer of God’s praise, elaborated in the next lines.

29, 4. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΠΕΤΨΑΛΛΕΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ, “why is it David who sings, among all the righteous?”: For the spelling ΟΥΔΕ for ΟΥΤΕ, see above at 16, 6.

ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΠΕΤΨΑΛΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΗ ΤΜΕΖCΑΩΦΕ ἸΠΕ, “David sings for him in the seventh heaven”: The Latin offers a similar text (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 132, 1.22–23, Paris; 133, 2.18–19, Arnhem); the other versions omit the seventh heaven. This is the only place in the text where the seventh heaven is mentioned, which might seem at odds with its focus on the third heaven (see chapters 19–20 and 55, in line with 2 Cor. 12:1–4). The text apparently uses the seventh heaven as a designation of the highest abode of the Father, similar for instance to the *Ascension of Isaiah* 9 or 2 Enoch 9, not as a way of referring to the City of Christ, where Paul is presently. Note that Paul never sees the Father, not even in chapters 44, 1 (the vision of the throne hall) or 55 (Paul’s bizarre vision of the third heaven).

ΚΑΤΑ ΠΤΥΠΟC ΕΤΟΥΕΙΡΕ ἸΜΟQ ΖΙΧἸ ΠΚΑΞ, “according to the pattern of what is practiced on earth,” counterbalanced in the next sentence by ΚΑΤΑ ΠΤΥΠΟC ΕΤΟΥΕΙΡΕ ἸΜΟQ ΖἸ ΤΠΕ, “according to the pattern of what is practiced in heaven”: Cf. Latin: *quemadmodum in celis perficitur, ita et in terra*, “just as it is

performed in heaven, so also upon the earth" (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 132, 27–28; the Greek has a similar expression: Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 55–56).

The principle underlying these parallel statements is again that of the correspondence between the sensible and the spiritual, the visible and the invisible. In the context of the liturgy, these categories are conflated and the distinction between the celestial and the terrestrial is suspended. The same principle is expressed in practically the same words in the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 5, in a passage about the Twenty-Four Elders (cf. Rev. 4:4), celebrating in the Church of the Firstborn in heaven (cf. Hebr. 12:23): $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\gamma\eta\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\mu\pi\eta\gamma\bar{\epsilon},\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\gamma\eta\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$ (read: $\omicron\bar{\nu}$) $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\chi\epsilon\mu\ \bar{\pi}\kappa\alpha\bar{\zeta}\cdot\ \pi\tau\gamma\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$ (read: $\omicron\bar{\nu}$) $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\pi}\kappa\alpha\bar{\zeta},\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\iota}\rho\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\pi\eta[\gamma\epsilon],\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\pi\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\eta}\pi\omicron\gamma\bar{\omicron}\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$, "just as the Mass is celebrated in the heavens, so it is celebrated upon the earth too. Conversely, the pattern that is practiced upon the earth is practiced in the heavens too, in the celestial regions of light," where divinity is enthroned (Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 18, 29–33). David sings simultaneously for the Godhead enthroned in the seventh heaven and during each celebration of the Eucharist upon earth.

David's participation in the terrestrial liturgy is nicely illustrated by two anecdotes from the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute*, already cited by Copeland, *Mapping*, 144. In the first, a richly dressed layman enters the congregation during the evening service and at the invitation of Shenoute starts to lead the recitation. After completing the recitation in a very beautiful manner, he disappears immediately. Answering the complaints of his monks, Shenoute explains: "this was the holy prophet David, the son of Jesse" (91–92, Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* 1, textus, 44–45). In a second anecdote, a cantor from outside the monastery keeps on singing after the blessing. Asked whether the chanting should not be stopped, Shenoute answers: "Let him sing, for look, a chorus of angels surrounds him that respond to him ($\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\zeta}\epsilon\mu\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\omega}\bar{\zeta}$) and, see, the prophet David is standing at his side, dictating him the verses that he needs to recite" (93, Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* 1, textus, 45–46). A longer passage on the Eucharist in the *Book of the Investiture of Gabriel* 8 mentions not only David and his psalter and Paul reading from his letters, but also Christ himself who spends Communion, on earth (Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 77, 25–37).

Likewise, in heaven, the liturgy is celebrated as on earth. A homily *On Shenoute's Vision of the Church of the Firstborn in Heaven*, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, chapter 3–4, describes the liturgy of the feast of the consecration of the prototypical Church of the Firstborn in heaven (cf. Hebr. 12:23) in the exact manner of a Holy Mass on earth, with each of the sacred authors read-

ble translation († εοογ ἱππουτε and μαρῆσμογ ἑππουτε), as does the Latin of manuscripts Escorial and Arnhem (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 135, 1.6–8, Escorial, 2.5–7, Arnhem), showing that it must be a feature of the original text.

Interestingly, the Slavonic version (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 302: “welches nach jüdischer Rede is über Gott und über Engel”) and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* 30, 1 (“its explanation is ‘God and his angels’”) provide a near-identical first translation of Alleluia, which must derive from a common Greek *Vorlage*, different from Tischendorf’s text as well as from the Greek original.

30, 2. παῖ οὐχάκριπτ πῆ, “then such a person is haughty”: Once again the text condemns *superbia* as a grave sin. See our commentary at 24 and 24, 2.

ἀγῶ οὐκαταφρονιτής πῆ, “and negligent”: For the use of καταφρονητής in Coptic, see the examples in Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 396.

31–44. These are probably the most famous chapters of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and, as was argued in chapter 2, section 3, the core of the entire intricate composition. They deal with the punishment of human sin in both its material and moral dimensions and are laid out according to a more or less symmetrical plan. Chapters 31–32 are mainly concerned with the topography of hell and, so to say, set the scene. The brief chapter, 33, uses the motif of Paul’s compassion, a motif that will finally lead over to chapters 43–44, to introduce the key concepts of divine patience and human freedom. Chapters 34–42, the central section of this part of the text, present in a more systematic way the various classes of sinners and their punishment, in a series of similarly laid out episodes. At the beginning (34–36) and at the end of the series (41–42), two distinct classes of sinners are singled out, respectively rotten clergy and heretics. In chapters 43–44, following the intercession of Michael and Paul, the impressive scene of Christ granting the punished sinners the Sunday as a day of rest resolves the tension between human compassion and divine justice that was gradually built up in the preceding chapters. Table 10 below shows the general layout of the chapters on hell and punishment (see Table 11, at p. 320, for a more detailed analysis).

31–32. These chapters are basically introductory and topographical in character. They include two lengthy cosmographical descriptions in 31, 1–2 and 31, 3–32, 2. The first describes the stages of Paul’s journey from east to west, twice passing the Ocean that surrounds the inhabited world (31, 1–2). The second provides a first description of the places of punishments that will be further elaborated in the following chapters and completed in 42. Gradually, the major

TABLE 10 General layout of the
 chapters about hell

<i>Landscape</i>	
31, 2	West of the Ocean
31, 3	The parched field
31, 4	The river of fire
32	Streets and pits
 <i>Divine patience</i>	
33	Paul’s compassion
 <i>Sinners and sanctions</i>	
34–36	Clergy
37–40	Various
41–42	Heretics
 <i>Divine mercy</i>	
43	Michael
44	Christ

elements of the text’s hellscape are unfolded: darkness and ice, fire, stench and smoke, pitch and brimstone, pits, holes and streets, vermin, torturers and, as a major landmark, the river of fire and its grades of immersion (31, 2–32, 2). In drawing a kind of panorama, these introductory chapters rather seem to elaborate on the brief description of hell in 2 Enoch 5: 11–18 (quoted below), than any of the more extensive “tours of hell” that are usually cited.

As was the case with the eastern part of the world, in chapters 21–25 (see our commentary at 23), the description of the western part of the world, in chapters 31–44, also includes four landmark regions. These are the parched field (31, 3); the river of fire (31, 4, and following chapters); the well of the abyss (41), and the freezing region to the north (42). The character and function of east and west shows the extent to which cosmography and theodicy are closely intertwined in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The design of God’s creation reflects the theodicy. While the earth (below) and the heaven (above) are conceived of as places in which, respectively, human virtue and sin and their trial materialize, east and west are presented as places of reward and punishment. The text’s cosmographical interest and its interlacing of cosmography and theodicy show that in the mind of the author both are inseparable parts of God’s providence. Cosmos

and theodicy are so intrinsically connected that the former reflects the latter and the latter implies the former.

31, 1. ΤΟΤΕ ΔΦΕΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἼ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ, “then he brought me out of the city”: Whereas the Coptic has a simple ΤΟΤΕ, “then, next,” the Greek and the Latin versions have a more circumstantial way of introducing this major transition in the adventures of Paul. In the Latin this reads: *cum autem quievit loqui mihi, duxit me ...*, “when he had finished speaking to me, he brought me ...” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 136, 1.1), which may be original.

ΖἼ ΤΜΗΗΤΕ ΝἹΩΦΗΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἼ ΤΑ<Ρ>ΧΙΕ<ΡΟΥ<ΣΑ> ΛΥΜΗΗ. ΔΦΕΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἼ ΠΚΑΖ ΝἹΑΓΔΘΟΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧἹ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ ΝΕΡΩΤΕ ΖΙ ΕΒΙΩ, ΔΦΕΙΝΕ ἹΜΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧἹ ΠΟΚΕΑΝΟΣ, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΤΠΕ. ΔΦΧΙ ΗΜΟΪ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ, “through the middle of the trees and beyond the Acherusian Lake. He took me beyond the land of blessings on the shore of the river of milk and honey and led me away over the Ocean that supports heaven and took me up to heaven”: This section shows particular interest in describing Paul’s itinerary in inverse order: the City of Christ, the Acherusian Lake, the shore of the river of milk and honey, the river Ocean and the foundations of heaven. With a view to highlighting the symmetry of the world through which Paul is traveling, all these landmarks are mentioned one by one before Paul is taken up to heaven. The land of the wicked, which he finds in the west, is conceived of as the exact opposite of the world of bliss in the east and consequently mirrors in a negative way what Paul has seen up to this point.

Symmetry is a marked characteristic of the *Apocalypse*. Conceived of as exactly antithetic regions, the Land of Inheritance and the land of the wicked are presented as opposite equivalents. As to the former, it is described once Paul goes beyond the Ocean (21–22). The region is illuminated by the sun and seven times whiter than silver. The general description of its fertility is followed by a close-up that moves eastwards to focus on the eastern side of the river of milk and honey. As to the latter, the land of the sinners is also described after Paul crosses the Ocean, but on the opposite side of the earth (31–32). A first reference to the region’s misery and darkness is followed by a general description of its aridity and of the pits and holes that fill it, the river of fire and a close up that focuses on the places of torture on the western shore of the river.

The symmetry of both descriptions is evident not only in the antithetic position they occupy at both sides of the river Ocean and in their equivalent narrative elements, but also and especially in the very contrast of what they describe.

ΔΦΧΙ ΗΜΟΪ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ, “and took me up to heaven”: Omitted by the Latin.

31, 2. ΠΕΞΕ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, ΔΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΕΚΤΩΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ, “the angel said to me: ‘Paul, Paul, have you recognized where you are now?’”: The repetition of Paul’s name and the angel’s emphatic question intend to draw Paul’s and the reader’s attention to both the stages of their itinerary and the symmetric structure of the world. By underlining this new point of departure, the angel asks the audience’s attention before taking Paul to the other side of the world, which in the highly structured cosmos of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is the exact opposite of the region he just visited.

ἸΤΑΤΣΑΒΟΚ ΕΝΕΥΥΧΗ ἸἸΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΜἸ ἸΡΕΦῚΝΟΒΕ ΧΕ ΕΥΩΔΗΜΟΥ ΕΥΧΙ ΜΗΟΥ ΕΤΩΝ, “and I will show you where the souls of the godless and the sinners are taken when they die”: Instead of ΕΝΕΥΥΧΗ, the manuscript has a singular, ΕΤΕΥΥΧΗ, accepted by Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 538) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 271), who both translate the plural, however. In fact, as the following object clause (after ΧΕ) shows, this can only be a scribal error, otherwise difficult to explain.

In the same way as he did when introducing the Land of Inheritance in 21, 3, before proceeding to the description of the region the angel underscores the fact that this region is the abode of the sinners and that it is exclusively devoted to their everlasting punishment.

ἸΠΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΛΑΔΥ ΖἸ ΠΜΑ ΕΤἸΜΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΛΥΠΕΙ, “I saw nothing in that place but grief”: The Latin has *et non erat lumen in illo loco, sed tenebre*, “and there was no light in that place, but (only) darkness” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 136, 16–17), and the Greek has a similar phrase (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 57), which suggests that the Coptic left out the mention of (absence of) light. Perhaps it read originally: ἸΠΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΖἸ ΠΜΑ ΕΤἸΜΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΛΥΠΕΙ, “I saw no light whatever in that place, but only grief,” but there is no cogent reason to emend the completely grammatical and coherent text of the manuscript. Compare 2 Enoch 5: 11–12: “And there I was shown a very terrible place, where there is every kind of torment and torture and darkness and mist. And there is no light there, but a dark fire, flaming up perennially, and a river of fire that rises against that entire place” (Vaillant, *Livre des secrets*, 10).

31, 3. ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΩΩΥῚ, ΔΝΟΚ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΝΟΦ ἸΣΩΩΕ ΕΣΟ ἸΩΑΡΒΑ, “then I, Paul, looked and saw a huge parched field”: Immediately preceding the introduction of the river of fire, the Coptic includes a general description of the parched land with its numerous pits. Before going into the account of the individual punishments, Paul describes the landscape as it is unfolding before his eyes. This lengthier cosmographic description is the second of a total of three describing the western part of the world. See our commentary at 31–32 and chapter 2, section 4.

The entire paragraph 31, 3, is skipped by all other major versions, which immediately proceed to the river of fire (31, 4). Several authors, for instance James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 542, n. 1 (“premature and not original”), and Silverstein, *Visio*, 106, n. 47, therefore considered it an interpolation of the Coptic. As argued above, in light of the broad symmetry that underlies the author’s description of the eastern and western fringes of the cosmos, this is very unlikely; see already Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 174–176. Whereas in the Land of Inheritance everything tends to go upwards, in the land of the wicked everything goes downwards. The cubits of palm heights become cubits of pit depths. In spite of omitting this particular section, all witnesses retain echoes of pits, cubits and depths. Thus, the long Latin version still preserves traces of its contents in chapter 32, which refers to “very deep pits” and cubits of depth (Paris: *fouas in profundo ualde; tria milia cubitorum*, Silverstein and Hillhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138, 1.16–19). Chapter 37 mentions *aliam multitudinem fouearum* (ibid., 144, 1.1–2); chapter 38, a pit of blood and a pit of fire, *foueam ignis* (ibid., 144, 1.29) and in 40 the St Gall manuscript also refers to a *foueam ignis* (ibid., 148, 2.13; Paris differently) and to “tar,” “sulphur” and “dragons” (ibid., 150, 2.12–14). The Syriac also mentions deeps and holes: *Et vidi illic profunditates profundas, et in iis erant animae multae quae proiectae erant alia super aliam: erat autem profunditas illius fluminis ignis triginta millia cubitorum et amplius* (chapter 33, translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 133). For Paul’s journey from the east to the west, see further Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 185–187, who demonstrates the superior quality of the Coptic, which offers on the whole a more accurate description, in particular of the text’s spatial aspects, than the other versions.

Our text-internal arguments for the authenticity of this paragraph are corroborated by an external witness. The entire paragraph, up to and including the final mention of the hundred decans, is quoted almost literally in another widely read apocryphon, the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 11 (Müller, *Einsatzung*, textus, 36, 29–38, 4, Sahidic; 37, 29–34, Fayoumic), discussed in our chapter 3, section 2. As it is one among several indubitable echoes of our text in the Michael book, the quote strongly favors the option that the present passage is an integral part of the *Apocalypse*. In order to explain its absence in the other known versions, it may be hypothesized that at an early stage of the text’s transmission a copyist jumped from one river (the river Ocean, 31, 2) to another (the river of fire, 31, 4). This hypothesis gains in probability from the confusion that characterizes the description of the river of fire (here 31, 4) in the other versions (see below).

eco n̄ḡier̄t ḡier̄t, eco n̄ḡik̄ē ḡik̄ē, “as it was burrowed with trench after trench and pit after pit”: The Coptic text uses two different terms for pits or

holes that are difficult to differentiate. For $\text{ϩ}\text{I}\text{E}\text{I}\text{T}$, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 718 (this term is already used for pits in Ancient Egyptian descriptions of the underworld, cf. Zandee, *Death*, 168–169); for $\text{Q}\text{I}\text{K}\text{Z}$, which in our text appears to alternate freely with QIK , Crum, *Dictionary*, 557. Compare the almost identical phrasing in the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 11: $\text{N}\text{E}\text{C}\text{O}\text{ N}\text{I}\text{O}\text{M}\text{ I}\text{O}\text{M}\text{ ϩ}\text{I}\text{ Q}\text{I}\text{K}\text{ Q}\text{I}\text{K}$, “it was burrowed with lake after lake and pit after pit” (Sahidic, Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 36, 29).

$\text{O}\text{Y}\text{N}\text{ Q}\text{I}\text{K}\text{Z}\text{ E}\text{Q}\text{Q}\text{O}\text{K}\text{Z}\text{ E}\text{P}\text{E}\text{C}\text{H}\text{T}\text{ Q}\text{A}\text{ A}\text{P}\text{H}\text{X}\text{Q}\text{ N}\text{P}\text{N}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{N}$, “and there was a pit descending to the extremity of the abyss”: Cf. the similar phrasing in 32, 2: $\text{P}\text{E}\text{I}\text{Q}\text{I}\text{K}\text{Z}\text{ P}\text{A}\text{I}\text{ Q}\text{O}\text{K}\text{Z}\text{ Q}\text{A}\text{ A}\text{P}\text{H}\text{X}\text{Q}\text{ N}\text{P}\text{N}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{N}$, “this pit here descends to the extremity of the abyss”

$\text{Q}\text{I}\text{K}\text{Z}\text{ E}\text{Q}\text{M}\text{E}\text{Z}\text{ N}\text{A}\text{P}\text{A}\text{K}\text{O}\text{N}$, “a pit full of dragons”: The fauna active in the hell of the *Apocalypse of Paul* seems to consist of worms and reptiles only, as in the *Apocalypse of Peter*; see the discussion in Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 116–120 (with a comparative table at 117), in partial disagreement with Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 46–54. Dragons ($\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\text{n}$) are found here and in 39, 4, as “dragon snakes” ($\text{A}\text{P}\text{A}\text{K}\text{O}\text{N}\text{ N}\text{Z}\text{O}\text{Q}$, torturing adulteresses); simple “snakes,” ZOQ , appear in 40, 4 (in the punishment for unworthy ascetics). Otherwise most others are worms (usually spelt QNT). In addition to the biblical worm that does not sleep (in 42, 1, associated with heretics), worms occur here and in 36, 1 (with a deacon), 37, 1 (usurers), 39, 2 (oppressors of the poor) and 44, 5 (in a general picture). Also the $\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{E}$, found only here, are a kind of worm (see the discussion below). The “flesh eating beasts,” $\text{Z}\text{E}\text{N}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}\text{ N}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{A}\text{M}\text{C}\text{A}\text{P}\text{Z}$, otherwise unspecified, that gnaw at the intestines of the aborters in 40, 2, are likely to be worms too (see below). The general lack of variety is matched in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, but contrasts strongly with the fantastic shapes of the monsters in chapter 16, 2, which have an entirely different function, however, namely terrifying the dying sinner and blocking his ascent. Worms, of course, are universally associated with the tomb and the decay of the body; snakes and dragons, with the chthonic and the demonic. The association with bodily decay is made explicit in 36, 1, and 44, 5, where the worms are said to issue from the punished deceased themselves.

$\text{E}\text{Q}\text{M}\text{E}\text{Z}\text{ N}\text{A}\text{X}\text{A}\text{T}\text{T}\text{I}\text{ ϩ}\text{I}\text{ O}\text{H}\text{N}$, “full of pitch and brimstone”: The variant $\text{A}\text{X}\text{A}\text{T}\text{T}\text{I}$ for normal $\text{A}\text{M}\text{X}\text{A}\text{T}\text{T}\text{I}$ seems to occur only here, whereas 40, 4, has the standard spelling; cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 143b. This suggests that the drop of the M may simply be due to the weakening of the nasals in later Sahidic; cf. our chapter 1, section 4.

The classic combination of brimstone and pitch reappears in 40, 4; cf. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 113. In *Pistis Sophia* 102, “seas ($\text{Θ}\text{A}\text{Λ}\text{A}\text{C}\text{C}\text{A}$) of pitch and brimstone” are a means of punishment for adultery (Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 259, 3–6).

ΟΥΝ ΠΙΚ ΕΦΗΕΞ ΝΕΙΟΥΕ ΕΦΕΛΕΟΤΕ, “there was a frightening pit full of maggots”: In ΕΙΟΥΕ, already Crum, *Dictionary*, 76a, recognized the plural form of a rare noun ΕΙΩ, a homonym of the common word ΕΙΩ, “donkey,” explained by Shenoute as a “small animal” that represents ΟΥΓΜΟΤ ΝΒΝΤ, “a kind of worm” (in *You, O Lord*, cf. Emmel, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus*, 2.636–638; Zoega’s edition, *Catalogus*, 436, describes a marginal illustration in the manuscript, that appears to depict a *vermis parvus rugosus, ut videtur bruchus*, hence the word is sometimes incorrectly translated as “locust”). Crum’s alternative explanation, a presumed *hapax* ΕΙΟΥΕ, “waters” (*Dictionary*, 88a), is erroneous, however; the lemma ΕΙΟΥΕ is a *delendum*. An interpretation as “(she-)donkeys” would not fit the general picture of the text’s fauna of hell (see above; *pace* Copeland, *Mapping*, 211, n. 83). Our translation, “maggots,” is necessarily approximate (as is Copeland’s “vermin”).

ΟΥΝ ΠΙΚΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕ ΝΔΕΚΑΝΟC ΧΙΛΩΦ, “there was a pit overseen by a hundred decans”: Compare the almost identical phrasing in the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 11: ΟΥΕΝ ΠΙΚ ΝΩΔΑΚΓΕΝΤΩ [ΕΡΕ] ΠΕ ΝΔΕΚΑΝΟC ΝΡΕΦΔΙΜΩΡ[Ι ΧΙ]Χ[ΩΦ], “and there was a pit that one would find to be overseen by a hundred punishing decans” (Sahidic, Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 36, 35–38, 2, with a minor correction, for which see below).

ΔΕΚΑΝΟC, “decans”: The concept of the decan as a hostile, originally celestial power had its roots in Ancient Egyptian religion, whence it passed into Hellenistic astronomy (see the classic discussion in Gundel, *Dekane*) and, finally, the Christian imagination of hell. In Egyptian ritual texts, Greek and Coptic, they are usually a kind of assistants, serving higher powers; cf. Muñoz Delgado, *Léxico*, 30, s.v.; Green, “Late Coptic Magical Text,” 32–33. As demons confronting the deceased when dying or in hell, decans frequently occur in Coptic lives of saints and martyrdoms as well as apocalyptic and apocryphal texts; for a review, see Behlmer, “Zu einigen koptischen Dämonen”. The parallel passage in the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 11 (see above) makes them “punishing decans” (in Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 38, 1, read ΝΡΕΦΔΙΜΩΡ[Ι], cf. 37, 33, ΝΛΕΦΔΙΜΩΡΙ, both from τιμωρέω), which is undoubtedly also their function here; for pictures of such decans in action, see the Tebtynis wall paintings, cited in our chapter 3, section 2. This passage is the only place where decans occur in our text, underlining its Egyptian background.

31, 4. ΕΥΝΟC ΝΕΙΕΡΟ ΝΚΩΧΤ, “a huge river of fire”: This is perhaps the most important topographical landmark of hell in our text and as such the exact counterpart of the river of milk and honey in the Land of Inheritance described in 22, 1.

A brief look at the principal other witnesses for this passage shows that their archetype must have presented considerable problems. In the long Latin ver-

sion, chapter 31, after mentioning the darkness of the place beyond the River Ocean (31, 2), describes a river boiling with fire where people are immersed up to their knees, their navel, their lips or their hair: *Et uidi illic fluuium ignis feruentem et ingressus multitudo uirorum et mulierum dimersus usque ad ienua* (etc.) (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 136, 1.18–20). Latin chapter 32, however, introduces a second river of fire to the north of the first one that flows around those who suffer punishment: *Et uidi ad septemtrionem locum uariarum et diuersarum penarum repletum uiris et mulieribus et flumen igneum decurrebat in eum* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138, 1.13–16; St Gall: *in eis*). It then mentions a certain number of pits with men and women inside, but afterwards inconsistently gives the depth not of the pits but of “that place” (*et erat profunditas loci illius quasi tria milia cubitorum*; *ibid.*, 1.17–19). The highly summarising Greek *grosso modo* agrees with the Latin L¹, although the Greek chapter 32 mentions neither pits, “that place,” nor measurements, but simply states that the depth of the river is not measurable: ἀμέτρητόν ἐστιν (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 58). The Syriac testimony is even more confusing. To begin with, there is no reference to the darkness of the place; it puts the variously immersed people not in the fiery river but in the Ocean; and although omitting the river of fire at the beginning of the chapter, it does mention it at the end (Perkins, in Tischendorf *Apocalypses*, 56–57; Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 132–133). The depth of the river, furthermore, fluctuates in the Syriac witnesses. According to the Urmia codex, it is 30 cubits, but according to Ricciotti’s codex A, it is 30,000 cubits. Its description further agrees with the Latin, except that it assigns the cubits of depth not to the place but to the river itself: *erat autem profunditas illius fluminis ignis triginta millia cubitorum et amplius* (translation Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 133).

The image of an otherworldly river of fire in Christian literature is not a homogeneous one and its historical antecedents have been very differently discussed. Two types of representations must be distinguished, in spite of a degree of mutual contamination. There is, on the one hand, the river of fire as an instrument of divine judgment, with a clear liminal and cleansing function; on the other, the river of fire as a place of permanent punishment in hell. The first concept is usually considered to be indebted to the vision of Dan. 7:10, where a river of fire issues from the throne of the Ancient of Days (cf. Zandee, *Death*, 307–310). In Christian Egyptian literature, this river of fire has become a popular motif, evoking the dangerous passage from this world to the other. It is depicted as a fearsome obstacle, which each individual, even the saints, must cross when dying and before confronting the divine judge. Its fire would burn or even swallow the soul of the sinner, but might also be seen as a means of purification for the soul of the righteous. This concept of the river of fire became the

standard in traditional Coptic eschatology, even in liturgical texts; see Saweros and Van der Vliet, “Naqlun N. 76/93,” 192–196. Its liminal and cleansing functions are illustrated by several of the sources cited in our chapter 3, section 2 as indirect witnesses to our text, such as the *Book of the Investiture of Michael* 15, or the Sahidic *Testament of Isaac*, but not by the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself. There, its structural place as a dangerous zone of passage is taken by the air and the firmament and its dense population of demons and angels, described in chapters 11–16.

The second concept, the river of fire as a place of punishment, may derive from Plato’s description of the third river of hell, the Pyriphlegethon (*Phaedo* 113AB), but also Ancient Egyptian visualizations of the landscape of the underworld have been invoked as a plausible source (cf. Zandee, *Death*, 320–323). There can be no doubt that in the *Apocalypse of Paul* the river of fire is indeed a place in hell, where sinners are undergoing eternal punishment. It is part of the landscape, as in the much more restrained description of 2 Enoch 5. In contrast to the standard description of later Coptic sources, the *Apocalypse of Paul* does not know the river of fire as an otherworldly barrier or an instrument of trial. In chapter 22, the Acherusian Lake does fulfill such a liminal, purificatory function, but there is no reason to confuse the two (see above, at chapter 22, 5).

As for the river of fire as represented in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, it is often assumed that it draws its inspiration from the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In late-antique Egypt, fiery hellscapes were an intrinsic part of popular cosmology, absorbing both indigenous and foreign traditions, and, unsurprisingly, this is apparent in both the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the present text (see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 107–115). Yet, from a structural point of view, the river of fire in the *Apocalypse of Paul* corresponds in the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the λίμνη ... μεγάλη πεπληρωμένη βορβόρου φλεγόμενου, “great lake full of flaming mire,” of the Achmim codex, 23 (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 4; the Ethiopic parallel in 7:3–4, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 198–199, phrases differently), rather than to any of the rivers of fire that occur in the text and which primarily seem to serve divine judgment. For the concept as found in our text, *Pistis Sophia*, with its multiple rivers, seas (θαλασσαι) and pits (χιεῖς) of fire linked to precise sinners and their sins, seems at least equally relevant (see in particular the catalogue of sins and punishments in chapter 102, Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 256–260). For the entire complex, see the classic studies by Edsman, *Baptême de feu*, in particular 63–66; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, in particular 110–112 and 122–123, and more recently Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, 218–228; see additionally, Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* 111, 91–94; Bietenhard, *Himmlische Welt*, 75; Zandee, *Death*, 307–310; Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 319–324; Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 314–316.

ϵΟΥΝ ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΖΙ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΟΜ̄ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΡΟQ, “in which a multitude of men and women were immersed”: For the manuscript’s ΕΥΟΥΝ, instead of ΕΥΝ̄ or ϵΟΥΝ̄, see chapter 1, section 4.

James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 542, n. 2, supposes that the text (in all versions) is in disorder here and that those who were neither hot nor cold should not be immersed in the river, but beside it. This is indeed the case in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* (Chaîne, *Apocrypha*, versio, 61: *sedentes prope istud*), but in no other version. In fact, Paul asks a general question (“what kind of people are those who are in the streams of fire?”) and gets a general answer. Only his next question bears on the different categories of people in the river of fire, distinguished by different degrees of immersion.

ΝΑΙ ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΡ̄ Ζ̄Μ̄Ε, ΜΠΟΥΡ̄ ΜΟΥ ΝΩΡΩ, “they are those who were neither hot nor cold water”: The text’s phrasing echoes Sahidic Rev. 3:16: ΝΤΚ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΝCΛΖΟ· ΟΥΔΕ ΝΓΟΡΩ ΔΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΓΖΗΜ ΔΝ, “you are lukewarm water: you are neither cold nor hot” (Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts*, 280). Cf. the Latin *neque calidi neque frigidi sunt*, “they are neither hot nor cold” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 136, 1.25).

ΩΑΥΡ̄ ΖΕΝΖΟΥ ΕΥΩΜΩΕ ΜΠΝΟΥ<ΤΕ> ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΖΟΥ ΕΥΡ̄ ΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΠΟΡ-ΝΕΥΕ, “Some days they served God, but on other days they sinned and fornicated”: This is the second appearance of the sin of lust (*luxuria*), which appears twice in this section, in a general reference to those “in the streams of fire” and, more specifically, to those immersed up to their middle. See our commentary at 18, 1.

ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ, “who are those?": In what follows, only four categories of sinners are identified, three of them represented as infringing on Church rules: leaving the church for meddling in the affairs of others (immersion up to the knees); taking from Holy Communion in a state of grave sin (up to the middle); slandering in church (up to the lips), and sneering and cheating (up to the hair). Compared to the following chapters, from 34 onwards, the characterizations are brief and sketchy and the slanderers in church are oddly doubled in 37, 2. In our view, the author is merely setting the scene here, proceeding from the general to the more specific. He introduces the river of fire as an instrument of punishment as well as the concepts of differentiated and measure-for-measure penalty (slanderers are immersed up to their lips). Only with chapter 34, a real “catalogue” of sins and punishments starts, marked off by dedicated units targeting clergy (34–36) and heretics (41–42). The doubling of the category of slanderers in 37, 2, probably reflects the author’s use of different groups of traditional material. The strong ecclesiastical focus, which is even more clearly visible in the next chapters, distinguishes the present text from its precursors, such as the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

ΝΑΙ ΝΕΤΕ ΦΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ, “they are those who went out of the church”: Neglecting church attendance on all kinds of pretexts is vividly denounced in a Sahidic homily *On Pentecost*, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria, chapter 68–79 (Saweros, *Another Athanasius*, textus, 78–82), which presents a nice picture of late-antique habits.

ΖΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ ἸΝΩΟΥ ΔΝ <ΝΕ>, “affairs that were not theirs”: The same construction occurs below in chapter 36: ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ (probably for ΖΕΝΖΙΟΜΕ) ἸΝΟΥΥ ΔΝ ΝΕ, “women who were not his own.”

ΕΥΡ̅ ΝΟΒΕ ἸΜΗΝΕ, “sinning daily”: This rather insipid clause lacks in the other versions.

ΝΑΙ ΖΩΟΥ ΕΤΟΜ̅ ΦΑ ΤΕΥΜΗΗΤΕ, ΝΑΙ ΝΕΦΑΥΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤCΑΡ̅ ἸΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC Μῆ Π̅CΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, ἸCΕΒΩΚ ἸCΕΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ, “those who are immersed up to their middle are they who took from the flesh of Christ and his holy blood and went and fornicated”: The sin of lust, *luxuria*, here appears a second time in the same section, now combined with lack of respect for Holy Communion. See our commentary at 18, 1.

ΝΑΙ ΝΕΦΑΥΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΛΕΙ Ζῆ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ Μῆ ΝΕΥΗΙ, “are they who slandered within the church and their houses”: The Coptic alone adds “and their houses” (Μῆ ΝΕΥΗΙ), which looks redundant.

ΦΑ ΝΕΥΦΟ (for ΝΕΥΦΩ), “up to their hair”: The Latin has here “up to their brows” (Paris: *ad superlicia*, for *supercilia*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138, 1.9–10), against earlier *ad capillos*, “up to their hair” (136, 1.22). The change might be due to the association of sneering, slander and malice with *superbia* or pride (“superciliousness”). On pride, see our commentary at 24 and 24, 2.

32, 1. ἸΠΕΜῆΤ ΖΩΩΥ ἸΠΕΙΕΡΟ ἸΚΩΞ̅Τ̅ <ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΜΑ> ΕΦ̅ ΜΗΝΕ <ΜΗΝΕ> ΝΚΟΛΑCΙC, “to the west of the river of fire, too, I saw a place allotted to various kinds of punishments”: The sentence as it stands (ἸΠΕΜῆΤ ΖΩΩΥ ἸΠΕΙΕΡΟ ἸΚΩΞ̅Τ̅ ΕΦ̅ ΜΗΝΕ ΝΚΟΛΑCΙC) is slightly ungrammatical, lacking a main clause, which is restored by us after the Latin (*et uidi ... locum*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138, 1.13).

The description of the region “west of the river of fire” in 32 completes that of the parched field in 31, providing in this way an exact but negative equivalent of the description of the land of the righteous in chapters 21, 3–22, 1, which comprises the Land of Inheritance and the river of milk and honey, both sides of which were covered by profuse vegetation. There, Paul looks to the east and sees “all things created by God in that place.” Chapter 31, 4, introduced the river of fire; now, in chapter 32, Paul looks to the west of it and sees a place of torture, into which men and women are cast and where the same river of fire flows around them. He describes descending streets where souls are piled on

ἡποῦκα πνοῦτε ναγ ἡβονθοc, “who did not allow God to be their succor”: This phrase, in a number of variants, becomes a kind of *leitmotiv* in the characterization of the various groups of sinners in the next chapters, recurring in 37, 1; 39, 2; 43, 3; 44, 6. It occurs already in chapter 11 of our text, where the monstrous demons below the firmament are described, who attend to the death of those “who did not believe that they had the Lord as their succor (*non crediderunt dominum habere se aiutorem*) nor hoped in him” (Latin, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 82, 1.23–24; not extant in Coptic).

The righteous have God as their helper (βοηθός), which is a recurrent motif in the Book of Psalms. In late antiquity it is articulated in a variety of contexts that appeal to divine assistance, for instance in epigraphic acclamations (see Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ*, 2–4, Egypt: 47–77), private letters: Μ[Ν]ΤΑΙ ΚΕΒΟΗΘΟC ΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΓ[Ε] ΝῆΜΑΚ, “I have no other helper beside God and you” (Crum and Evelyn White, *Monastery of Epiphanius* II, no. 271, 3–5, a letter addressing the influential monastic patron Epiphanius, ca. 610–620), and amulets (cf. *Suppl. Mag.* 29, 12, note, on the frequent addition of the words βοηθός μου to the text of the apotropaic Ps. 90:2 in the papyri). For God as helper of the righteous at the time of their agony, see also the passage from Origen’s *Homilies on Psalm* 36, 5.7, cited above at 16, 2.

ζῃ πνοῦθειω ἡτεγθλιγic, “at the time of their affliction”: Lacks in the other versions, but is a logical addition in light of the frequent appeals to God as βοηθός in moments of crisis (see above).

32, 2. ΕΩΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΔΒΕ ἡΓΕΝΕΑ ἡ ΖΜΕ ἡΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙΧῆ ΝΕΓΕΡΗΥ, ΕΡΕ ΠΩΙΚῆ ΠΩΙΚῆ ΝΑῤ ΟΥΗΡ, “When there are thirty generations or forty generations piled upon each other, then how deep may each pit be?”: In Paul’s question, the Latin of the Paris manuscript is slightly in disorder, whereas the St Gall manuscript verbally corresponds to the Coptic, only omitting the “forty generations,” which are preserved in the Arnhem manuscript, though (see Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138–139).

πειωικῆ παι ωοκῆ ωα ἀρηχῆ ἡππνοῦν, “this pit here descends to the extremity of the abyss”: This phrase repeats a similar one in 31, 3 (see above), whereas the Latin simply states *abyssus mensuram non habet*, “the abyss has no measure” (Paris, St Gall, Arnhem; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138–139), a reading that is confirmed by the Greek: μέτρον οὐκ ἔχει τὸ βάθος, ἀλλὰ ἀμέτρητόν ἐστιν, “the abyss has no measure, but is immeasurable” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 58).

αγω νεφβῤῥῥ ἐρραῖ ἡθε ἡογχαλλιον. πεχε παγγελοc ναῖ χε, “and it boiled over like a cauldron. The angel said to me”: The preterite tense in νεφβῤῥῥ, which is typically used for background information (Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*,

273–274), and the subsequent repetition of the quotative index (πεχε παρρε-
λος ναῖ χε) show that this sentence is not part of the explanation provided by
the *angelus interpres*, as it is in the Latin and the Syriac, but describes what is
seen by Paul. Presumably, as more often, the Latin and the Syriac simplified the
interlocutive situation.

πειρικῆ παῖ εκωανχαλα ἡογαλωλε ἡῶνε επεσχητ εροϋ, “when you drop a
stone pebble into this pit here”: For the etymology of the word αλωλε, “pebble”
(Latin *lapidem*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138, 32, Paris), see Wes-
tendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 485; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 8, quoting
this passage. This indubitable etymology and the unambiguous evidence of the
Latin contradict Crum’s suggestion (*Dictionary*, 4a, s.v.) that in the present pas-
sage the word might render Greek ἀνέμη, “windlass.”

μορισ νῆπωρ επεσχητ ερατῆ ἡωε ἡρομηε, “it will hardly reach its bottom
in a hundred years”: The Syriac, apart from making the souls of the sinners the
subject, phrases identically. The Latin has *post multarum orarum*, “after many
hours,” and adds: “For when the souls are cast in there, they hardly after five
hundred years arrive in the depth” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 138,
1.33–36, Paris), which seems both redundant and in contradiction with the pre-
vious sentence about the pebble. The Greek is much abridged.

33. The Coptic in this brief chapter is somewhat closer to the Latin of St
Gall than to the Paris manuscript, but in general both versions offer the same
text.

αιαϣ αρομ αϣω αριμε εχῃ πγενος τηρῆ ἡτμητῶμε, “I groaned and
wept about the entire human race”: As pointed out earlier (see our commentary
at 24, 2), Paul’s emotional reaction to what he sees in hell is a recurring feature
of this part of the text. In addition to 24, 2, the motif occurs in 36, 2; 37, 1; 38,
3; 39, 2; 40, 3 and 6, 42, 2, and 43, 1. In rendering Paul’s emotions, the present
text differs from other, more impersonal representatives of the genre. Thus, the
seer in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is an onlooker only (as was aptly observed
by Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 148). The *Apocalypse of Paul*, however, seeks to
engage the audience emotionally, not only by highly colored descriptions, but
also by signaling the attitudes of the first person narrator, the “I,” Paul, by his
numerous questions and the description of his variable emotional states. These
signals are not meant to create a picture of the man Paul that might be more or
less different from the biblical Paul. Instead, they should be understood as part
of the interaction between the narrator and his audience. On the story level, the
emotional tension created by Paul’s repeatedly described sorrow is resolved in
the prayer scene of chapter 43, answered first by Michael, then Christ himself
(44), which concludes the description of hell.

In addition to raising empathy, Paul's repeated weeping also provides the opportunity to counterbalance his understandable pity with statements that underscore God's justice. After his first timid crying at the sight of the suffering of the haughty ascetics in 24, 2, and despite the angel's first reprimand, Paul's compassion grows ever stronger. In line with Enoch's and Elijah's crying for "this name of 'man'" (20, 1), Paul weeps for the "entire human race." This upsets the angel and provokes a reaction in which the angel refers to the compassion of God, who is represented by the *Apocalypse* as "the Merciful" (43, 3; see below). The angel's reprimands, however, do not deter the apostle, who persists in his emotional response that will culminate in his existential protest at 42, 2, just before Michael's intercession for the sinners.

The theme of the seers' compassion receives ample attention in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, in which a wide range of seers perceive the sinners' punishments and show a variety of emotional responses to the other's suffering: Jesus, Peter, the righteous, and the angels all see the punishment of the damned (3:3, Ethiopic; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 176–179); victims of murder view the punishment of the murderers (7:10, Ethiopic; *ibid.*, 200–201); aborted children witness and participate in the chastisement of their parents (8:3–4, Ethiopic; *ibid.*, 202–205); victims of infanticide take part in the prosecution (8:5–7, Ethiopic; *ibid.*, 204–207), and children and virgins see the chastisement of sins committed by children (11:4, Ethiopic; *ibid.*, 218–219). The reactions of the seers in the *Apocalypse of Peter* can be divided into two groups: those who accept the suffering as deserved and those who do not. It is the latter group that interests us here, since the *Apocalypse of Peter* distinguishes among them three forms of ἔλεος or "compassion," to wit defective, excessive, and well-measured. The first form of ἔλεος is represented by the weeping of the seers at the sight of the horrible suffering of the sinners. Their compassion, however, does not impel them to act accordingly, and is thus defective: "We saw further how the sinners will grieve in intense torment and anguish so that all of us watching it began to weep, the righteous, the angels, and even Jesus himself" (3:3, Ethiopic; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 176–179). Differently, Peter's compassion impels him to act by voicing his protest: "Lord, let me repeat what you said about these sinners, that it would have been better for them if they had never been created" (3:4, Ethiopic; *ibid.*, 178–179). In the same way as the *angelus interpres* does in the case of Paul, Jesus checks the excessive nature of Peter's compassion. He should first pay heed to the question of merit, namely whether the suffering is deserved or not: "When you saw how the sinners will lament on the final day, it made you sad. But now I will show you how by their actions they have transgressed against the Most High" (3:7, Ethiopic; *ibid.*, 178–181). Jesus seems to invite Peter to correct his excessive ἔλεος adopting a well-measured sort of compassion; this is

what Aristotle calls *νέμεσις* or “righteous indignation,” namely “pain at undeserved adversities and prosperities and pleasure at those that are deserved” (*Eudemian Ethics* 1233b24–25). See Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?,” 137–150. All these subtle distinctions have disappeared from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, since the angel’s main concern is simply that Paul’s compassion comes dangerously close to questioning God’s justice.

μη̄ ν̄τκ̄ οὐναν̄τ̄ ν̄τοκ̄ πᾱρᾱ π̄νο̄υτε, “are you perhaps more compassionate than God?” For a similar reprimand of the seer, see 4 Ezra 7:15–19. The rhetorical question is repeated in 40, 6, in a slightly different form: μη̄ ν̄τκ̄ οὐγ̄αν̄τ̄τη̄κ̄ ρω̄ ν̄θε̄ μ̄π̄νο̄υτε, “are you perhaps just as merciful as God?” As we argued in chapter 2, the theme of God’s compassion is central to the *Apocalypse*. Paul’s weeping and his claim that his compassion includes the entire human race upset the angel, because in this way Paul seems to question God’s compassion.

ε̄ψ̄κο̄ο̄υν̄ γ̄αρ̄ ν̄β̄ῑ π̄νο̄υτε̄ χ̄ε̄ ο̄υν̄ κ̄ρῑς̄ῑς̄ ψ̄ο̄ο̄π̄. ε̄τ̄βε̄ πᾱῑ ε̄ψ̄ο̄ρ̄ω̄ ν̄ζη̄τ̄ ε̄χ̄μ̄ πο̄γᾱ πο̄γᾱ ψ̄αν̄τ̄εῑρε̄ μ̄π̄ε̄φο̄ῡω̄ ρ̄ῑχ̄μ̄ π̄κᾱρ̄, “for God knows that judgment exists. That is why he patiently bears with each person so that he can do as he wishes on earth”: A similar passage occurs below, 40, 6; for both, compare Eccles. 15:11–20. In both passages, the author vigorously defends the principle of free human agency, *αὐτεξουσία*, just as contemporaneous monastic demonology does; see for instance Van der Vliet, “Chenouté et les démons,” 41–43; Brakke, *Demons*, 119–122 (on Shenoute); generally, Telfer, “Autexousia.”

34–42. The following chapters are entirely devoted to spatially differentiated descriptions of the punishments undergone by various categories of sinners. This part of the text is again very carefully laid out. It is marked at the beginning and the end by two blocks, devoted to clergy and heretics, respectively (34–36 and 41–42). The intervening chapters may seem to offer a kind of anthology of sins without much discernible order, but the series is brought to a close by the symmetrical presentation of the two categories of aborting women and failing monks, to which special attention is drawn (40, 2–3 and 4–5). For an overview of all categories of sinners and punishments, see below, table 11 (at 37–40.).

The descriptions in these chapters are for the greater part presented in a much similar format, enlivened by minor variations (for the classic discussion of this format, which is typical of “tours of hell,” see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 45–50). Each chapter opens with a statement of Paul’s visual experience, typically a phrase like “and I looked and saw,” followed by a description of the punishment undergone by a specific group of sinners. The sight of these provokes a question of Paul, usually something like “who are these?” The answer of the angel then identifies the sinners and their sins. The latter’s explana-

tion concludes with a refrain-like statement, such as “that is why they will be suffering this everlasting punishment,” a phrase that appears to echo 2 Enoch 5:8: “For all these (sc. sinners), this place is prepared as (their) eternal inheritance,” where it concludes the description of hell in the third heaven (Vaillant, *Livre des secrets*, 10). These repetitive and formulaic elements are no signs of lacking artistic sophistication, but tags that assist the audience in properly processing an orally reproduced text; for the broader significance of formulae, see Zakrzewska, “Masterplots,” 509–510.

The repeated statements about the eternal nature of the punishments, moreover, often occur precisely in those passages where Paul’s weeping gives vent to his compassion at the sight of the sinners’ suffering. Similar to the angel’s rebukes of Paul’s compassion, these emphatic statements seek to counteract Paul’s and (potentially) the audience’s excessive pity, which might tend to obscure the guilt that motivates the punishments and, consequently, the fact that they are deserved.

34–36. These three chapters describe the cruel tortures undergone by unworthy members of the clergy, a priest (34), a bishop (35), a deacon (36, 1) and a reader (36, 2); see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 123, citing later examples; Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 309–310. These are the most important office holders with whom the faithful would be familiar, ranked in hierarchical order, but for the priest taking precedence over the bishop (cf. Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 309). Although the reader was not a member of the higher clergy, his inclusion in the series is a logical one, given the fact that the text was obviously designed for being read to a congregation; cf. 46, 3 and 64, 2. As has been remarked by others before, the series as found here presupposes a developed Church hierarchy. Different than earlier “tours of hell,” the present text is fully conversant with institutionalized ecclesiastical and monastic life (see already chapter 31, 4).

The four episodes follow a very similar pattern. Only the deacon is tortured by worms, the others by angels. Whereas all clerics are immersed in the river of fire up to their knees, in the Coptic version alone the lecturer is immersed up to his lips (see below, at 36, 2).

34. ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΩΩΤ̄ ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ ΝΚΩΡ̄Τ̄, ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΓ̄ΛΛΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΑΥΕΝΤ̄Ω ΕΥΣΩΚ
 ἸΜΟϞ, ΑΥΟΜC̄Ω ϞΑ ΝΕϞΠΑΤ̄, “then I looked upon the river of fire and saw an old man being brought, who was dragged along and immersed up to his knees”: For the description of the tortures inflicted on the priest, the Latin of the Paris manuscript presents a very inferior text (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 140, 1.10–13). The St Gall manuscript (ibid., 2.10–15) and the Syriac (Perkins, in

Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 58; Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 134–135) generally agree with the Coptic but for the name of the angel (see below).

ⲁϣⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲓⲓ ⲡⲁⲣⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲗⲟϣⲟⲥ ⲙⲏ ⲟϣⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲗⲓⲥ ⲛⲕⲱⲉⲧ̅ ⲉϣⲟ ⲛⲱⲟⲙⲏⲧ̅ ⲛⲧⲁⲣ, “The angel Aftemelouchos came with a great three-pronged spear of fire”: For ⲁϣⲧⲉⲙⲉⲗⲟϣⲟⲥ, the Greek has *Τεμελοῦχος*, whereas the Latin of St Gall reads *angelus tartaruchus* (the name is omitted in the Syriac); for these names, see above, our commentary at chapter 16, 7. In the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* the angel is called Al(a)k(a)rāh (?), which defies interpretation.

For the entire scene, compare the description of the death of a false ascetic in the Sahidic *Apophthegmata Patrum*, no. 212, quoted *in extenso* in our chapter 3, section 2, where the angel is called ⲡⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟϣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ, “the Tartarouchos of hell,” similar to the torturing angel in 18, 2 (see our commentary above and Rosenstiehl, “Tartarouchos-Temelouchos,” 33). According to Rosenstiehl, *ibid.*, 44–47, the trident of the angel would be a reminiscence of Poseidon (but cf. Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 310–311). “Spears of fire” (ⲉⲛⲉⲱⲗⲓⲕ ⲛⲕⲱⲉⲧ̅) are also the attribute of a demon from hell, Theumatha, who should use them to compel a girl to join her lover, in a Coptic erotic spell (sixth-seventh century; Crum, “Magical Texts,” 195, 15–22); they occur also in 16, 2 (see above).

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲟϣⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃϣⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲏⲡⲉϣⲁⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲁϣⲧⲁⲗⲟϣ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱϣ, ⲉϣⲟϣⲱⲙ ⲉϣⲱⲥ ⲉϣⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉϣⲉ ⲉϣⲃⲏⲕ ⲉⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲉϣⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓϣⲙ̅ ⲡⲕⲁⲉ, “that is a priest who did not fulfill the dignity conferred upon him properly and who ate and drank and fornicated upon earth while he was about to offer up the sacrifice”: The tortured priest is guilty of two deadly sins, *gula* and *luxuria* (see for the latter our comment at 18, 1). *Gula* or gluttony is an excessive and overindulgent tendency to eat and drink (on which see Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Part 2–2, Question 148, Article 4). The sin appears another two times in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in 36, 1, and in 39, 3, and is here aggravated by lack of respect for the Eucharist.

The *Apocalypse of Shenoute* (cited in chapter 3, section 2) describes in very similar terms the cruel tortures undergone by a priest. The seer asks ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟϣ ⲁϣⲣ̅ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲧ̅ⲣ̅ϣⲏⲏ ⲉⲥⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ, “why did they do these things to this soul, although it held this high rank in the Church?” The answer is: ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃϣⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲛⲁϣ ⲉⲣⲟϣ ⲉϣⲟϣⲱⲙ (read ⲁϣⲟϣⲱⲙ) ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲕⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲏ ⲏⲡⲟⲣⲏⲏ, ⲙⲡⲓⲧ̅ ⲉⲧⲏⲉϣ ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲏⲟϣ̅[ⲧ̅]ⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ̅, “that priest that you see has been eating away the possessions of the Church together with prostitutes, without heeding at all that the judgment of God exists” (Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* IV, textus, 200, 8–12).

For the role of priests (and deacons) in late-antique Egypt; see principally Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, 40–75; Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church*, 305–335. Interestingly, Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, 59–60, cites a seventh-

century Coptic document in which a candidate for priesthood specifically promises not to whore (πορνεῦε); cf. *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, 64, n. 182, for the canonical literature on the subject.

35. ἀνδρ̄ ἐγγλ̄λο ἡρώμε ἐαγ̄εντ̄ ὄν ἐγ̄ηπ̄τ̄ ἡμ̄μας ἡ̄βι π̄τοογ̄ ἡ̄αγγ̄ελος ἡ̄τε τοργ̄η, ἀγομ̄ς ὧα νεφ̄πατ̄ ῥ̄ῃ π̄ειε̄ρο ἡ̄κω̄ξ̄τ̄ ἐρε ρ̄ενεβρη̄σε ἡ̄κω̄ξ̄τ̄ ρ̄ιογε ἐρογ̄ν ῥ̄ῃ π̄ῶρο ἡ̄θε ἡ̄νειδᾱτηγ̄, “I saw again an old man being brought, who was rushed forward by four angels of wrath. They immersed him up to his knees in the river of fire, while flashes of fire struck his face like whirlwinds”: For a discussion of the text of this passage and its relation to the various Latin manuscripts, see Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 188–189, who demonstrates that the Coptic provides the best testimony here. The Paris manuscript fails to describe the action properly, attributing the wounds on the old man’s face to stones thrown by the angels: *et lapidibus percuciebant eum et uulnerabant faciem eius sicut procela*, “and they struck him with stones and wounded his face like a hurricane” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 140, 1.23–28). The Coptic, supported by the Greek and the St Gall manuscript, clearly shows that it is the flashes of fire proceeding from the river, very much like Plato’s Pyriphlegethon (*Phaedo*, 113B, οὐ καὶ οἱ ῥύακες ἀποσπάσματα ἀναφυσῶσιν ὅπῃ ἂν τύχῃσι τῆς γῆς), that wound the old man’s face: *et lampades igneae percutiebant faciem eius sicut procella*, “and fiery torches struck his face like a hurricane” (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 140, 2.24–27). The manuscript from Arnhem attempts a middle way, stating that the lapidation takes place *lapidibus igneis: et lapidibus igneis percuciebant faciem illius sicut procella*, “and they (sc. the angels) struck his face with fiery stones like a hurricane” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 141, 23–26).

“Angels of wrath” are very common in the general context of punishment of sinners; see Michl, “Engel IV,” 139–140; cf. the “spirit of wrath” in chapter 16, 2. A single angel of wrath appears, in a similar role, at the death of a pitiless rich man, in Shenoute’s homily *De iudicio* (Behlmer, *Schenute*, 62, 1.19–11.15; cf. 233).

παὶ οὐ̄ε̄πισκοπος π̄ε ἡ̄περ̄χωκ̄ ἐβολ̄ καλ̄ως ἡ̄τε̄φῑἡ̄τε̄πισκοπος, “that is a bishop who did not fulfill his episcopate properly”: The description of the bishop allows us to class him among the sinners guilty of sloth or *acedia* (gr. ἀκηδία), which appears four times in the *Apocalypse*, in 35; 37, 2; 39, 2, and 40, 4. Prototypically, these sinners refuse to enjoy God’s goodness, which expresses itself also in failure to pronounce just judgments or practice mercy, in sum, in becoming a misanthrope due to apathy or disinterest, as is clearly the case in the current paragraph. See the next comment.

ἐφο̄ ἡ̄μας̄τ̄ρω̄με, “he was a misanthrope”: This clause lacks in the other versions, yet it is entirely appropriate, if not essential. For the considerable effort

in charity required from bishops in late antiquity, see Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church*, 349–363; Dekker, *Episcopal Networks*, 49–51, both with further references, also to the canonical sources.

36, 1. ἐπειδὴ ἡμεῖς, “closer to me,” lit. “at this side of me.” The Latin of St Gall has instead *a latere eius*, “at his (i.e. the deacon’s) side” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 142, 2.1; Paris omits it), which is less likely to be correct. The same occurs again in 36, 2. As elsewhere, the Coptic very carefully situates Paul’s vision spatially.

ερε νεφειλ τολῆ ἡσνοϥ, “and whose hands were stained with blood”: This detail is explained later in the same paragraph, where it is pointed out that the deacon did not heed “that he carried the blood of Christ in his hands,” ερε ησνοϥ ἡπεχριστοϥ εἰς νεφειλ.

οὐδὲ διακονοϥ πε εἰπορνευε μεν νεξιome ἡνοϥϥ αν με, “that is a deacon who fornicated with women who were not his own”: Given the construction, for which see chapter 31, 4, and the general sense, a correction to εἰνεξιome is tempting. For the sin of lust, which includes the fornication referred to here, see our commentary at 24, 2.

εφοϥωμ ἡνεπροσφορα εἰς οὐμῆτατχοτε, “devouring the oblations in a shameless way”: The Latin omits the last part of the phrase (“in a shameless way”), which yet seems present in the Syriac (though somewhat differently, see Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 134–135) and the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 314–315: “unwürdig”); the Greek abridges this entire chapter.

Deacons counted among higher clergy and played an important role in late-antique Church administration and liturgy; see the literature cited above, at 34, about priests. Deacons were the principal agents of the bishop in dispensing charity, cf. the Coptic *Canons of Hippolytus*, Sahidic 33 and 56 (Till and Leipoldt, *Koptische Text*, 4–7 and 30–33); they were therefore obviously in a good position to “devour the oblations.” The verb (οϥωμ) indicates that we have to do here with the sin of gluttony, as in 34 and 39, 3.

εφβηλ εβολ εἰς σμοτ ηημ ἡμῆτατωδϥ. ἡπῶρ εχοτε ηοϥχοοϥ εε ερε οϥραν οϥνηε εδωϥ εϥω ερε ησνοϥ ἡπεχριστοϥ εἰς νεφειλ. εϥτακο ἡπεφοϥοειϥ τηρϥ ἡπεμετανοι ϥαντῶμοϥ, “and reveling in all kinds of foolishness. He did not for a day heed that he was invested with a dignity and that he carried the blood of Christ in his hands. He ruined his entire life without repenting up to his death”: This entire passage lacks in all Latin versions as well as the Syriac and the Slavonic. Yet, since it provides the explanation for the deacon’s bloodstained hands, there can be no doubt that it belongs to the original text.

The deacon’s frivolous lifestyle shows him to be guilty of the sin of vanity, which is normally included in that of *superbia* or pride, perhaps the most seri-

ous of all deadly sins. Besides here, it appears at seven other occasions in the *Apocalypse*. See our commentary at 24, 2.

ΑΥΘ ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΝΟQ ἸΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC ἔἸ ΝΕQΘΙΧ, “and that he carried the blood of Christ in his hands”: That this was late-antique practice is shown by the *Canons of Athanasius* 37 (Arabic; Riedel and Crum, *Canons*, 26 and 33) and the *Canons of Basil* 97 (Riedel, *Kirchenrechtsquellen*, 275).

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑ<1> ΕQΩΟΟΠ ἔἸ ΝΕΙΒΑΖΑΝΟC ΕΘΟΟΥ, “therefore he is undergoing these cruel tortures”: In ΠΑ<1> (thus with Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 541, and Copeland, *Mapping*, 275), the glide dropped out between two vowels.

36, 2. ΑΙΝΑΥ <ΕΚΕΡΩΜΕ> ΕΑΥΕΝΤῸ, “I saw another man being brought”: We restored <ΕΚΕΡΩΜΕ>, following Copeland (*Mapping*, 275); the verb ΑΙΝΑΥ requires a masculine singular object, which is the object of the following secondary predicate, ΕΑΥΕΝΤῸ (for the construction, see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 311).

ΑΥΟΜCῸ ἔἸ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ ἸΚΩῸΤ ὧΑ ΝΕQΠΟΤΟΥ, “and immersed in the river of fire up to his lips”: Whereas the priest, the bishop and the deacon are all immersed up to their knees, perhaps to remind them of the deferential attitude that their service in church requires, the reader is immersed up to this lips, just like the slanderers in 31, 4, obviously in reference to his function within the church; for the same reason he is punished in his tongue and lips. The Latin has the reader immersed up to his knees (*usque ad ienua*, for *genua*, Paris), as in the previous three cases, probably under the influence of the largely similar structure of these four paragraphs (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 1.142–143).

ΜἸ ΟΥΤΟC ἸΚΩῸΤ, “with a razor of fire”: Cf. 16, 2, with the same spelling ΤΟC.

ΠΑΙ ΟΥΑΝΑΓΝΩCΤΗC ΠΕ, ΕQΤCΒΩ ΜΠΛΑΟC, “that is a reader, who taught the people”: For the role and status of readers in late-antique Egypt, see Wipszycka, “Les ordres mineurs,” 194–205 (in the reprint: 238–248).

37–40. Following the distinct group of clergy (34–36) and preceding the heretics, who likewise represent a distinct group, also set apart topographically (41–42), the text reviews various other categories of sinners and their respective punishments. It does so in a rather arbitrary order, which perhaps better than a more systematic one would have done, creates an impression of comprehensiveness. Categories that are singled out are: usurers (37, 1), slanderers (37, 2, similar to those in 31, 4), sorcerers (38, 2), fornicators (38, 3), girls who lost their virginity before marriage (39, 1), oppressors of the poor and the orphans (39, 2), those who break the fast before due time (39, 3), adulterous women (39, 4), the heathen (40, 1), aborting women (40, 2–3) and monastics absorbed by mundane matters (40, 4–5). The last two categories, aborters and rotten monks,

get particular attention and the somewhat fuller paragraphs devoted to them (40, 2–5) are clearly conceived as a distinct unit that brings this rather episodic part of the text to a provisional close. As it comprises eleven episodes, devoted to eleven various categories of sinners, it may be conjectured that originally the series may have comprised twelve such episodes, as this seems for the author a significant number (cf. the twelve walls of celestial Jerusalem in 23, 2 and 29, 1, and—plausibly—the number of episodes in chapters 46–54, see below). In this respect, though not in his actual analysis of the chapters on hell, we tend to follow Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 21–31.

Table 11, on the next page, presents an overview of all categories of sins and sinners that are identified in the text, including those in earlier chapters, with their respective punishments; for further details, see the commentary at the chapters and paragraphs in question.

37, 1. ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΞΕΝΩΙΚΕ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΙΕΡΟ ΝΚΩΞΤ ΕΟΥΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΖΙΟΜΕ ΟΜΕ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ, “I saw pits on the shore of the river of fire in which men and women were immersed”: The Latin first mentions “a multitude of pits in that same place” and then situates the usurers “in the middle of that river,” which leaves the pits unexplained (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144–145, 1–4, all versions). The Syriac situates the scene merely “in another place” (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 136–137, chapter 39). The Coptic is both precise and logical.

In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, chapter 10, 1, usurers are standing up to their knees in a lake “full of purulence and blood and boiling mire” (Achmim codex 31, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 8; the Ethiopic similarly: a place “full of excrement,” Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 212–213). In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, they are “swathed in fiery reed mats” (Achmimic 15, 11–15; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 60).

ΕΥΔΩ ΑΖΟΜ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΡΙΜΕ, “and who groaned and wept”: This clause lacks in the Latin. Perhaps the Coptic erroneously doubled the next sentence, where it is Paul who weeps and groans, as he does all the time.

ΠΕΧΕ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, ΠΩΤΠ ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ, ΚΝΑΥ ΕΟΥ, “The angel said to me: ‘Paul, chosen of God, what do you see?’”: The angel’s question lacks in the other versions.

ΚΝΑΥ ΕΟΥ, “what do you see?”: This is a *wh-in-situ* question, which would usually require a second present tense, ΕΚΝΑΥ (Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 253–254). The ε may have dropped out by haplography (after ΠΠΟΥΤΕ).

ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΧΙ ΜΗΣΕ ΜΜΗΣΕ, “these are the persons who charged compound interest”: The Coptic expression ΕΤΧΙ ΜΗΣΕ ΜΜΗΣΕ, “charging compound interest” (similarly *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*: ΕΥΩΙ, for ΕΥΧΙ, ΤΜΗΣΕ ΜΜΗΣΕ, Achmimic 15, 15; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 60), not recorded in this form in Crum, *Dictionary*, 186a, corresponds literally to ἀπαιτοῦντες τόκου τόκων in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Greek, Achmim codex 31; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 8).

TABLE 11 Overview of sinners and punishments in chapters 31–42

Chapters	Sins and sinners	Punishments
<i>The river of fire</i>		
31, 4	Leaving church, meddling	Immersed up to knees
31, 4	Taking Communion in state of sin	up to middle
31, 4	Slandering in church	up to lips
31, 4	Sneering, cheating	up to hair
<i>Clergy</i>		
34	Priest	up to knees, spear of fire, intestines
35	Bishop	up to knees, flashes of fire, face
36, 1	Deacon	up to knees, worms, mouth and nose, hands
36, 2	Reader	up to lips, razor of fire, tongue and lips
<i>General</i>		
37, 1	Usurers, arrogant rich	Pits, devoured by worms
37, 2	Slandering in church	Parched place, chewing tongues
38, 1–2	Sorcerers	Pool of pus, immersed up to knees / lips
38, 3	Fornicators	Valley of fire, immersed to middle, tortured, black
39, 1	Girls loosing virginity before age	Dark places, chains at neck, filthy clothes
39, 2	Oppressing poor and orphans	Ice-cold place, loss of hands / feet, worms
39, 3	Breaking the fast	Not allowed to eat or drink
39, 4	Adulterous women	Suspended by hair, torches of fire, dragon snakes
40, 1	Heathen	Channels of fire, abyss, blind, black clothes
40, 2–3	Abortionists	On spits of fire, beasts eating intestines
40, 4–5	Unworthy monks	Sackcloth / sulfur and pitch, snakes of fire around neck / hands / feet, dragged and pierced
<i>Heretics</i>		
41	Denying incarnation of Christ / his birth from Virgin Mary / transubstantiation, renegades	Well of the abyss
42	Denying resurrection of Christ / of the flesh	Worm not sleeping, cold, gnashing of teeth

ΕΥΚΩ ΝΖΤΗΥ ΕΤΕΥΜΝΤΡΜΑΟ, “and who put their trust in their wealth”: Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 145, under 10, following James, compares the similar phrase in *Apocalypse of Peter* 9:7 (Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 212–213; Greek, Achmim codex 30, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 8). The usurer’s sin of greed or *avaritia* seems to be aggravated here by its combination with pride.

37, 2. ΕΚΕΜΑ ΝΩΔΡΒΑ, ΕΦΟΥΗΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΔΔΤΕ, “another parched place that was very far away”: The Latin of St Gall has *aliud locum angustum ualde et erat in circuitu eius sicut murus igneus*, “another very narrow space, surrounded by what looked like a fiery wall” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 2.10–11; Paris adds *et erat sicut mons*, “and it was like a mountain,” which seems not to be supported by the any other version, except perhaps the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*: “a very high place”). Both the notion of narrowness (*angustum*) and the fiery wall lack in the Coptic, even though the Greek version (τείχος χαλκοῦν πεπυρωμένον; Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60) and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*: “and around it there was a wall of fire surrounding it,” have preserved the latter. It is therefore likely that the Latin has a superior text here. The qualification “far away” in the Coptic text is awkward and almost certainly results from a reading error. At some stage of its transmission, the stative ΣΗΥ, “to be narrow,” may have been mistaken for the formally much similar stative ΟΥΗΥ, “to be far,” with ΕΒΟΛ added automatically. As the text is grammatical and understandable as it stands, however, we retained the reading of the manuscript.

The text consistently associates wide and open spaces with positive, narrow spaces with negative experiences (see below, in particular at chapter 40, 3, and 41, 2). According to the Coptic *Book of Thomas the Contender*, the unbeliever who rejects Jesus’ message will be “cast down from high into the abyss and locked up in a dark narrow space (ΟΥΜΑ ΕΦΘΗΥ ΕΦΟ ΝΚΑΚΕ); he will not even be able to turn around or to move because of the depth of Tartarus and the heavy bitterness of hell” (NHCI, 7: 142, 33–35; Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, II, 194; cf. Kunzmann, *Livre de Thomas*, 128, for further parallels). In 40, 3, by contrast, the “spacious place” assigned to the aborted infants represents freedom and room to breathe. For these visual metaphors, see generally Ledin and Machin, “Multi-Modal Critical Discourse Analysis,” 66–67; in apocalyptic literature, the opposition is much developed in 4 Ezra 7:1–25 (Klijn, *Lateinische Text*, 43–45).

ΕΥΟΥΘΟΟΥΕΘ ΝΚΑ ΝΕΥΛΑΘ, “chewing their tongues”: A rather obvious measure-for-measure punishment for slanderers, who in 31, 4, were immersed in the river of fire up to their lips. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 9:4; Greek, Achmim codex 29 (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 8), it is the false witnesses who are chewing (μασώμενοι) their tongues (Ethiopic: “their lips are cut off”; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*,

210–211), whereas the blasphemers are hanging by their tongues, Ethiopic 7:1–2 (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 196–199); Achmim codex 22 (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 4). Slander, false testimony and blasphemy all belong to the category of “verbal sins” that in this class of texts are typically punished by the tongue or the lips; see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 72–73.

ΝΑΙ ΝΕΤΕ ΘΑΥΚΑΤΑΛΛΕΙ Ζῆ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙᾶ, “these are they who slandered within the church”: The doubling of the category of slanderers within the church, already found in 31, 4, may reflect the author’s use of different groups of traditional material.

ΜΕΥΤ ΖΤΗΥ ἔΠΛΟΓΟC ἸΠΠΟΥΓΕ, “did not pay heed to the word of God”: Together with slander (which might be an expression of *invidia* or envy, see our comment at 17, 3 and 29, 1), the sinners mentioned here are also guilty of *acedia* or sloth, for neglecting God’s word and goodness.

ἈΛΛΑ ΕΥΤ ὩΝΤ ἸΠΠΟΥΓΕ Μῆ ΝΕΦΑΓΓΕΛΟC, “but instead provoked the anger of God and his angels”: The Coptic text refers to the belief that “angels of the altar” are present during the liturgy; for general background, see above, at 29, 4. Their irritation can be mortal. The Bohairic *Life of Pesynthios* relates an anecdote about a priest who spat on the altar during the liturgy and died on the spot as he was hit by the tip of the wing of a cherub (Amélineau, *Étude*, 109–114). The Latin reads *sed quasi nihil facientes dominum et angelos eius*, “but seemingly counting God and his angels for nothing” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 1.15–16), which sounds weak.

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ CΕΝΑΧΙ ἸΤΕΙΚΟΛΑCΙC ΕCΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ, “that is why they will be suffering this everlasting punishment”: This is the first of a series of similar expressions, in 38, 3; 39, 1, 2, 3 and 4; 40, 1, 2, 3, and 5, and 41, 3, that bring the descriptions of particular groups of punishments to a formal conclusion in an almost refrain-like manner (see above, our commentary at 34–42). Most are statements of the angel and in a sense they counterbalance Paul’s repeated expressions of compassion by underscoring the rightfulness and necessity of punishment as a consequence of the crimes committed by the sinners.

38, 1. ΑἸΝΑΥ ΟΝ ΕΥΕΙΑΛ ΖΡΑΙ Ζῆ ΠΩΙΚ ΕCΟ ἸΠΑΥΑΝ ἸΠΕCΝΟΥ, “I also saw a shining pool down in the depth that had the color of blood,” literally “I also saw a mirror down in the depth that had the color of blood”: The word εἶαλ, “mirror, reflecting water,” seems out of place here. A correction of εἶαλ into εἶα, “valley, ravine,” would seem obvious. Yet εἶα is masculine and would demand a second correction, of ΕCΟ to ΕΥΟ. Alternatively, εἶαλ could be taken for a non-Sahidic spelling of εἰοορ, “canal” (cf. Fay. 1ααλ), which is likewise masculine, however. We therefore retained (feminine) εἶαλ, “mirror,” translating “a shining pool” (cf. Copeland, *Mapping*, 215: “reflecting pool”), which is etymologically justifiable

(see Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 62, s.v. *ιηλ and ειελελ). The interpretation as a pool is moreover supported by a passage in the *Apocalypse of Peter* that clearly served as the direct model for the present one: “Near that place I saw another narrow place in which the pus and the filth (ὁ ἰχώρ καὶ ἡ δυσωδία) of those who were being punished oozed down (κατέρρεε) and there became like a pool (λίμνη)” (Achmim codex 26, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 6; cf. the very similar Ethiopic in 8:1; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 202–203).

The other versions are hardly helpful. The Latin has a nonsensical *uidi [a]lium senem deorsum in foueam et erat aspectus eius sicut sanguis*, “I saw another old man down in a pit and his appearance was blood-like” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 1.19–20). The Arnhem manuscript simply reports “an old man down in a pit” (*et uidi senem hominem dimersum in fouea*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 145, 2.19–20; very similarly, the Slavonic: Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 318–319). Like the Syriac, the Greek abridges: καὶ ἶδον βόθυ-
νον αἱματωμένον, “and I saw a pit stained with blood” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60), as does the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*.

ΞΕΝΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΖΟϞΕ, “what kind of harsh places are these?”: Copeland (*Mapping*, 215, following Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1062) erroneously makes this refer to people: “who are those who suffer?,” in which case the angel’s answer (“*this is the place* into which the punishments ooze down pus”) would be misplaced. For the interpretation as “places,” compare below, chapter 42, 1: ΝΙΗ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΩΟΟΠ Ζῆ ΝΕΙΤΟΠΟϞ ΕΤΖΟϞΕ, “who are those that live in these harsh places?” This interpretation is confirmed by the Latin: *Quis est hic locus?* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 1.21–22, Paris) and the Greek: τί ἐστὶν ὁ βόθυνος οὗτος, “What is that pit?” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60).

ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΙΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΚΟΛΑϞΙϞ ΤΟΥΟ ΕΙΑΒΕ ΕΠΕϞΗΤ ΕΡΟϞ, “this is the place into which the punishments ooze down pus”: This is a near-literal quote from the passage in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8, 1, quoted above; for Coptic ΕΙΑΒΕ as a translation of ἰχώρ, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 76b. The other versions again fail to describe the place correctly. According to the Latin, it is the punishments themselves that flow into the pit: *Et dixit mihi: in istam foueam influunt omnes pene* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 1.22–23), whereas the Syriac describes it as a place “from which issue forth torments” (Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60). See also Silverstein, *Visio*, 32; Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 111.

38, 2. ΕΥΘΜϞ ΕΠΕϞΗΤ ΤΑ ΝΕΥΠΑΤ ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΘΜϞ ΤΑ ΝΕΥϞΠΟΤΟΥ, “immersed up to their knees and others immersed up to their lips”: The Latin Paris manuscript has “up to their lips” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 1.24), the Arnhem manuscript “up to their knees” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 145, 2.23–24); since the Coptic has both, this is likely to be original.

In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 12:5–7, Ethiopic only (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 202), sorcerers and sorceresses are punished on wheels of fire, absent from the present text.

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲏⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣ̅ ⲓⲓⲟⲥ (for ⲉⲧⲣ̅ ⲓⲓⲟⲥ) ⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲗϣ ⲉϣⲟⲥⲉ
ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟϥⲙⲟϥ, “these are the sorcerers who bewitch men and women and keep
them ailing until they die”: The Latin (Paris) for ⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ (μάγος) reads *malefici*
(Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 25); the otherwise much garbled
Greek has φάρμακοι καὶ γόητες (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60); for the termi-
nology, see Van der Vliet, “Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” 242–244. The illness
of the victims is a realistic detail that figures often in ancient literature about
sorcerers and their activity; see Van der Vliet, “Roman and Byzantine Egypt,”
255–262.

38, 3. ⲉϥⲟⲙⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲡⲁⲱⲉ, “immersed half way”: The text has literally: “up to
their half.” In the descriptions of 31, 4, about the river of fire, this is phrased
differently ⲉⲧⲟⲙⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲏⲏⲧⲉ, “immersed up to their middle.” The phrase
lacks in the Latin of the Paris manuscript, but the strange *semiaridos*, “half-dry”
(about men and women), in the Arnhem manuscript (Silverstein and Hilhorst,
Apocalypse, 145, 2.28) may preserve a faint echo.

ⲉⲗϥⲟⲙⲟⲙ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲓⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲟϥⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲱϣ̅ ⲛⲥⲱⲃ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ, “who had become seven
times blacker than sackcloth”: Contrast the faces of the saints in Paradise,
which are “beaming seven times more than the sun” (56, 1; cf. above at 20, 1, for
further examples). Wearing sackcloth (ⲟⲟϥⲛⲉ, *σάκκος*) as a sign of mourning
is biblical, see for instance Gen. 37:34 (Jacob mourning Joseph); for the color of
sackcloth as an outward marker of guilt, see Ps.-Athanasius, *Homily on the Pas-
sion and the Judgment* (CPG 2184, Sahidic), f. 106v0: Michael will blow the trum-
pet for the last judgment, ⲛⲧⲉ ⲟϥⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲟϥⲱⲛⲉ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲗⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲛⲏⲣⲉϥⲣⲏⲃⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ · ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲧⲙⲁϥ ⲕⲏⲙ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲟϥⲛⲉ, “and a sign will appear upon
the head of all the sinners, and that sign is black like sackcloth” (Bernardin,
“Coptic Sermon,” 126); a fragmentary Sahidic homily *On Michael* describes how,
in the same eschatological context, ⲛⲉⲗⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲙⲓⲣⲏ,
ⲛⲉⲣⲉϥⲣⲏⲃⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲙⲟⲙ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲟϥⲛⲉ, “the righteous will beam like the sun;
the sinners will grow black like sackcloth” (Elanskaya, “Unpublished Coptic
Manuscript,” 53); a variant in Ps.-Athanasius, *Homily on the Passion*, already
quoted above, describes how the righteous in the judgment will be standing at
the right, ⲉϥⲣ̅ ⲟϥⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲓⲱⲛ, “shining like snow,” while the impious will
stand at the left, ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲗⲗⲁⲓⲧ̅ ⲉⲥⲓⲏⲣ, “their faces black like a
sooted pot” (Bernardin, “Coptic Sermon,” 126; cf. Nah. 2:11). The same opposition
is a recurrent theme throughout our text. In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Achmim
codex 21 (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 4, without counterpart in the Ethiopic), the “place

of punishment” is deeply parched and both those who are being punished there and the punishing angels are wearing dark garments, “in accordance with the atmosphere of the place” (κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ τόπου; cf. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 141, under 2, and 147, under 22, for the black garments in the *Apocalypses of Peter and Paul*). For the color symbolism in general, see Kazhdan and Maguire, “Byzantine Hagiographical Texts,” 2.

ⲛⲁⲗⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲓⲡⲱⲣⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲓⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ, “they are those who fornicated with others”: The Latin (Paris) adds a redundant *et moechi*, “and the adulterers” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 144, 1.31–32), which lacks in the Coptic and in the Arnhem manuscript of the Latin, but seems supported by the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*: “fornicators and adulterers.”

Sexual sins are well represented in our text, as in similar texts, see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 69–73; as such fornication is mentioned earlier already in 18, 1 (adultery); 22, 5; 31, 4 (twice); 34; 36, 1; 38, 3, but see also 39, 1 (virgins) and 4 (adultery) and 40, 2–3 (abortion). See our commentary at 18, 1.

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲟⲗⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲥⲙⲙⲛ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲩ, “That is why they will be suffering this punishment that lasts forever”: For this concluding statement of the angel, see above, our commentary at 34–42 and 37, 2.

39, 1. ⲓⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ, “young girls”: Cf. Latin *puellas* (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 1.1).

ⲉⲣⲉ ⲓⲛⲓⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϣⲗⲁⲁⲙ ⲧⲟ ⲓⲱⲟϣ, “dressed in filthy garments”: For ⲉϣⲗⲁⲁⲙ, “filthy,” the Latin has a more commonplace *nigra*, “black” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 2, Paris; 147, 2, Arnhem); similarly, the Greek, μέλανα (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60), and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 11, 6–7, Ethiopic (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 220–221), the girls who lost their virginity before marriage are “dressed in darkness as clothing.” For the color symbolism, see above, at 38, 3; for the dress motif in “tours of hell,” see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 141, under 2.

For the Coptic “filthy,” compare Shenoute, *De iudicio* (Behlmer, *Schenute*, 137): the pitiless rich in hell will be terrible to see, ⲉϣⲗⲁⲁⲙⲉ ⲓⲛ̅ ⲧⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣϥⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉϣⲛⲟⲃⲉ, “filthy from the impurity of his sins” (a reference already cited by Crum, *Dictionary*, 141b); sins as ⲛⲉⲓⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲁⲙ, “filthy garments,” figure in a fragmentary Sahidic homily *On Michael* (Elanskaya, “Unpublished Coptic Manuscript,” 50); cf. Ps.-Macarius of Tkow, *On Michael*, addressing the sinner: ⲉⲣⲉ ⲑⲃⲥⲱ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲁⲙ ⲧⲟ ⲓⲱⲱⲕ ⲓⲛ̅ ⲧⲙⲙⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ, “you are wearing the filthy garment in the middle of the bridal room,” meaning the church, but using the language of Matt. 22:1–14 (Sahidic; Lafontaine, “Éloge copte,” 307–308).

ⲉϣⲁⲱⲁⲓⲁⲓⲟⲙ ⲁϣⲱ ⲉϣⲣⲓⲙⲉ, “while they were groaning and weeping”: The Latin (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 5–6, Paris) attributes this phrase to

Paul (*plorans interrogauit*), as a few lines later, in 39, 2 (αἰῶν ἀζομ ἀγῶ ἀίριμε); compare a similar case above, in 37, 1.

ΝΑΙ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΩΞΜ̃ ΝΤΕΥΗΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ, ἡΠΑΤΟΥΤΑΔΥ ἡζαῖ, “those are they who defiled their virginity before they were given in marriage”: Young girls who lost their virginity before marriage are a stock theme in Christian “tours of hell”; see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 103–104, who discusses several recurring motifs associated with this theme, among them darkness and chains. The popularity of the theme reflects its importance till today in Mediterranean society.

ἡΠΑΤΟΥΡ ΤΗ ΜΠΧΩΞΜ̃, “and, indeed, had reached the age of menstruation”: ΧΩΞΜ̃ has a general meaning of “pollution”; for the present sense, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 798a, who refers to ⲩⲱⲃⲉⲙ in Bohairic Lev. 12:2, where the Sahidic has ⲱⲣⲱ (translating Greek ἄφεδρος). This phrase lacks in the Latin and the Greek. It looks slightly overdone and may well be an addition of the Coptic, emphasizing that the virgins were not only unmarried, but even too young to be married or have sexual intercourse.

ΟΥΔΕ ἡΠΕ ΝΕΥΚΕΕΙΩΤΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ, “without even their parents noticing it”: The reference to the parents must have been part of the original text in this section. It is preserved in the Paris manuscript of the Latin: *nescientibus parentibus suis* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 1.8–9; Arnheim omits this, but explains: *ante nupcias*, “before marriage,” 147, 2.8) and in the Greek: αἱ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60). The Syriac and the Armenian omit the whole issue. The sin of the girls involves not only defilement, but also disobedience to their parents. The same emphasis is found, in a similar context, in the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius*: Ⲛⲥⲓⲟϥⲓ ⲉⲛⲟϥⲓⲟⲩ, “unknown to their parents” (Lefort, *Pachomii vita bohairice*, textus, 101, 5).

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ CΕΝΑΧΙ ΝΤΕΙΚΟΛΑCIC ΕCΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ, “that is why they will be suffering this everlasting punishment”: The Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* elaborates on the punishment of the girls and adds that they will be thrown into outer darkness, where they will stay for forty years, a detail absent from the present text.

39, 2. ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ Μ̃ ΖΕΝΚΕΞΙΟΜΕ, ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥCΙΧ Μ̃ ΝΕΥΟΥΡΗΗΤΕ CΟΛ̃ ΕΒΟΛ, “men and also women, their hands and their feet severed”: The Latin adds *ac nudos*, “and naked” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 1.12, Paris), which makes sense in the context, where the sinners are exposed to extreme cold.

ΝΑΙ ΝΕΤΧΙ Ν̃ΝΖΗΚΕ Ν̃CΟΝC Μ̃ Ν̃ΟΡΦΑΝΟC, ἡΠΟΥΚΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΥ ἡΖΕΛΜΙC ΖΙ ΒΟ̃ΗΘΟC, “those are they who oppressed the poor and the orphans and did not allow God to be their hope and their succor”: Compare the very similar phrasing in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 9:7 (Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 212–213; Achmim codex 30, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 8), even though the punishment differs. Care for

the poor and widows and orphans is a prominent Christian theme, appearing here in chapter 35, about the misanthropic bishop, and 40, 4, about the failed monastics; cf. Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 310. Beside its inclusion in the sin of *avaritia*, already mentioned at 18, 1–2, the final part of the sentence shows that these sinners might also be guilty of sloth, equated to the refusal to accept God’s goodness; for the recurrent motif of this refusal, see above, our commentary at 32, 1.

39, 3. ἀΙΝΑΥ ἔΞΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΡΟΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΞΝ ΟΥΘΘΕ ἸΜΟΟΥ, “and I saw others, inclined over an outlet of water”: Instead of ΟΥΘΘΕ, the manuscript has ΟΥΘΒΕ, which supposes an obscure *hapax* -ōβε. The plausible emendation to -ōθε, “outlet, source (of water),” was first proposed by Crum, *Dictionary*, 254a and 499a, and is confirmed by the Latin: *et uidi alios pendentes super canela aque*, “and I saw others, hanging over a channel of water” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 1.18–19), and by the Arabic homily cited below. The scribal error may have been inspired by the context (-ōβε being a verb, “to be thirsty”; cf. in the same line ϣα πειβε, “from thirst”) and the visual similarity of θ and β.

ἸΠΟΥΚΑΔΥ ΕΩ, “they were not permitted to drink”: Omitted in the Latin, no doubt by error. The punishment here described is the famous torment of Tantalus from Greek mythology. Here it is, from a Christian perspective logically, connected with the observation of the fast. This seems to be an innovation of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and one among many indications for a monastic background of the text; cf. Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 312–313; earlier models are discussed in Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 92–94, though rather inconclusively. The Tantalus motif appears in a homily *On Shenoute’s Vision of the Church of the Firstborn in Heaven*, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, chapter 9–10 (Arabic; Grohmann, “Visionen” [second part], 28–32, already cited above, at 29, 4). It makes the sinners who break the fast stretch out their tongues to “streams, rivulets (*majārin*) of water,” thus confirming the emendation proposed by Crum (οθε; see above).

39, 4. ΕΥΑΥΕ ἔΞΡΑΙ ΝСА ΠΩ ΝΤΕΥΑΠΕ, “suspended by the hair of their head”: Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1063) translates “suspended head downwards,” which is obviously incorrect (correctly: Copeland, *Mapping*, 217). The Latin has *suspensos a superciliis et capillis suis*, “suspended by their eyebrows and hair” (Paris, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 26; St Gall similarly), which may have been the original reading also of the Coptic, since this is quoted as an (insufficient) punishment for murder in a Sahidic homily attributed to Athanasius, *On Murder and Greed*, 10: ΚΑΝ ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΕΝΡΕΦΩΤΕΒ ΔΟΥΤΟΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΝСА ΠΩ ΝΤΕΥΑΠΕ ΜΝ ΝΒΟΥΖΕ ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛ, “even if the murderers would sus-

pend themselves by the hair of their head and their eyelids" (Saweros, *Another Athanasius*, textus, 21, White Monastery version), allowing for the slight semantic shift eyelid—eyebrow; the association with murder is uncommon, though (see below).

This is a measure-for-measure punishment typically associated in "tours of hell" with female adultery; see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 85–92. Also canonical texts associate female adultery (for which see our commentary at 18, 1) with the hair; see for instance the *Canons of Athanasius* 74 (Arabic, Riedel and Crum, *Canons*, 40 and 47–48, with n. 35). The *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:6, Ethiopic (cited below), explicitly censures braiding the hair.

Himmelfarb speculates, on the basis of the parallels quoted by her, that the Latin text should be understood as meaning that the men were hung by their eyebrows and the women by their hair (*Tours of Hell*, 87–88, with n. a). The rather garbled Latin indeed seems to include men, who may have been discussed separately, though, as they are in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:5–8 (Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 198–201; Achmim codex 24, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 6). However this may be, the Coptic version, beyond the standard opening phrase $\alpha\iota\iota\alpha\gamma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \mu\tilde{\eta}\ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\zeta\iota\omega\mu\epsilon$, "I saw other men and other women," only mentions hair and women. In spite of the fairly hypothetical omission of eyebrows and male adulterers, the Coptic of this paragraph has a longer, but also considerably clearer and more convincing text than the Latin; for a synoptic comparison, see Roig Lanzillotta, "The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*," 189. The passage lacks in the Syriac.

$\zeta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omicron\sigma\ \tilde{\eta}\lambda\lambda\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \tilde{\eta}\kappa\omega\zeta\tau$, "huge torches of fire": This reading is confirmed by the Latin manuscript of St Gall: *facule ignis*, "torches of fire," where Paris has an unconvincing *igneum flumen*, "river of fire" (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 146, 2.26–27).

$\eta\lambda\iota\ \eta\epsilon\omega\delta\alpha\gamma\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\epsilon\iota\ \tilde{\eta}\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \zeta\tilde{\eta}\ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\omicron\sigma\tilde{\eta}\ \tilde{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ \pi\lambda\alpha\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\beta\eta\kappa\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$, $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\mu\tilde{\eta}\tau\eta\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa\ \delta\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\zeta\alpha\iota\ \alpha\eta$, "those are they who made themselves attractive with perfumes of the devil when going to church, for the sake of adultery and not because of their husbands": Silverstein, *Visio*, 31, quoted by Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 141, n. 31, correctly noted the similarity in phrasing with the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:6, Ethiopic: "they are those who braided their hair, not to make themselves more beautiful, but to promenade for adultery" (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 198–199); the latter text, however, makes the women braid their hair, instead of using unguents, and does not mention church going.

Following this paragraph, the Latin inserts a paragraph (39, 5) on the *impietas* of Sodom and Gomorrah, which lacks in the Coptic and also in the Greek and the Syriac versions as well as the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*. It is therefore quite likely an addition of the Latin (and the Slavonic: Trunte, *Reise-*

fürher, 324–325), *pace* Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 170, who—following Silverstein—considers it a censuring omission in the Coptic.

40, 1. ⲈϮⲟⲙⲉ̅ ⲉ̅ⲣⲉⲛⲗⲟⲗⲓⲥⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲕⲱⲣⲧ̅, “immersed in channels of fire”: This phrase lacks in the Latin (as in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*), whereas the Greek abridges the entire passage very drastically. The Coptic of manuscript BL has a plural word Ϯⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥ here, which is otherwise unknown. Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 843, cf. 1063–1064) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 279, cf. 218) assumed that the word represents a spelling of Ϯⲟⲃⲟⲗⲓⲥⲟⲥ (ὀβολίσκος), “spit,” found a few lines below in paragraph 40, 2. Given the context of the present paragraph, where people are immersed (ⲟⲙⲉ̅) in several Ϯⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥ, through which they pass into a single pit (ⲈϮⲱⲓⲕ ⲛⲟϮⲱⲧ̅, cf. Latin *in foueam*, Paris, St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 148, 13), this must be ruled out. Both Budge and Copeland were obliged to force the translation in a way that is not supported by the text. Their emendation might be retained, though, if we assume that we are dealing here with the word classed by Liddell, Scott and Jones, *Lexicon*, 1196a, under ὀβολίσκος = ὀβελίσκος 1ν, “drainage-conduit” (cf. *Supplement*, 106b, s.v. ὀβολίσκος, and *P.Oxy.* xxxiv, 2406, 4, where the term is discussed). This would perfectly fit the context. However, the use of the same word ὀβολίσκος twice in the same chapter, yet with two very different meanings, “drainage-conduit” and “spit” (the latter a quite certain interpretation, supported by both the Fayoumic and the Latin), would be highly suspect. We therefore propose to read here Ϯⲟⲗⲓⲥⲓⲕⲟⲥ, that is, ὄλκος, “ditch, channel; aqueduct,” a word otherwise—as far as we are aware—unattested in Coptic, but used in various contexts in Patristic Greek (see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 948b–949a) and up till present, which demands only a minimal correction of the text. The manuscript’s spelling may be explained by the use of the more familiar word Ϯⲟⲃⲟⲗⲓⲥⲟⲥ a few lines below and the visual similarity of ⲓⲥ and ⲕ.

ⲉⲣⲉ Ϯⲉⲛⲗⲟⲓⲧⲉ ⲈϮⲕⲛⲓ ⲧⲟ ϮⲱⲟϮ, ⲈϮ̅ ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉ, “and dressed in black garments. They were blind”: Instead of “black,” the Latin and the (otherwise garbled) Greek have the reading “white” or “bright” garments (Greek: Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 60–61, στολὰς λευκάς; Latin: Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 148, 12, *uestimenta clara*) and the same reading is preserved in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (“whose garments were white, lying blind in the depths”). As “white” markedly goes against the prevalent black/negative–white/positive symbolism observed throughout the text (see above, 38, 3), it is quite likely an original feature. It may be assumed that the unexpected whiteness of the garments has to do with the clause *qui fecerunt elemosinas*, “who gave alms” (Paris, St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 148, 15), a positive trait, omitted

by the Coptic. This assumption appears to be confirmed by the *Apocalypse of Peter* 12:1–4 (Ethiopic; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 222–223; no Greek extant), where the blindness of the punished souls, no pagans, though, is combined with the white color of their garments and their alms giving; see the pertinent observations in Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 104–105. Their exceptional bright garments may be the (meagre) reward for the charity of the gentiles, for which a later Coptic redactor—possibly already living under Muslim rule—saw no justification.

ἸΖΕΘΝΟC ἸΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ, ἸΠΟΥCΟΥΕΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΕΖ, “they are the godless nations who never knew God”: As argued above, the Coptic omits the clause *qui fecerunt elemosynas*, “who gave alms,” and makes the gentiles wear black clothes in accordance with the prevailing color symbolism of the text. Whereas their charity may be rated positively, as their originally white garments show, their blindness (“who never knew God”) condemns them.

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ..., “that is why ...”: With these words, the very lacunary Fayoumic of manuscript FL begins (fragment P.Lips. inv. 3702).

40, 2–5. These paragraphs deal with two categories of sinners, aborters (2–3) and false ascetics (4–5). In spite of the differences in the nature of their sins and their respective punishments, the two episodes are clearly treated as a subset within chapters 37–40. Not only do they share the same narrative structure, exhibiting the love of symmetry that is characteristic of the text, they are both distinguished by the remarkable feature of involving the reaction of a third party, watching the punishment undergone by the sinners. Just like the previous episodes they are framed by the recurring phrases that announce and conclude each new visionary experience of Paul (typically, “I looked and saw” and “therefore they will be suffering these everlasting punishments,” see above, our commentary at 34–42). Within this frame, they first describe the torture undergone by each of the two groups and how they are blamed by their torturers for transgressing God’s precepts even though they knew them (2 and 4; in contrast to the heathen in paragraph 1). Then the aborters are accused by their murdered children of robbing them of the chance to become righteous Christians, while the rotten monks are blamed by the lay people for their hypocrisy; this episode in both cases involves the intervention of “the angel in charge of the punishments,” who allows the contact between the two parties (3 and 5). There can hence be no doubt that both episodes were planned to be a unit, consisting of two different episodes each laid out in exactly the same way. The first episode (2–3) was a traditional one, adapted from the earlier *Apocalypse of Peter* (see below), whereas the second (4–5), dealing with monks and nuns, is an innovation for which the author intentionally copied the unusual structure

of the older episode. This in turn shows that the author attached great weight to this second episode, which is confirmed by its position at the end of the series of “sundry sinners” (37–40), just before the transition to another and last category, that of the heretics. The structural importance assigned to this paragraph on negligent monks and nuns clearly brings out the monastic background of the entire text.

40, 2–3. The two paragraphs about the fate of aborting women and their murdered children present a collapsed version of the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8 (Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 202–209, partly preserved in the Greek of Achmim codex 26; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 6); the reliability of the Ethiopic for this chapter is confirmed by two quotes in the *Eclogae* of Clement of Alexandria, 41.1–3 and 48.1–49.2 (Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus* III, 149–150, cited in Kraus and Nicklas, *Petrusevangelium*, 89–92). In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a distinction is made between women who aborted their children and mothers who killed or exposed their children (see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 96–101). For the second category, which does not explicitly figure in our text anymore, the milk and the breasts of the women play a part in their plight. Distinctive common features are the role of the murdered children as accusers of their parents, the continuous contact between the two groups, which remain in sight of each other, and the role of the angel Temelouchos (in our Sahidic manuscript BL, Aftimelouchos), who places the infants in a reserved place (*Apocalypse of Peter*, Ethiopic, 8:5: “a place of delight,” Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 204–205; in our text, “a spacious place”). Besides, there is considerable terminological agreement (see, for instance, below on the “flesh-eating beasts” in 40, 2). These are all indubitable signs of dependence of the *Apocalypse of Paul* on the *Apocalypse of Peter* (see also our chapter 3, section 1).

40, 2. ἀινάγ ὁν ἐρενκερωμε ἡν̄ ἑνκεριόμε, ἐγπορῶ ἐβολ̄ ἐχ̄ν̄ ἑνεζοβολικκος̄ ἡκωρ̄τ̄, “I saw also other men and other women, stretched on spits of fire”: For the word ζοβολικκος̄ (ὀβολίσκος), “spit” (ditto in the Fayoumic), see above, our commentary at 40, 1. The Latin corresponds closely to both Coptic versions (Paris: *super obolisco* [ig]neum, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 148, 1.18–19; St Gall and Arnheim phrase similarly). The spit occurs also in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Greek, Achmim codex 30 (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 8), though in a different setting (punishment of the rich who only trust in their wealth; cf. here 37, 1) and in a comparison; the Ethiopic, 9:5–7, phrases differently (cf. below at 49, 1, on χάλιξ / χάραξ).

ερε̄ ἑνεθγριον̄ ἡογαμσαρ̄ξ̄ ογ̄ωμ̄ ἡ̄σᾱ νεγ̄μαρ̄τ̄, “while flesh-eating beasts were gnawing at their intestines”: The Latin has *et bestias discerpentēs eos*,

“and beasts tearing them apart” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 148, 1.19), suggesting that they are beasts of prey (the phrase lacks in the Greek and the Syriac). This is most likely a translation error. In the Coptic version, the verb $\sigma\gamma\omega\mu\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\alpha$, “to gnaw at” (Crum, *Dictionary*, 478b), characterizes the eating habits of either worms (37, 1; 39, 2) or “dragon snakes” (39, 4). Therefore, the “flesh-eating beasts” of the Coptic are quite likely a kind of worms too, as is habitual in our text (see the discussion above, at 31, 3). This interpretation is confirmed by the closely related passage from the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae* 49.1. It describes $\theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha$, “small flesh-eating beasts,” that come up from the milk of the infanticide mothers to devour them and can hardly be beasts of prey (Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus* III, 150, ll. 15–16; cf. Kraus and Nicklas, *Petrusevangelium*, 91–92; similarly in the Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 206–207); they are interpreted as worms already by Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 53–54.

$\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\chi\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\psi\tau\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\mu\alpha$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi$, “and the angel in charge of the punishments, namely Aftimelouchos, rebuked them”: As is the case in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 13:5 (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 226–227), where Tatirokos (Tartarouchos) rebukes the sinners crying for mercy, Aftimelouchos, the angel in charge of the punishments, rebukes the wicked, pointing them to the flawless functioning of God’s judiciary system and the fact that their punishment is deserved.

$\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\psi\tau\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon$, “namely Aftimelouchos”: This phrase looks like a gloss and the Latin versions omit it. However, the fragmentary Fayoumic of this passage shows that it is most likely original (P.Lips. inv. 3702, recto, ll. 9–10: $[\tau\epsilon]\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron[c]$), which is corroborated by the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* (Chaîne, *Apocrypha*, textus, 77; versio, 65; Temliaqos). Cf. the parallel chapter in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8:10 (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 206–207; Temlakos). For a discussion of the name, see above, our commentary at 16, 7.

$\varsigma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ $\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\pi\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$. $\langle\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\rangle$ $\alpha\chi\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\omicron\upsilon$. $\langle\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta\rangle$ $\alpha\chi\omicron\omega\omega\upsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\chi\iota$ $\varsigma\mu\eta$ $\epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\omicron\upsilon$, “Acknowledge the judgment of the Son of God. His commandments were told to you and you did not hear them; the scriptures were read out aloud to you and you did not pay heed to them”: The Sahidic text is in disorder here, as are the other extant versions (the Fayoumic lacks). After the injunction of the angel, two parallel sentences follow. The plural object pronouns in these sentences each require a plural nominal referent that lacks in the manuscript (Copeland’s translation, *Mapping*, 218, skips the second sentence and is unintelligible for the first). In accordance with the obvious tendency of the angel’s reproaches, we twice filled in an appropriate noun phrase ($\bar{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$, “his commandments,” and $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$, “the scriptures”). The second of these, $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$, is unequivocally

supported by the Greek (ἀναγινωσκομένων ὑμῖν τῶν γραφῶν οὐ συνήκατε, “when the scriptures were read to you, you did not understand”; Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 61) and the Latin versions (*et cum legerentur uobis divine scripture, non adtendistis*, “and when the divine scriptures were read to you, you did not pay heed,” St Gall; Silverstein and Hillhorst, *Apocalypse*, 148, 2.23–24) as well as the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (“the Holy Scriptures were read aloud to you and you did not hear”). The first sentence, however, lacks in the Greek and is not entirely transparent in the Latin either. The Latin of Paris reads: *Magnum est scire filium dei* (St Gall: *Agnoscite filium dei*). *Predictum est enim vobis et non audistis* (Silverstein and Hillhorst, *Apocalypse*, 148, 1.22–24), “it is a great thing to know God (?—St Gall: acknowledge the Son of God). For he (it?) was predicted to you and you did not listen” (cf. Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 240). Thus, the Latin supports the two parallel sentences found in the Coptic, but does not provide a very satisfactory reading of the first. We therefore filled in a slightly hypothetical ⲛⲉⲕⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ, “his commandments,” in the first sentence in order to obtain two balanced and grammatically correct sentences. Christ’s commandments are again evoked a few lines below, in the next paragraph. The Syriac omits this passage, while the Armenian version (Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 129), the Slavonic text (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 326) and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* all roughly correspond to the Latin (the Arabic “was sent out to you” is a mistranslation of the Coptic “were told to you,” showing that the translator mistook the verb ⲭⲟⲟⲥ, “to say, tell,” for ⲭⲟⲟϥ, “to send”).

40, 3. ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲭⲙⲟⲟϥⲧ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ, “those are the widows and the girls who killed the creature of God”: Perhaps the Coptic phrase ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ targets the more specific categories of “widows and virgins (that is, nuns).” This interpretation seems, in fact, adopted in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary* (Chaîne, *Apocrypha*, textus, 76–77; versio, 65: *moniales*). However, in light of the generally phrased Latin (*haec sunt mulieres*, “those are the women ...”), confirmed by the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, we opted for a generic interpretation, as two classes of unmarried women.

ⲉⲁϥⲑⲓⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ, “by provoking abortion”: Copeland translates “having caused their wombs to fall” (*Mapping*, 219); Budge, “and who have abused their bodies” (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1064). Neither rendering is acceptable; ⲑⲓⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲉ (ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ) means “to provoke abortion”; see Crum, *Dictionary*, 457a, who cites several examples from homiletic and canonical texts.

ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟϥⲡⲟⲣⲛ̅ⲁ, “because of adultery”: The Latin omits this phrase, which emphasizes the dreadful consequences of the more basic crime of lust. See our comment at 18, 1.

ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΚΕΩΗΡΕ ΗΤΑΥΗΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΕΥΣΜΜΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ Μ̄<ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ̄> ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΡΙΧ̄Ν ΤΕΚΡΙC̄C̄, “and even their children whom they had killed were accusing them before God and the angel in charge of the judgment”: The preterite tense in ΝΕΥΣΜΜΕ shows that this sentence is not part of the speech of the *angelus interpres*, but a description of what is seen and heard by Paul (see above at 32, 2).

According to the Sahidic manuscript, the children would be complaining only with the angel (the Fayoumic is very incomplete here). Yet the phrasing of their actual words that follow: ΑΥΤΑΛΟ ΗΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΧΕ ΧΡΙC̄Τ̄ΔΝΟC̄, ΗΠΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΗΝΚΕΝΤΟΛΗ, “they have adopted *your* name, to wit Christian, yet they have not observed *your* commandments,” shows that the aborted children are addressing the divine judge, not merely an angel (cf. the Latin: “having the name of God, but not observing his precepts,” *nomen dei abentes, sed precepta eius non obseruantes*; Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 150, 4–5). This is corroborated by the Latin: the children “appealed to God and the angel in charge of the punishments,” *interpellauerunt deum et angelum qui super poenas erat* (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 150, 2.1–2), as well as by the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*: “they cried out to the Lord and to the angels of punishment” (see Appendix 2). We therefore restored the reference to God (ΝΕΥΣΜΜΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ Μ̄<ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ̄> ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ), in order to ensure the coherence of the text.

ΑΡΙ ΠΕΝΖΑΠ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΝΕΙΟΥΤΕ, ΧΕ ΑΥΤΑΚΟ ΗΠΕΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “avenge us of our parents, for they have destroyed the creature of God”: This is one of the rare occasions in which the retributive nature of God’s justice seems to slide towards retaliation. Even if the nature of the crime may be the reason for their presence, the dependence of this passage on the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8 explains this sudden change of the principle of justice. See our commentary at 18, 2. However, it is interesting that the “place of delight” of the *Apocalypse of Peter* has been replaced here by “a spacious place” in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (see below), as if the author intended to mitigate the rather “unchristian” idea that the suffering of the sinners could provide pleasure to the victims. See, in general, Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?”

ΑΥΤΑΛΟ ΗΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΧΕ ΧΡΙC̄Τ̄ΔΝΟC̄, “they have adopted *your* name, to wit Christian”: The explanation ΧΕ ΧΡΙC̄Τ̄ΔΝΟC̄ looks like a gloss; it lacks in both the Fayoumic and the Latin and my therefore be secondary.

ΑΥΡ̄ ΠΚΕΝΟΧ̄Ν̄ ΗΝΕΟΥΖΟΟΡ ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΩΔΥ, “they have even cast us to the dogs and the swine”: The manuscript reads ΗΝΕΟΥΖΟΟΡ, which suggests a translation “*their* dogs” (adopted by Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1064, and Copeland, *Mapping*, 219). This is incongruous, however, in light of the following ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΩΔΥ, “and the swine,” without a possessive. In fact, there is no possessive

here, nor in any of the other versions, but one of several examples of doubling of the glide *oy* that occur in the present manuscript; compare the similar case of *εγογῆ* for *εογῆ* in 31, 4 (see our chapter 1, section 4).

The Sahidic here omits a further sentence on the fate of the aborted infants, preserved in the Latin: *alios proiecerunt in flumine*, “others they cast into the river” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 150, 1.7), and probably in the Fayoumic, too, where in P.Lips. inv. 3702, verso, l. 6, the text appears to read *ἐπεῖδαν*, “in the canal” (cf. Latin *in flumine*). As it occurs likewise in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* and in the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 326–328) and adds a realistic Egyptian touch it is quite likely original.

ἵπογχαν ἐωπαε ἡδικαῖος ἡτῆωμῶε ἡπνοῦτε, “without allowing us to become righteous and serve God”: This phrase lacks in the Latin, but is supported by the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Mary*: *non adollescere nobis permiserunt ad bonum aut malum faciendum* (Chaîne, *Apocrypha*, textus, 77; versio, 65). It is remarkable that the two passages where Clement of Alexandria quotes the closely related chapter 8 of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (see above) deal precisely with the possibility of exposed or aborted children to obtain salvation (*Eclogae* 41.1–3 and 48.1–49.2; Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus* III, 149–150, cited in Kraus and Nicklas, *Petrusevangelium*, 89–92). Our text seems to address the same issue in a more oblique way.

δε ἐφεχίτογ ἐγνα ἐφογοῦς ἐβολ, ἐγναγ ἐνεγειοτε ἐγῆ ἡκολασι ἐγμην ἐβολ ὡα ἐνεζ, “so that he might take them to a spacious place and they would see their parents suffering punishments that last forever”: The text’s “spacious place” corresponds exactly to the *εὐρύχωρος τόπος* in the (much abridged) Greek (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 61). The Latin expands into *in locum spaciosum misericordiae*, “to a spacious place of mercy” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 150, 9–10), a reading confirmed by the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 326–328) and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*. Instead of the Latin *misericordiae*, the Coptic continues the sentence with *ἐγναγ ἐνεγειοτε*, “and they would see their parents” (whereas the Latin starts a new sentence: *patres autem et matres*, “their fathers and mothers, however”; the Greek similarly). The situation perfectly matches the one described in the parallel passage of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, where the aborted and exposed children are situated opposite (*ἀντικρύς*) their mothers, in “a place of delight,” hitting them with fiery rays in their eyes and literally confronting them (Ethiopic 8:2–4, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 202–205; Achmim codex 26, Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 6). This may suggest that the smoothly phrased Coptic is original. Yet it cannot be fully ruled out that the Coptic *ἐγναγ* derives from a misreading of *ἐγνα*, “as mercy, by way of mercy,” which would confirm the Latin *misericordiae*. For the “spacious place” as a visual metaphor, see above at 37, 2.

The motif of the wronged souls and their wrongdoers watching each other in afterlife, as found here and in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7 (about murder victims; see above at 18, 2) and 8 (about aborted or exposed children), is a traditional one. A famous example is the story of the poor man Lazarus in Luke 16:19–31, in particular 23. In addition to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, also the *Apocalypse of Elijah* 5:26–29, about the last judgment, is close to the present text: “The sins of each will confront him in the place where they were committed, whether those of the day or those of the night. My righteous ones, however, and my holy ones (?) will see the sinners in their punishments and those who persecuted them and those who handed them over to death. Then the sinners from afar (?) will see the place of the righteous ones and thus there will be grace” (Achmimic 41, 7–16, Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 102; cf. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt*, 326, with n. 111).

40, 4. ρΕΝΠΟῬΣΕ ΝῆΟΟΥΝΕ ... ΕΥΜΕΖ ΝΘΗΝ ΖΙ ΛΑΜΧΑΤΨ, “rags of sackcloth, full of brimstone and pitch”: “Garments of brimstone and fire” occur as an instrument of (measure-for-measure) punishment for “mundanities” (ΝΙΜΝΤΜΑΪΚΟ-СМОС) in the long catalogue of sins and infernal punishments in *Pistis Sophia*, chapter 102 (Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 257, 16–19). Here, however, these “rags” are contrasted, not with mundane dress, but with “the habit of Christ” (see below). For the word ΠΟῬΣΕ, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 286, s.v. ΠῶΣΕ, where the present spelling (with double ο) lacks; the Fayoumic, which ends about here, has a different word for “rag,” ΠΗΛΘ[Ε] (Crum, *Dictionary*, 262b–263a). For sackcloth, see our commentary at 38, 3.

ΕΥΚΩΝῚ ΝΜΟΟΥ, “and pierced them”: The Latin adds *et cludebant* (St Gall: *detruncabant*) *nares eorum* (Paris), “and blocked (St Gall: cut off) their noses” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 150, 1.16–17).

ΝΑΙ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΠΟΤΑССЕ ΜΠΚΟСМОС, “those are they who renounced the world”: As in 24, 2: ΝΑΙ ρΕΝΑΠΟΤΑΚΨΚΟС ΝΕ, “they are persons who renounced the world,” monks are meant; for the technical terminology, see our commentary at 24, 2.

ΑΥΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΠЕСХИНА ΜΠΕХΡΙСТОС, “and wore the habit of Christ”: The Latin has *habitu nostrum*, “our habit,” which in the given context is “the habit of the angels”; both texts clearly refer to the monastic habit (σχήμα). Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 313, aptly observed that this “habit of Christ” is intended to contrast with the “rags of sackcloth, full of brimstone and pitch” that the wretched ascetics are now wearing in hell. For the σχήμα as monastic habit, see Mossakowska-Gaubert, “Official Garb.”

Δ ΘΥΛΗ ΜΠΚΟСМОС ΜΝ ἡΡΟΟΥΩ ΔΑΥ ΝΕΒΙΗΝ, “the matter (ὑλη) of the world and temporal concerns made them wretched”: This sentence (in the Latin:

impedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseros, Paris) gained a certain renown, since it is quoted in Western monastic sources; see Fischer, “*Impedimenta mundi*.” With slight variations, it occurs earlier in 10, 2 (not extant in Coptic) and reappears in 43, 1, which shows its importance for the author.

In similar words, the Savior in *Pistis Sophia*, chapter 102, demands his followers to renounce from ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗΡῶ· Μῆ ΘΥΛΗ ΤΗΡῶ ΕΤῆΖΗΤῶ· ΔΥΩ Μῆ ΝΕΥΡΟΟΥΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΔΥΩ Μῆ ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ, “the entire world and all of the matter therein and also all its concerns and all its sins” (Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 256, 8–10). For the general idea, compare Matt. 13:22: ΕΡΕ ΠΡΟΟΥΥ ΜΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΑΠΑΤΗ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΗΜΑΟ ΩΓΤ ΜΠΩΔΔΕ ΕΥΩΩΠΕ ΔΔΗ ΚΑΡΠΙΟC, “the concerns of this world and the lure of wealth choke the word, and it remains without fruit” (Sahidic, Aranda Pérez).

ἸΠΕ ΝΕΥΡΟΟΥΥ Μῆ ΝΕΥΖΥΛΗ ΚΑΔΥ ΕΕΙΡΕ ἸΠΕΤCΟΥΤΩΝ ἸΝΑΖΡῆ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “Their concerns and their material possessions did not allow them to do what is right in the eyes of God”: This sentence obviously echoes the phrasing of the earlier Δ ΘΥΛΗ ἸΠΚΟCΜΟC Μῆ ἸΠΡΟΟΥΥ ΔΔΥ ἸΝΕΒΙΗΝ, for which see above, except for the use of ΖΥΛΗ in the plural and with a possessive pronoun (ΝΕΥ-ΖΥΛΗ), which made us opt for a concrete translation (“material possessions”), for which see Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 832.

40, 5. ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΧΙ ἸΜΟΟΥ ΕΠΕΙCΑ Μῆ ΠΑΙ ἸCΙ ΠΕΤΡΙΧῆ ἸΚΟΛΑCΙC, “and the angel in charge of the punishments took them from one place to another”: As argued above, this paragraph mirrors the one about the murdered children accusing their parents in 40, 3. For the text, badly mutilated, if not lacking in most other versions, see Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 30–31; Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 180–181. The souls of the false ascetics are being shown around to two groups of lay people who blame them for their hypocrisy. The Coptic, corroborated by the Latin manuscript of St Gall (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 152, 2.1–12), shows that their words of blame are actually uttered by two different groups of sinners. The Paris manuscript of the Latin fails to distinguish the two groups of sinners and makes the passage next to unintelligible. The Greek and the Syriac omit the entire paragraph; for the somewhat unclear Slavonic, see Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 330–331.

ΔΝΟΝ ΕΝΖῆ ἸΚΟΛΑCΙC ΔΕ ἸΠΝΑΥ ΕΝΩΟΟΠ Ζῆ ΠΚΟCΜΟC, ΕΡΕ ΠCΑΤΑΝΑC † ΝῆΜΑΝ· ἸΤΩΤῆ ΖΩΤ ΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΤΕΤῆΡ ΟΥ ἸΠΕῖΜΑ, “we are being punished because, during the time we lived in the world, Satan combated us, but you, what are you doing here?”: After admitting their sinful life, the first group of sinners express their surprise at seeing the false acetics in hell. The much garbled Latin of the Paris manuscript phrases differently here: *nos quidem seculo uiuentes negleximus d[eum]*, “we certainly, while living in the world, neglected

God,” which sounds unconvincing (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 152, 3–4; also St Gall has a garbled text here). The Coptic echoes the monastic, in particular Pachomian idea that right beyond the walls of the monastery the domain of the demons, “the world,” begins; see Van der Vliet, “Demons,” 142–143. Without this background knowledge, the text could easily be interpreted as shifting the responsibility for human sin to the devil. Therefore, the Latin of the Paris manuscript may have intentionally changed the text to the feeble statement that the sinners “neglected God.” Only the Coptic provides a sound text for this section.

Τῆςοοῦν καὶ ἀνὼν ἑνερεφῆνοβε ἀνον· ἡτωτῆ δε ἀτετῆταλε πρᾶν ἡπινοῦτε ἐχωτῆ ἡμαατε ἡτειρε ἀλογος, “we know that we are sinners, but you have merely adopted the name of God, yet with how little reason!”: The second group of sinners admit their sins as well, but then accuse the false ascetics of hypocrisy. The Latin adds a sentence: *uidebamus uos in sancto habitu et beatificamus uos dicentes: hii sunt iusti et servi dei*, “we saw you in the holy habit and blessed you, saying: ‘These are righteous people and servants of God’” (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 152, 2.8–9; similarly in the Arnhem manuscript, *ibid.*, 153, 2.7–9, and the Slavonic, Trunte, *Reise-führer*, 330–331). The Coptic offers a somewhat reduced, but nonetheless clear text.

ἡτωτῆ δε ἀτετῆταλε πρᾶν ἡπινοῦτε ἐχωτῆ ἡμαατε ἡτειρε ἀλογος, “but you have merely adopted the name of God, yet with how little reason!”: Compare 40, 3: ἀγταλο ἡπεκραν ἐχωου καὶ χριστῆανος, ἡπογειρε ἡνῆεντολη, “they (sc. the aborters) have adopted your name, to wit Christian, yet they have not observed your commandments.” It is a recurrent admonition in monastic literature and particularly in Shenoute that the mere “name (πρᾶν) and habit (σχῆμα)” do not suffice to save the soul of the monk or nun; see the references in Behlmer, *Schenute*, 226, n. 232. Saying no. 212 from the Sahidic *Apophthegmata Patrum*, quoted in our chapter 3, section 2, has as its theme precisely the relative value of the “name” (πρᾶν).

The translations by Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1065: “but it is only by word of mouth”) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 220: “only in this way, without the Logos”) are infelicitous. The adverb ἀλογος, Greek ἀλόγως, “without reason,” corresponds literally to the Latin *sine causa* of the Arnhem manuscript (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 153, 2.9–10: *sine causa inuocatum est nomen domini super eos*). The adverbial expression ἡτειρε, often ἡτειρε τηρε, literally “in this (entire) manner,” marks a strong degree of astonishment or admiration on the part of the writer / speaker (“in such a manner, so very”); cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 639a, and, for instance, in our text 29, 3: πελαγνατος ἡτειρε, “that so very mighty person.”

40, 6. ἀνοκ δε διᾶω ἀρομ ἀγω ἀριμε, “but I groaned and wept”: As was the case earlier in 24, 3, and 33, Paul’s expressions of compassion are rebuked by the angel. The present passage is interesting for the fact that it relates up to two emotional responses by Paul and two rebukes by the angel. The first underscores the reality of both the eschatological judgment and human freedom. Everyone is free to choose and will consequently have to suffer the consequences of their choices (see above, on chapter 33). The second rebuke: “Why do you weep, O Paul, before you have even seen the great judgment?,” is somewhat more ambiguous. It may imply that “the great judgment” will be even more terrible or that, to the contrary, it will grant forgiveness even to the sinners. At any rate, Paul’s sorrow gives the angel the opportunity to announce things “seven times worse” than what he has seen, to wit the punishments for the heretics of 41–42.

οὔοι ἡπρεφῆροβε δε ἀχχοу ἐπεικοσμοс, “woe to the sinner that he was born into this world”: For the phrasing, compare Matt. 26:24 (about Judas): οὔοι δε ἡπρωμε εἰτμηαγ ... νανοус ἡπρωμε εἰтμηαг ἐνε ἡпоχχοу, “woe to that man ... it would be better for that man if he had not been born” (Sahidic, Aranda Pérez). Paul’s timid objection in the present passage prepares the context for his more emphatic existential protest in 42, 2. The idea will appear again in 44, 5, but there, from the mouth of the punished souls, it has a different tone. The combination of Paul’s compassion with his existential protest regarding the meaning of the existence of evil in the context of God’s creation puts the problem at the core of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. A similar protest can be found in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 3, but in that case Peter is severely rebuked by Jesus: “Peter! Why would you say such a thing, that they should never have been created? You are rebelling against God!” (3:5, Ethiopic; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 178–179).

ἐπειδᾷ ἐφсоοуη ἡβι πпоуτε δε οὔη κριсιс ωροп, εἰтве παι ақка πογᾶ πογᾶ φᾶнтῑεipe ἡπетегἡаг глхἡ пкаг, “because God knows that judgment exists, therefore he allows each person to do as pleases him on earth”: Compare above, on chapter 33. Here, the Latin of the Paris manuscript elaborates a bit and explains, after “allows each person,” *in propria uoluntate eligere bonum et malum*, “of his own will to chose good or evil” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 152, 1.15–16).

41–42. These two chapters describe the special compartments reserved for heretics. The doctrinal sins that are targeted here clearly reflect debates about the incarnation, the reality of the transubstantiation and the resurrection of the body that were current mostly in Egyptian monastic circles in the fourth-fifth centuries, for instance in the work of Shenoute; see Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 314; Lundhaug, “Shenoute’s Heresiological Polemics”; Van der Vliet, “The

Embroidered Garment,” 187–189. In 41, 3, the Coptic version alone adds a passage aimed at renegades, which badly fits the frame and is most likely a later insertion (see below).

41, 1. ΤΟΤΕ ΔΥΧΪ ἸΜΟΙ ΕΠΕΜΗΤ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ, “then he led me to the west of all the punishments”: The Coptic reading ΕΠΕΜΗΤ, “to the west,” is supported by the Syriac (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 138–139) and the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 332–333), whereas the Latin again goes to the north (see above, on chapter 32, 1; the Greek omits it).

ΤΩΩΤΕ ἸΠΠΟΥΝ, “the well of the abyss”: The addition “of the abyss” lacks in the Latin here, but does occur a few lines later (*hunc puteum abyssi*, Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 154, 1.16), which shows that it is original. The well and its description are partly taken from Rev. 9:1–2; for the seven seals, cf. Rev. 5:1, where the context is much different, though. The “well of the abyss, with its smoke rising very high,” ΤΩΩΤΕ ἸΠΠΟΥΝ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΣΚΑΠΝΟΣ ΧΟΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ, occurs also in the vision of hell of the Sahidic *Testament of Isaac* (Kuhn, “Sahidic Version,” 234, 28–29; Doehorn, “Testament Isaaks,” 307), which draws much of its material from the *Apocalypse of Paul* (see our chapter 3, section 2).

ΔΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΩΩΤΕ, “open up the well”: The manuscript has ΔΟΥΩΝ, yet the imperative ΔΟΥΩΝ is meant; for the doubling of the glide ΟΥ, see our chapter 1, section 4.

41, 2. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΩΩΤΕ ἸΠΠΟΥΝ, ΔΥΝΟΪ ΝΚΑΠΝΟΣ ΝΣΤΩΩΝ ΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΖΗ ΤΩΩΤΕ ΕΦΝΑΩΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΝΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ, “at the very moment he uncovered the well of the abyss, a thick foul-smelling smoke rose from the well, far worse than that of all the other punishments”: The farthest and deepest region of the cosmos, the well of the abyss, is characterized by its unbearable stench that surpasses all other evil smells of this region. In this respect, the land of the wicked contrasts strongly with the fragrance of celestial Paradise, described in 58. See our commentary at 58, 2 (cf. also 44, 1).

ΜΟΓΙΣ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΡΟΣ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟΧΡΕΧ, “hardly a single man could descend into it with difficulty”: The Greek and the Latin similarly emphasize the narrowness (*angustia*, στενοχωρία) of the well (Latin: Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 154, 11–14; Greek: Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 62). For the significant opposition between wide and narrow spaces in our text, see above, the commentary at 37, 2, and 40, 3.

41, 3. ἸΠΠΕ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΕΙ ΖΗ ΤΣΑΡΞ, ΟΥΔΕ ἸΠΠΟΥΧΠΟΥ ΖΗ ΜΑΡΙΔ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, “Jesus did not come in the flesh nor was born from the holy Virgin Mary”: At first sight, some kind of docetism may seem to be targeted here, yet it is more likely

that here and in 42, 1, ΟΥΔΕ ΤΕΙCΑΡΞ̅ ΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ, “and that this flesh will not rise,” a more general negative appraisal of the flesh and the body, represented by monastic and Gnostic “dualisms,” was aimed at. Within Egyptian monasticism, such polemical themes rose to prominence in the wake of the Origenist controversy of the year 400, as is witnessed for instance in the polemics of Shenoute. The latter’s *I am Amazed*, chapter 11, is devoted precisely to those “who scorn the body as ‘that swine flesh’ ... because they do not believe that it will rise,” ΕΥCΩΩ ΗΠCΩΜΑ ΧΕ †CΑΡΞ̅ ΝΕΩΩ ... ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝCΕΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ CΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ (Cristea, *Contra Origenistas*, 155). In the same work, which post-dates the Council of Ephesus (431), chapter 9 is devoted to the idea that Christ was not conceived by Mary, ἡ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ Ω ἡ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C. Here, too, Shenoute does not so much target Nestorian positions, but rather defends the reality of the incarnation and the resurrection (Cristea, *Contra Origenistas*, 151–152). The same concerns are visible in our text. For the debate about the resurrection of the body in fourth-fifth century Upper Egypt, see Lundhaug, “Tell Me What Shall Arise.”

Μῆ ΝΕΤΧΩ ἡ ΜΟC ΧΕ ΠΟΕΙΚ ἡ ΠΗΡῆ ΕΩΔΥΤΑΥΕ ΠΡΑΝ ἡ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ, ἡ ΤΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΤCΑΡΞ̅ ἡ ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC ἡ ΠΕΥCΝΟΥ, “and those who say that the bread and the wine over which the name of God is pronounced are not the flesh of Christ and his blood”: Shenoute, in his *I am Amazed*, is very emphatically concerned with the denial of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist in chapter 10, where he argues against those who say that: ΠΟΕΙΚ ΑΥΩ ΠΠΟΤΗ-ΡΙΟΝ· ΠCΩΜΑ ΑΝ ΠΕ ἡ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥCΝΟΥ, ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΤΥΠΟC ΜΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ, “the bread and the chalice are not the body of Christ and his blood, but merely a representation” (Cristea, *Contra Origenistas*, 152). He reverts to this theme in chapters 13–14, and elsewhere as well, which shows that it was a debated issue in early fifth-century Egypt. The real value of Shenoute’s testimony, however, is that it shows that the doctrinal sins of the present chapters 41–42 (about the body of Jesus, his conception by the Virgin, the Eucharist and the resurrection) are not sundry separate errors, but part of a single debate that focuses on the appreciation of the material body. It is this very body that occupied such a central place in monastic practice and theory, as is apparent for instance in the first Letter of Saint Anthony (see Rubensohn, *Letters*, 51–54, 68–71).

Μῆ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗ ΕΑΥΑΠΑΡΝΑ ἡ ΠΕΥΒΑΠ†CΜΑ ἡ CΕΤΑΚΟ ἡ ΤΕΥCΦΡΑΓΙC Εἷ ΟΥΗῆΤ-ΔΥΡΑΝΝΟC, “and all who have renounced their baptism to destroy their seal brutally”: For σφραγίς “seal,” as a synonym of βάπτισμα, see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1356.

This passage clearly targets renegades. It is missing in all other major versions and disrupts the otherwise coherent series of doctrinal sins enumerated in chapter 41–42. This state of affairs suggests that the present sentence may

be an addition of the Coptic, presumably postdating the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the mid-seventh century (for a different view, see Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 114). A much similar sentence occurs in a vision of Pachomius about hell, reported by the Sahidic homily *On Murder and Greed*, attributed to Athanasius, which targets: $\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma\ \nu\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\chi\iota\ \beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\alpha\ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\omicron\pi$, “any Christian who received baptism and betrayed it again” (36, Saweros, *Another Athanasius*, textus, 32; see our chapter 3, section 2), and may likewise reflect a later redaction.

$\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\mu\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, “brutally”: Copeland (*Mapping*, 222) translates “through rebellion,” yet this is an adverb of manner (Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 118–119; Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 174, par. 221), so “in a tyrannical, brutal way” (cf. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1067: “with violence”). In late-antique literature, the devil frequently appears as a $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, even though a fallen one, according to Athanasius, *Life of Anthony*, 28.2 (Bartelink, *Vie d'Antoine*, 212); cf. the *Teachings of Silvanus*, NHC VII, 4: 85, 17–18, where the Wicked One ($\Phi\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\text{-}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) is a tyrant who rules over one’s evil thoughts (Zandee, *Teachings*, 14–15; cf. Zandee, *Teachings of Silvanus and Clement*, 8–9, referring to Clement of Alexandria). In every-day Egyptian usage, $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and its cognates normally refer to aggressive and overbearing behavior; see Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 828, and, for instance, *PGM*, P 16, a private prayer (fourth century) by someone who bitterly complains of the $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\tilde{\nu}\nu\iota\chi\omicron\delta\varsigma\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$, the “brutal behavior,” of a certain Theodosios. The present use of the term may nonetheless carry demonological overtones.

42, 1. $\langle\alpha\iota\omicron\omega\omega\tau\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\tilde{\nu}\tau\ \epsilon\pi\iota\alpha\ \mu\pi\epsilon\mu\tilde{\nu}\iota\tau\ \alpha\iota\tilde{\nu}\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\ \nu\alpha\tau\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\ \mu\mu\alpha\gamma\rangle$, “I looked to the west in northern direction and saw there the worm that does not sleep”: This or a much similar phrase must have dropped out at some stage of the text’s transmission; cf. Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 177. It is restored here *exempli gratia*, in order to preserve the flow of the text, after the Latin of the Paris manuscript: *et respexi ad septemtrionem in hocchasum et uidi illic uermem inquietem*, “and I looked to the north in western direction and saw there the worm that does not rest” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 156, 1.1–2; St Gall and Arnheim are in disarray here). We merely changed the order of the cardinal points, in accordance with the Coptic of 41, 1, and omitted the phrase *et in eo locho erat stridor dencium* (“and in that place was gnashing of teeth”), which is not indispensable here and strangely duplicated a few lines further (Paris and St Gall). Paul here moves from “the west of all the punishments” (41, 1) to the north-west, where cold reigns.

This is the third and last cosmographic description of the west side of the world (after 31, 1–2 and 31, 3). Together with the other three that describe the

eastern part (21, 1–2; 22, 1; 23), these three lengthier cosmographical descriptions complete the portrayal of the world along the horizontal axis (see above chapter 2,4). The picture of the westernmost part of the cosmos, with the worm that never rests and especially the darkness and cold of the region, provides a counterpoint to the City of Christ in the east, in a region characterized by the light and warmth of the sun.

ἐπιϥεντ ν̄ατκοτκ, “the worm that does not sleep”: After the Latin *uermem inquietem* (Paris manuscript, cited above). Given the continuation: ποϥ̄εντ̄ ποϥ̄εντ̄, “each worm” (read π̄ϥ̄εντ̄ π̄ϥ̄εντ̄), the worm, π̄ϥ̄εντ / *uermem*, was conceived of as a generic singular, which was copied from the biblical source text, Isa. 66:24 / Mark 9:47; see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 116–119. Alternatively, the double ποϥ̄εντ̄ could be considered a case of dittography.

εοϥεν απε σ̄ντε ḿμοϥ, “and had two heads”: The Bohairic *Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch*, cited in our chapter 3, section 2, phrases almost identically but embroiders on the theme of the head: ἀιν̄αϥ̄ ἐπιϥεντ̄ ḿατενκοτ̄ ḿεν π̄ιμᾱ ἐτεμ̄ναϥ̄ ἐρε̄ τεϥ̄ḗφε̄ οἱ ḿ̄φρη̄τ̄ ḿ̄ᾱ οϥ̄ḿ̄σᾱ, “I saw in that place the worm that does not sleep and whose head is like that of a crocodile” (Hyvernāt, *Actes des martyrs*, 56). Similarly, the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, where the worm has “seven heads.”

π̄σᾱζ̄ḡ̄ε̄ζ̄ ḿ̄̄ο̄β̄ζε̄, “the gnashing of teeth”: The proverbial “gnashing of teeth” (cf. Matt. 8:12, etc.) was already announced in 16, 7.

π̄ε̄χᾱι ḿ̄πᾱγγ̄ε̄λο̄ς̄ χ̄ε̄ πᾱχο̄εις̄, “I said to the angel”: Despite its defective beginning, which is preserved in the Latin of the Paris manuscript (cited above), the Coptic provides the best testimony for the dialogue between Paul and the angel, the original structure of which is confirmed by the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 335–337). The Syriac omits the entire section, while the Greek offers a highly summarizing version (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 62). The Armenian omits the worm and changes the nature of the sinners (Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 133).

νε̄ ḿ̄̄ ḡ̄μο̄ḿ̄ ḿ̄τοϥ̄ ḡ̄ḿ̄ π̄ε̄ιμᾱ, “is there no warmth in this place?": The sentence initial interrogative particle ε̄νε̄ is occasionally written νε̄, as is the case here; see Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, 348, par. 523.

The Latin omits this third question of Paul, which produces a slightly maimed text; see Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 189–191.

σ̄ε̄νᾱϥ̄μο̄ḿ̄ ἀ̄ν, “will they not get warm?": For the isolated spelling ϥ̄μο̄ḿ̄ (against twice ḡ̄μο̄ḿ̄ in the same paragraph), see our chapter 1, section 4.

σᾱϥ̄ḡ̄ ḿ̄ρη̄, “seven suns”: The Latin mentions only one sun, which robs the angel’s statement of much of its force; the Slavonic has retained the original number seven, just like the Coptic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 335–337). A hyperbolic “seven suns” occur also in the Greek *Testament of Abraham*, long recension, 7:3, though in a different context (Schmidt, *Testament*, 114–117). On the recurrence

of the number seven in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in both positive and negative contexts, see our commentary at 16, 2, and 21, 3.

42, 2. $\text{NANOYC } \bar{\text{M}}\text{POYXHO } \bar{\text{M}}\text{NACEBHC } \bar{\text{E}}\text{X} \bar{\text{M}} \text{ PKAZ } \bar{\text{N}}\text{ZOYO } \epsilon\text{POC } \bar{\text{E}}\text{AYXHOY}$, “it would be better if the impious had not been born upon the earth than that he was born”: Impersonal NANOYC is twice expanded by a circumstantial as subject clause, for which see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 341–342, par. 426. Similar expressions appear in 40, 6 and 44, 5. This is the third and most important protest of Paul at the sight of the suffering of the damned. In previous chapters of the *Apocalypse*, the apostle’s protest shows a gradual development, beginning as timid expression of compassion at 24, 2, developing towards compassion for the whole human race at 33, and reaching its apex here at 42, 2. Placed before chapter 43, in which Michael, his angels and Paul intercede for the sinners, Paul’s momentous protest creates the right context for such intercession.

43–44. Paul’s tour of hell is brought to a close by the famous scene in which Christ promises the souls in hell the Sunday as a day of respite from their plight. This holiday in hell has generated a quite considerable literature, for which we merely refer to Merkle, “Sabbatruhe”; Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 141–142; Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?,” 150–156; Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 311–312.

Michael and his angelic hosts, joined by Paul, plead in favor of the souls punished in hell. Whereas the weekly day of respite for the souls in hell may be an innovation, which can be convincingly linked to the introduction of the Sunday as a day of rest under Constantine the Great (Bremmer, “Christian Hell,” 311–312), the theme of the righteous pleading for the sinners in hell occurs more often in apocalyptic and monastic literature (see Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 132–148; Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?”). In particular, the scene of Michael and Paul together imploring God’s mercy for the sinners vividly evokes the very similar scene with Michael and Abraham in the Greek *Testament of Abraham*, long recension, 14 (Schmidt, *Testament*, 140–143), where otherwise the setting is different (a judgment scene). Abraham, like Paul, is moved by the fate of the sinners and asks Michael to join him in his prayer.

In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, it is the three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who lead the way in what the seer describes as a daily repeated prayer for the souls: “I saw many others, whom he (sc. a trumpeting angel) brought forward. As they were watching all these punishments, they began to cry out, praying before the Lord Almighty, saying: ‘We beseech you for those who are suffering all these punishments, that you have mercy on all of them!’ When I saw them, I said to the angel who spoke with me: <‘Who are these?’>

He said: “Those who are entreating the Lord, are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. At a certain hour each day, they will come forward together with the great angel and he sounds the trumpet up towards heaven and another blast over the earth. All the righteous hear the sound; they come in quickly and they are daily beseeching the Lord Almighty for those who are suffering all those punishments” (Achmimic 16, 14–17, 15; Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 62).

For the *Apocalypse of Peter* 13–14, in the wake of James (*Apocryphal New Testament*, 521; “Rainer Fragment,” 270–279), Buchholz (*Your Eyes*, 349) claimed the evidence of the Greek Rainer fragment to surmise that the *Apocalypse of Peter* originally portrayed the righteous interceding for the sinners and Jesus conceding them respite. Indeed, the text of the Rainer fragment is clear as to Jesus’ concession: “And I will give to my called and my elect whomever they request of me from out of the punishment. And I will give them a beautiful baptism in the salvation of what is called the Acherusian Lake in the Elysian field, a share in righteousness with my holy ones” (chapter 14; Van Minnen, “Greek Apocalypse,” 36–37, with 39). The salvation referred to in the Rainer fragment has been interpreted in two different ways, however. According to Buchholz it is a universal form of salvation (*Your Eyes*, 349), whereas according to Bauckham it is a more restrictive form of salvation that depends on the victims forgiving their wrongdoers and asking for their salvation (*Fate of the Dead*, 145–148; 232–235). Be that as it may, it is important to note that comparison of the Rainer fragment with the Ethiopic version of chapter 14 of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 226–231) shows that the Ethiopic changed the original to such an extent that the concept of salvation for the sinners was eliminated from the text. See Roig Lanzillotta, “Does Punishment Reward the Righteous?,” 150–152.

Our text, too, clearly presupposes the efficacy of the prayer of the righteous for the souls in hell. Jesus himself, in 44, 4, of our text, supports this by referring to the prayers, or rather the oblations, of the living. It is further illustrated by a well-known anecdote about Macarius the Egyptian, from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Greek, systematic coll., Guy, *Apophthegmes* 1, 158–160, no. 19; Sahidic, Chaîne, *Manuscrit*, 66, no. 226). This is probably one of the earliest monastic “skull stories,” for which see Grypeou, “Talking Skulls,” and our chapter 3, section 2 (about the Bohairic *Life of Pesynthios*). It relates how Macarius has a discussion with the skull of a pagan priest about his punishment in hell. The priest tells him that whenever the saint prays for the souls, who are bound back to back in hell, the souls experience a bit of respite, which consists in that they can see part of the face of their neighbors. For “respite,” the Sahidic version of the story uses the terms ἱπτον and ἀνάπαυσις, “rest,” in accordance with the present text (see below at 44, 4; the Greek uses παραμυθία, “comfort”).

Although Paul remains prominently present, joining the prayer for mercy of the condemned souls, the real protagonist of chapter 43 is the Archangel Michael. In line with a broad angelological strand within the Christianities of Northeast Africa, including the Nubian and Ethiopian traditions, Michael is represented here as the tireless intercessor for humanity. More than any other single characteristic of the text, its picture of Michael situates the *Apocalypse of Paul* firmly within Egyptian Christianity. See generally Müller, *Engellehre*, 8–35, and the essays in Gilhus et al., *The Archangel Michael in Africa*; for the efficacy of this prayer, compare, for instance, the litany-like listing of the twelve favors obtained by Michael in Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On Michael and the Repentant Thief*, Bohairic; Simon, “Homélie copte,” 234–236. Only in the end of 44, following the intervention of Christ, the attention of the audience is cleverly redirected to the person of Paul who resumes his voyage in 45.

43, 1. ΑΥΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ̅ ΑΥΡΙΜΕ Ν̅ΒΙ ΝΕΤΞ̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΚΟΛΑCIC, ΝΕΤΞΙΞΟΥΝ Μ̅Ν ΝΕΤΞΙΒΟΛ, “all who suffered the punishments, those inside as well as those outside (of that place), cried out and wept”: The Latin reads: *omnes autem qui erant in eodem loco ... exclamauerunt et fleuerunt*, “then all those who were in that place ... cried out and wept” (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 156, 2.20–22). The Coptic is more precise about places and agents. The phrase ΝΕΤΞΙΞΟΥΝ Μ̅Ν ΝΕΤΞΙΒΟΛ is a typical expression of inclusiveness. The events of chapters 43–44 do not only concern those in the north-west (*in eodem loco*), but all the souls in hell. The Paris manuscript adds the words of the souls (“Lord God, have mercy on us!,” Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 156, 1.22), which is not supported by St Gall and Arnheim nor by the Coptic.

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Ν̅ΤΔΙΑΘ̅ΚΗ, “the archangel of the covenant”: The Greek version alone introduces Gabriel here, which can hardly be original (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 62).

Michael is called “angel of the covenant” already in chapter 14, 7, of the text (not extant in Coptic), where the pious soul is handed over *Michaelo angelo testamenti*, in order to be brought to “the paradise of jubilation” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 92, 1.18–19). The expression “angel of the covenant” is first found in Mal. 3:1, where indeed Michael may be meant (Hilhorst, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 9, but cf. Michl, “Engel 11,” 62). In a passage from Besa, the disciple of Shenoute, an (unnamed) “angel of the covenant” acts as a kind of punishing angel, who dispels the rotten monk from the community (Kuhn, *Besa*, textus, 9, 25–31).

Δ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΑΞΤΟΥ ΕΞ̅Ν ΠΕΥΞΟ. Δ ΝΕΤΞ̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΚΟΛΑCIC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΥΡΙΜΕ, “and all the angels threw themselves down upon their face. All those who suffered the punishments saw them weeping”: The Latin has a differ-

ent text here: *et peruenerunt ad eos qui erant in penis constituti. Et videntes eum iterum flentes clamaverunt*, “and they (sc. the angels) descended to all those who were suffering the punishments. And seeing him (St Gall: *eos*, them), they (sc. the tortured souls) wept and cried out again” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 156, 1.25–27), which is supported by the Greek: οἵτινες ἐγύρευσαν πάσας τὰς κολάσεις, “who went around all the punishments” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 62), whereas the Syriac and the Slavonic have similar phrases (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 138–139; Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 338). Given the narrative situation, the Coptic is slightly awkward, making the angels pray and weep, instead of the souls. Presumably, a scribe anticipated on the scene described in 43, 4, and 44, 1, and chose a wrong verb (for a similar case involving the same verb παρτ-, see chapter 44).

ΠΕΤΤΩΒῚ ΕΧῚΝ ΤΜῚΤΡΩΜΕ ἸΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ, “and entreat for humanity at all times”: This theme is further elaborated by Michael himself in 43, 2–3.

ΕΝΕ ΟΥΝΘΟΜ ΓΑΡ ἸΜΟΝ ΠΕ Εῖ ΠΑΡΡΕ ΕΡΟΝ ἸΠΑΤῚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ, “indeed, if only we had been able to cure ourselves before we arrived at this place, full of suffering!”: The Coptic ῖ ΠΑΡΡΕ permits to correct the Latin of the Paris manuscript: *impossibile nobis fuit ante aec pro hoc orare quam incederimus in hoc loco* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 156, 1.31–33), where for *hoc orare* (James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 547: “to pray for this”), *hoc* <c>urare should be read, “it was impossible for us to remedy this before we came to this place” (cf. Arnheim, *procurare*; St Gall has a garbled text here, uncritically adopted by Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 248). The Greek original must have contained a form of ἰάομαι; for the general sense, cf. 2 Clem. 9:7–8: “As long as we have opportunity to be cured (ἰαθῆναι), let us devote ourselves to the healing God, giving him his recompense. What kind? Repentance from a sincere heart!”

ἸΠΕ ἸΠΡΟΟΥῚ ΜῚ ΘΥΛΗ ἸΠΚΟCΜOC ΚΑΔΝ ... ΕΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ, “the concerns and the matter of the world did not allow us ... to repent”: For the phrasing, compare 40, 4, with the commentary above. Similar excuses of sloppy monks, complaining that ΕΡΕ ΠΒΑΡOC ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΑῚΑΙ ΝΘΥΛΗ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΑΖ ΖΟΡῚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΝ, “the burden of the things of this age and the manifold matter (at work) in everything of the earth weighs heavily upon us,” are forcefully rejected by Shenoute (Amélineau, *Œuvres* II, 313, from Shenoute’s *Canon* 6, for which see Emmel, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus*, 2.576–582).

Repentance is a central theme in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It allows the implacable functioning of God’s judiciary system with its mechanism of punishment and reward, since by repenting before death sinners get a chance to redeem their guilt. The sinners’ recalcitrant attitude, however, is reflected in their continuous excuses not to do so. Chapter 43 includes up three references to timely repentance. In the current passage, the sinners offer an excuse for their atti-

tude, whereas in 43, 2–3, it is Michael who informs them of the impossibility of obtaining forgiveness at this stage. In chapter 44, 5–6, the sinners come up with yet a different excuse (“if we had known ...”), where they are rebuked by the punishing angels. The model for both scenes is most likely the *Apocalypse of Peter* 13, where the complaining sinners are rebuked in similar terms by the angel Tatiros (Tartarouchos; Ethiopic, Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 224–227).

43, 2. $\varphi\omicron\eta\tilde{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\sigma\iota\ \pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon,\ \pi\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\text{--}\tau\omega\bar{\mu}\omega\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\varphi,\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \varphi\omicron\eta\tilde{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\sigma\iota\ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, “as God lives, whom I serve, and as the Lord lives ...”: For the use of $\bar{\eta}\sigma\iota$ in performative speech acts, such as oaths, typically with the stative, see Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 390, under d.

The Latin (Paris: *uiuit dominus ...*, and St Gall: *uiuit deus ante cuius conspectum adsisto*, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 158, 6–7) and the Greek ($\zeta\eta\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 62) collapse the double oath formula (perhaps by *saut du même au même*).

$\mu\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \omicron\gamma\Delta\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\ \bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\mu\tau\omega\beta\tilde{\epsilon}$, “not a single day or a single night passes that I am not pleading,” literally “passes without pleading”: Although grammatical and intelligible, one would expect a personal agent (an overt “I”); cf. the Latin *non intermitto uno die uel una nocte orans inefficienter*, “I do not stop a single day or a single night praying incessantly” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 158, 1.7–8). Possibly, the text should read $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon\ \langle\eta\alpha\iota\rangle\ \epsilon\tau\mu\tau\omega\beta\tilde{\epsilon}$.

$\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\varphi\tau\omega\beta\tilde{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\bar{\eta}\ \tau\pi\epsilon$, “while Michael is pleading in heaven”: Here and in the next sentence, the Coptic version alone makes Michael speak in the third person about himself, probably as a way of enhancing the liveliness of the text in oral performance (see below, at 43, 4).

$\bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\omega\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\ \epsilon\iota\chi\bar{\mu}\ \pi\kappa\alpha\epsilon\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\pi\omicron\rho\eta\iota\alpha$, “however, the humans enjoy their merriments upon earth and their obscenities”: Together with other “merriments” (probably eating and drinking, related to *gula* or gluttony), *πορνία*, that is, lust, is perhaps the most salient crime mentioned in the *Apocalypse*. See our commentary at 18, 1.

$\overline{\omega}\ \bar{\eta}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon,\ \alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\ \pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\omicron\gamma\tilde{\omicron}\epsilon\iota\omega\ \tau\eta\rho\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota$, “O men, you have spent your entire lifetime without repenting!”: God’s judiciary system assures the existence of an eschatological trial that distinguishes righteous from sinners. If sinners repent before death, they will be pardoned. As God explained earlier: “I swear by myself and my angels and my entire host that if it (sc. the soul on trial) had repented in the year in which it died, I would have forgotten all those (sc. sins) of the past and I would have granted it forgiveness of them” (17, 4). Once they reach the place of judgment, however, there is no more room for mercy. Punishment will necessarily take place and will last forever,

as the text frequently underlines. Michael's question "where are your acts of repentance?" situates the reason for their punishment in the sinners' own obstinacy.

43, 3. $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\epsilon \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\bar{\eta} \tau\pi\epsilon$, "the dew from heaven": The Latin omits the words "from heaven" and rephrases the passage a bit; the Coptic nicely contrasts the water from heaven to the water from beneath (see below) in two parallel sentences, which is lost in the Latin.

$\omega\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon \pi\pi\omicron\gamma\eta \omicron\gamma\omega\eta \bar{\eta}\rho\omega\gamma \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omega\gamma\bar{\omicron} \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma \epsilon\chi\pi\alpha\iota \epsilon\chi\bar{\eta} \pi\kappa\alpha\chi$, "to ensure that the abyss opens its mouth and pours forth water over the earth": This describes the Nile inundation, which according to Egyptian tradition proceeds from a subterranean cavern near the First Cataract; see Stricker, *Overstroming*, 18–19; Bonneau, *Crue du Nil*, 171–172, also for the echo of this belief in classical authors, from Plato onwards. For the important role of Michael as an intercessor for the fertility of the earth and in particular the Nile flood, see the Sahidic *Mysteries of John* (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 60–61), and the rich homiletic literature about Michael in Coptic, for instance Pseudo-Eustathius of Thrace, *Encomium on the Archangel Michael*: Michael praying $\epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon \mu\mu\omega\omicron\gamma \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon \phi\bar{\iota}\lambda\bar{\rho} \bar{\eta}\chi\eta\mu\bar{\iota} \omicron\gamma\omicron\chi \epsilon\theta\beta\epsilon \mu\bar{\iota}\omega\tau \bar{\eta}\epsilon\mu \mu\mu\omega\omicron\gamma \bar{\eta}\chi\omega\gamma$, "for the flood of the river of Egypt and the dew and the rain" (Bohairic; Budge, *Saint Michael*, 113; from the famous story about the widow Euphemia). Cf. Hermann, "Der Nil und die Christen," 44–46; Müller, *Engellehre*, 19–20; d'Agostino, "Liturgical Memories."

In the Latin versions, for obvious reasons, the Nile inundation was replaced by the rain: *ut pluuiā destinatur super terram* (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 158, 2.15–16).

$\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\eta \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\alpha\alpha\gamma$, "where are your acts of charity that you have done?": The Latin omits this phrase. Cf. the similar phrasing in chapter 16, 6, where it is the divine judge who asks: $\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\eta \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma \tau\eta\bar{\rho}\omega\gamma \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\alpha\gamma$, "where are all the good things that you have done?", and the opening words of Christ's address in 44, 3.

$\pi\kappa\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma, \pi\mu\epsilon\bar{\rho}\iota\tau \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon, \chi\eta\alpha\bar{\rho}\iota\mu\epsilon \chi\omega\omega\gamma \bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\eta}$, "and also Paul, the beloved of God, will weep together with you": Possible models for this scene are discussed above (at 43–44).

$\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\bar{\iota} \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\tau\eta\epsilon\varsigma$, "a little relief": To Coptic $\mu\omicron\tau\eta\epsilon\varsigma$, "relief," a cognate of $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\eta$, "rest," corresponds Latin *refrigerium*, Greek $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$.

43, 4. $\lambda\gamma\omega\omega \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \tau\eta\bar{\rho}\omega\gamma \bar{\eta}\beta\bar{\iota} \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta} \bar{\eta}\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\bar{\rho}\iota\mu\epsilon \lambda\gamma\omega \omicron\eta \epsilon\gamma\omega \lambda\gamma\omicron\mu \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\lambda\eta \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\chi\alpha\eta\lambda, \epsilon\chi\chi\omega \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma \chi\epsilon \bar{\eta}\alpha \bar{\eta}\alpha\bar{\eta}$, $\pi\omega\eta\bar{\rho}\epsilon \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \epsilon\tau\omicron\eta\bar{\delta}$, "at the instance of Michael, all who suffered the punishments cried out and wept and groaned as well, and said: 'Have pity upon us, Son of the living God!'":

After ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ: “and said,” the Coptic omits “with one voice” (Latin *una uoce*; Greek μιᾷ φωνῇ).

α παγλος ρωωq οn ωq εβολ, “Paul too cried out in turn”: Both the Coptic and the Latin of St Gall temporarily switch to the third person (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 158, 2.28, St Gall). The Paris manuscript (*ibid.*, 1.29) may have had the same, if we postulate the omission of the final -t in *suspirau*i and *dixi*, which is common in this manuscript (but cf. Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 248–249, who retains the first person); Arnheim (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 159, 2.26) corrects to the first person, as does the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*. As the third person is also witnessed by the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 341–342), it is certainly an original feature. Switching between the first and the third person occurs quite often in texts belonging to the genre of “tours of hell / heaven” and is a means of enhancing the liveliness of the text; see the discussion by Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl, in Rosenstiehl and Kaler, *Apocalypse de Paul*, 77–81, with further references; add Smid, *Proteuangelium Jacobi*, 176–178. A similar switch to the third person is found in the fragmentary text of chapter 50, about Noah, in Coptic manuscript IC (not extant in BL), and in the present manuscript in 43, 2, in Michael’s speech.

ТОТЕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΑΦΠΑΖΤῚ Μῆ ΖΕΝΤΒΑ ἸΑΓΓΕΛΟC ἸΠῚΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ, ΕΥΧΩ ἸΜΟC ΧΕ ΩΕΝῚΤΗΚ ΖΑ ΠΕΚΠΛΑCΜΑ, “then Michael prostrated himself in the presence of God, together with myriads of angels, and they said: ‘Have compassion on your creature’”: This sentence is omitted in the long Latin versions by homoeoteleuton and, as a result, Michael’s words appear in Paul’s mouth. Some lines later, the voice of God asks for what reason *nostri angeli nostrique ministri*, “our angels and ministers,” are beseeching him (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 160, 1.8–9, Paris), which shows that the Coptic, in mentioning after the souls of the damned and Paul himself, also Michael and his angels, preserves a better text here. The Coptic, corroborated by the Armenian (Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 136–137) and the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 341–342), also allows the plausible conclusion that the omission was already present in the archetype of manuscripts Paris and λ, the source of St Gall and the Latin redactions. The Greek version puts all prayers in the mouth of the souls (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 63). The Syriac changed the text drastically, but retained the supplication of the angels (Perkins, in Tischendorf *Apocalypses*, 62; Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 138–141); see Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 178–179.

ΩΕΝῚΤΗΚ ΖΑ ΠΕΚΠΛΑCΜΑ, ΩἸῚΤΗΚ ΖΑ ΤΕΚῚΚΩΝ, ΩΕΝῚΤΗΚ ΖΑ ἸΩΥΗΡΕ ἸΑΔΑΜ, “have compassion on your creature. Have compassion on your image. Have compassion on the children of Adam”: This appeal to man’s primitive and untarnished bond with God, in terms referring to his creation in Gen. 1:26–27, is characteristic of urgent prayer; compare for instance the *Song of Praise*

of *Michael the Archangel*, a Coptic ritual for healing and protection, likewise put into the mouth of Michael: $\text{ϩ}\alpha\text{ⲛ}\alpha\text{ⲗ}\text{ⲧ}\text{ⲏ}\text{ⲕ} \text{ⲗ}\alpha \text{ⲡ}\epsilon\text{ⲕ}\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲓ} \text{ⲙ}\epsilon\text{ⲛ} \text{ⲧ}\epsilon\text{ⲕ}\text{ⲗ}\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲕ}\text{ⲱ}\text{ⲛ}$, “have compassion on your likeness and your image” (Kropp, *Lobpreis*, 17, 43); similarly, in the *Life of Aaron* 131, Aaron’s prayer for the Nile inundation: $\text{ⲡ}\epsilon\text{ⲕ}\text{ⲁ}\text{ⲣ}\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲥ}\text{ⲧ}\text{ⲟ}\text{ⲥ} \text{ⲡ}\alpha\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲁ}\text{ⲑ}\text{ⲟ}\text{ⲥ}, \text{ϩ}\eta\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲗ}\text{ⲧ}\text{ⲏ}\text{ⲕ}, \text{ϩ} \text{ⲡ}\text{ⲱ}\text{ⲛ}\text{ⲗ}\text{ⲧ}\text{ⲏ}\text{ⲕ}, \text{ⲗ}\alpha \text{ⲡ}\epsilon\text{ⲕ}\epsilon\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲛ}\epsilon \text{ⲙ}\eta \text{ⲧ}\epsilon\text{ⲕ}\text{ⲗ}\text{ⲓ}\text{ⲕ}\text{ⲱ}\text{ⲛ}$, “good Christ, compassionate one, have compassion on your likeness and your image” (Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 142, 16–17).

44, 1. $\alpha\lambda\omega \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha\zeta\tau\omicron\upsilon \bar{\eta}\pi\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma \bar{\eta}\pi\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon, \lambda\iota\alpha\gamma \epsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon \bar{\eta}\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \text{ⲙ}\eta \text{ⲡ}\epsilon\tau\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon \bar{\eta}\text{ⲗ}\omega\omicron\omicron \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\pi\alpha\zeta\tau\omicron\upsilon. \lambda\iota\alpha\gamma \epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\text{ⲣ}\iota\omicron\text{ⲛ} \text{ⲙ}\eta \text{ⲡ}\text{ⲕ}\alpha\tau\alpha\text{ⲡ}\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\text{ⲙ}\alpha \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\pi\alpha\zeta\tau\omicron\upsilon$, “and, when they had prostrated themselves before the throne of God, I saw the Twenty-Four Elders and the Four Creatures that had prostrated themselves. I saw the altar and the veil that had prostrated themselves”: In the last sentence, the use of the verb $\text{ⲡ}\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ with an inanimate subject (altar, veil) is inhabitual. It looks as if a scribe mechanically copied the verb from the previous sentence, where it occurs twice. The Latin is hardly more satisfactory, however: *uidi altare et uelamen et thronum et erant omnia exultancia*, “I saw the altar and the veil and the throne and they were all exulting” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 160, 1.5–6), where *exultancia* sounds incongruous. Note that in none of the versions Paul sees the Father himself, only his throne (cf. Baun, *Tales of Another Byzantium*, 177–181).

Although following the models discussed above, at 43–44, the *Apocalypse of Paul* significantly develops the scene of the intercession for the sinners and expands the number of figures pleading for mercy. While the *Apocalypse of Peter* 14, only has Jesus’ “called and elect” interceding for the damned souls, the present passage includes Michael and his angels, Paul, the Twenty-Four Elders and the Four Creatures, and even the altar and the veil, all praying for mercy.

In the sequel, the Coptic omits the entire sentence that follows: *et eleuatus est fumus odoris boni iusta altare throni dei*, “and the smoke of a sweet odor rose next to the altar of God’s throne” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 160, 1.6–7; cf. the “golden bowls full of incense” of Rev. 5:8). Yet this is most likely an original element, as it perfectly fits the interest of the text in olfactory sensations and offers a striking positive pendant to the “thick foul-smelling smoke” that rises from the well of the abyss in chapter 41, 2 (for the stench of hell, see our commentary there and at 16, 1). The Coptic text, moreover, has preserved similar phrases in the descriptions of the garden of celestial Paradise (chapter 58) and the thrones of the apostles (chapter 60, 2). For the fragrance of divinity, see Lohmeyer, *Wohlgeruch*; Pasquier, “Fragrance.”

In this paragraph, Paul sees a vision of the divine throne hall, more or less similar to that of Rev. 4, which undoubtedly served as its principal model. As

in the later visions of the third heaven and Paradise in chapters 55, 2; 56, 3 and 60–61, this is a liturgical space with an altar and a veil (καταπέτασμα). Already the description of the altar in the centre of the City of Christ, in chapter 29, 3–4, with its explanation about the analogy of the celestial and earthly liturgy, betrays the same focus. Apart from the pervasive influence of the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is a more general tendency in late antiquity to turn celestial space into ecclesiastical space. In an extreme form, this is visible in the Coptic *Song of Praise of Michael the Archangel*, an extensive ritual, in which the Church of the Firstborn in heavens (cf. Hebr. 12:23) is adorned with the trappings of an actual church that can be identified and named in order to be invoked, for instance at ll. 75–79 (Kropp, *Lobpreis*, 23). Otherwise, our text hardly innovates. The altar, the veil and the throne are stock elements in both Jewish and Christian evocations of the divine world; see, for instance, Bietenhard, *Himmliche Welt*, 53–73 (about God's throne), 73–74 (about the veil; cf. Klauser, "Vorhang"), and 123–137 (on altar and cult); on heaven as a temple in apocalyptic literature, Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 29–46.

ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΤΕΤῆΤΩΒῆ ΜΜΟΙ, Ω ΝΑΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἸΛΥΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ, "wherefore do you beseech me, O my ministering angels?": The manuscript has ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΤΕΤῆΤΩΒῆ ΜΜΟΙ Μῆ ΝΑΔΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἸΛΥΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ, "Wherefore do you beseech me *and* my ministering angels?" This is incongruous in light of both the following answer and the preceding description. It is clear that not the souls of the sinners are here addressed by God, but Michael and the angelic hosts, prostrated before God's throne. The Latin has *cuius rei gratiam deprecamini, nostri angeli nostrique ministri*, "for what reason do you beseech us, our angels and our ministers?" (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 160, 8–9). This reading is supported by the Syriac (Ricciotti, "Apocalypsis Pauli," 140–141) and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*. We accordingly introduced a minor correction, on the assumption that a copyist misread the vocative marker Ω as the preposition Μῆ, which is paleographically unproblematic.

ΔΥCΜΗ ΩΩΠΕ ΕCΧΩ ἸῆΜΟΣ ΧΕ, "a voice came forth, saying": The Latin has *et exclamauerunt dicentes*, "and they cried out, saying" (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 160, 1.8–9), which seems a more natural introduction of the angels' reply. Apparently, a scribe mechanically copied the "voice" (CΜΗ) from the previous sentence.

44, 2. ΕΟΥῆ ΟΥΘΡΗΠΕ ΖΙΧῆ ΤΕΦΑΠΕ, "with a diadem upon his head": For the word ΘΡΗΠΕ, see above at 29, 2; here it may be an echo of Rev. 19:12.

ΔΥΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ, "and cried out": The manuscript has ΔΥΟΥΩΩ; for the doubling of the glide ΟΥ, see chapter 1, section 4.

44, 3. ἀγπωξτ̄ εβολ ἡπασνοϋ ἐτβε τηγτῆ, ἡπετῆμετανοι, “My blood was shed for your sakes and you did not repent”: The following hymnic evocation of Christ’s passion curiously recalls the *Improperia* of the Latin liturgy of Good Friday, Christ’s lament over the ingratitude of his people (for the oriental roots of the *Improperia*, see Roukema, *Micah*, 235–243). A similar series of complaints appears in a fragmentary Sahidic homily *On Michael* (Elanskaya, “Unpublished Coptic Manuscript,” 55). The Latin of this passage is formally much laxer.

Christ’s intervention, with its sixfold “and you did not repent,” culminates the numerous recriminations of the sinners for their lack of repentance. Repentance plays a central role in God’s judiciary system, since it allows sinners to annul the punishment that awaits them in the afterlife. Repentance, however, always needs to take place before death. God cannot be accused of lack of pity, since it is the sinners’ own defiant attitude that explains their suffering.

ἡβιχ ἡταγπλaccε μμωτῆ ἀγοϋτοϋ ἡειϋτ̄ ετβε τηγτῆ, “the hands that modeled you were fixed with nails for your sakes”: This phrase fell out in the Paris manuscript of the Latin, but is partly preserved in the St Gall manuscript (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 160, 2.23).

44, 4. ἀλλα ἐτβε μιχαηλ μῆ παμεριτ παγλος, “but, for the sake of Michael and my beloved Paul”: Given the possibility of repentance before death and the fact that the sinners persisted in refusing it, there is no reason whatsoever for God’s pity. It is only for the sake of his righteous, Michael and Paul, that God finally grants respite from suffering. This was also the case in the models of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, discussed above, in our commentary at 43–44.

ἡτοϋωω αν̄ ελγπει ἡμοοϋ {ἡ} μῆ νετϣι προσφορα ζαρωτῆ, “whom I do not want to grieve, and for the sake of those who offer oblations for you”: The erroneous ἡ was “clearly erased” according to Copeland (*Mapping*, 287, n. 141), but this is not so obvious; the ink in the right hand margin of this page is overall somewhat paler.

μῆ νετϣι προσφορα ζαρωτῆ, νετῆωηρε μῆ νετῆς<ἡ>ἡϣ, χε οϣῆ οϣον γαρ ἡζητοϋ εειρε ἡναεντολη “and for the sake of those who offer oblations for you, your children and your brothers, as there are some among them who observe my commandments”: For the προσφορα as *oblatio* for the dead, see the references in Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 695–696, s.v. προσφορά; in late-antique Egypt, these offerings were in principle the obligation of the son of the deceased or, by default, the other legal heirs, see Steinwenter, *Recht*, 50–51; cf. Garel, *Héritage et transmission*, 16–17 and 176.

The text’s <ἡ>ἡϣ (thus emended with Budge and Copeland), “brothers,” broadly covers the kin of the deceased and must not be taken in a monastic

sense. The words of Jesus underline the efficacy of the prayer of the righteous on earth for the souls of the sinners in hell; see also above at 43–44.

ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑΜΗΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΙΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ, †ΝΑ† ΝΗΤΗ ΝΤΚΥ-
ΡΙΑΚΗ ΝΗΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΔΥΩ ΠΤΑΙΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΗΝΗΝΣΑ ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ,
ΝΤΑΙΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ ΝΖΗΤΣ, “out of my goodness, because I rose
from the dead, I will give you the Lord’s Day as a day of rest every week as
well as the fifty days following the Resurrection, when I rose from the dead”:
The clause ΧΕ ΑΙΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ, “because I rose from the dead,”
sounds redundant here and is strangely duplicated at the end of the sentence:
ΝΤΑΙΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ ΝΖΗΤΣ, “when I rose from the dead.” The Latin
has preserved a more satisfactory phrasing: *in die enim qua resurrexi a mortuis
dono uobis ...*, “for on the day in which I rose from the dead I give to you ...”
(Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 7–8), a reading confirmed by
the Greek (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 63). Due to the secondary insertion of the
phrase ΔΥΩ ΠΤΑΙΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΗΝΗΝΣΑ ΤΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ, “as well as the fifty days fol-
lowing the Resurrection” (for which see below), the original relative clause was
demoted to the end of the sentence, but partly maintained in its original posi-
tion, where it lost its logical function, however.

In spite of minor differences of phrasing, the Coptic and the long Latin version largely agree, but for the duration of the period of respite, for which the Coptic adds to the Sunday “the fifty days following the Resurrection” (see below). For this section, the different versions display numerous variants, which show that the theme of the *refrigerium* was problematic. Thus the long Latin version grants the souls “the night and the day of the Lord’s Day,” *nocte et die dominice* (St Gall; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 2.9). The same (“Saturday night [literally: the night of Sunday] and Sunday”) is found in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* and in the Greek: νύκταν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἁγίας κυριακῆς ... εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 63). The Slavonic generally agrees with the Greek, but some versions add the fifty days from Easter till Pentecost, as the Coptic does (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 345–346, cf. 220–224). The Armenian versions show a wide array of possibilities. Leloir’s form I grants “one day and one night of rest” (Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes*, 139); III mentions a general rest but not its duration (ibid. 160), and IV destroys hell altogether and releases all the sinners (ibid. 171–172). Rather differently, the Syriac tradition seems to have been negatively disposed towards the notion of respite for the sinners, since it omits this whole section of chapter 44 and the following chapters, only to take up the story line at our chapter 48.

ΝΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΝΗΤΟΝ, “the Lord’s Day as a day of rest”: The Coptic has ΝΗΤΟΝ, “rest,” with the Greek (ἀνάπαυσις), whereas the Latin uses *refrigerium* (later also *refectio*); for these terms, see Helderman, *Anapausis*, in particular 47–71.

ΔΥΩ ΠΤΑΙΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΝΗΝΑ ΤΑΝΑΤΑΙΣ, “as well as the fifty days following the Resurrection”: This phrase refers to Eastertide, the liturgical period from Easter till Pentecost. As the clumsy form of the Coptic text shows (see our analysis above), it must be a secondary insertion (*pace* Roig Lanzillotta, “The Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,” 192–193). Its secondary character is confirmed by the reaction of the souls, who refer to “the day of rest” in the singular only, the speech of the punishing angels at the end of the chapter (see below) and, independently, by the Sahidic *Life of Cyrus* and the Bohairic *Life of Pesynthios*, both cited in our chapter 3, section 2. These latter mention the Lord’s Day as a period of respite for the punished souls, but are silent about Eastertide. The same is true of the Greek and Latin versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul* as well as the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*. The fifty days period of Eastertide does occur, however, in some late Bulgarian versions of the Slavonic text (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 345–346, cf. 220–224) and in the medieval Greek *Apocalypse of Mary*, which is based upon the *Apocalypse of Paul* (Baun, *Tales of Another Byzantium*, 400, chapter 29). This suggests that its insertion in the Sahidic text reflects a broader trend in the Byzantine world to extend the period of respite (cf. Baun, *Tales of Another Byzantium*, 244).

44, 5. ΤΗΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΕ, “we bless you, Jesus, Son of the living God”: The Latin adds *quia donasti nobis diem et noctem refecionem*, “because you granted us a day and a night of relief” (Paris; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 1.12–13; St Gall similarly), which is slightly redundant.

ἸΠΑΤΗΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΙΡΙΣΕ ΩΟΟΠ, “before we realized that these torments exist”: Omitted by the long Latin version (L¹, from here onwards represented only by the Paris manuscript).

ΝΕΝΝΑΧΙ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΝΝΑ† ΔΝ ΠΕ, “we would not have bought and we would not have sold”: Our translation retains the double negative verb, but note that the verbs χι and † are not the normal words for “buying” and “selling” (ωωπ and † εβολ); the combination χι † (“take [and] give”) is a hendiadys for “doing business” (Crum, *Dictionary*, 395b–396a). The partly garbled Latin idiomatically renders *nihil negociati fuismus*, “we would not have done any business” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 1.18), whereas the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* puts the blame on “abundance of love for money.”

ΝΕΝΝΑΡ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΖΩΒ ΔΝ ΠΕ, “we would not have undertaken anything”: The Latin has *nullam iniquitatem fecissemus*, “we would not have done any iniquity” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 1.18–19), which sounds unconvincing (as is the reconstruction of the garbled text in Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 252–253).

Similar to the preceding clause, the text seeks to obtain a hyperbolic effect, which is missed by the Latin.

ΟΥ (ms. ̄Ω) ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΝΩΔΥ ΧΕ <ΔΥ> ΧΠΟΝ ΕΠΚΟΜΟΣ, “for what use was it for us that we were born in the world?”: We follow Copeland’s emendations (*Mapping*, 288); the verb ΧΠΟΝ needs a subject; cf. the similar statements in 40, 6, and 42, 2.

ΑΛΗΘΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΝΕΛΩ<Β> ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΨΡΑΙ ΖΝ ΡΩΩ ̄ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΘΩ Ν̄ΜΔΝ, “truly, the steam that comes up from the mouth of our fellows tortures us”: The Latin of this passage (absent in the Greek) is unintelligible and clearly corrupt: *hic enim superbia nostra comprehensa est que ascendit de ore nostro aduersus proximum* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 1.20–22), which James translated: “for this our pride is taken captive, which came up out of our mouth against our neighbour” (*Apocryphal New Testament* 549). The Coptic text is understandable and grammatical as it stands (*pace* Copeland, *Mapping*, 227, n. 133). For ΤΞΟ / ΘΟ ΜΝ, “to treat badly,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 457b; the ο/ω interchange is unremarkable. The spelling ΕΛΩ for ΕΛΩΒ occurred already in 16, 2 (see our commentary). Budge’s translation, “verily [our life] is [like unto] the breath which each draweth into his mouth” (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1070), is entirely made up; the emendations proposed by Copeland in her apparatus (*Mapping*, 288, n. 144–145), after the corrupt Latin, are impossible and unnecessary. The complaint of the souls poignantly evokes the spatial confinement that characterizes the punishments in hell (see above, our commentary at 37, 2).

<ΠΕΝΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ> Μ̄Ν ̄ΡΠΙΜΕ ΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΡΕ ̄ΜΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν ̄ΨΩΝ̄Τ ΕΤΞΑΡΟΝ, “our distress and the weeping that we do and the worms that issue from us”: The first word is filled in by us. The misplaced preposition Μ̄Ν before ̄ΡΠΙΜΕ shows that a preceding noun phrase fell out, which is confirmed by the otherwise rather mangled Latin: *molestia ac nimiae angustiae nostrae et lacrimae et uermes qui sub nos sunt*, “the harassment and our excessive distress and the tears and the worms that issue from us” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 1.22–24). We therefore followed Copeland’s translation (*Mapping*, 227: “<The pain>”) in restoring a noun here in order to preserve the coherence of the text. We chose a minimal <ΠΕΝΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ>, “our distress,” in spite of the Latin, which has a somewhat longer expression here: *molestia ac nimiae angustiae nostrae*.

̄ΨΩΝ̄Τ ΕΤΞΑΡΟΝ, “the worms that issue from us”: The Coptic and the Latin (see above) literally read: “the worms that are under us” (the phrase lacks in the Greek). The prepositional predicate ΞΑ- / ΞΑΡΟ= designates a condition of physical suffering, analogous to hemorrhage (ῥύσις αἵματος). Compare, for instance, Mark 5:25: ΟΥΖΙΜΕ ... ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΝΟΥ ΞΑΡΟΣ, “a woman ... suffering from hemor-

rhages" (Aranda Pérez); P. mag. Heidelberg Kopt. Inv. 685, 4, 12: ΟΥCΝΟΒ ΔΥΚΑΟΥ ΖΑ ΟΥΔ, "someone made to suffer from hemorrhage" (namely by hostile magic; Meyer, *Book of Mary*, 14).

CEZOCE NĪMAN NĪZOYŌ ETEKPICIC ETĪNĪZHṬĪ, "are the hardest part of the judgment that we are undergoing": According to James (*Apocryphal New Testament*, 549) this phrase and the very similar Latin (*magis peiora sunt quam pene que detinent nos*, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 1.24–25) would hardly make sense. The Coptic, however, adequately renders a superlative construction (for which the Coptic lacks a morphological expression).

The complaints of the souls and the ensuing intervention of the punishing angels (in 44, 6) bring the vision of Jesus and the heavenly hosts to an abrupt close and reset the scene in hell again.

44, 6. MĪ NA NĪZHṬĪ EZOYŪ ĒPOTĪ ΔΕ MĪPETĪKΑ ΠΝΟΥΓΕ ΝΗΤĪ NBOĪΘOC ZI ZEΛΠIC. MĪ NA ZĪ TEKPICIC MĪPETE MĪPECEIRE MĪPNA. NṬA PNA TAZE THYṬĪ MMATE NTEYŪH <MN PEZOYŪ> NTKYPIAKH ETBE PMEPIT MĪPNOYΓE, ΠΑΥΛOC, "we feel no mercy for you, for you have not allowed God to be your succor and your hope. The judgment knows no mercy for him who did not practice mercy (cf. James 2:13). Mercy has been shown to you for the night and the day of the Lord's Day only for the sake of Paul, the beloved of God": The Latin of this passage is garbled and partly unintelligible. By contrast, the Coptic text, echoing phrases from earlier chapters, in particular chapter 16–17 (cf. 16, 7: "With him who practiced mercy, mercy is practiced") and chapter 32 and following (for instance 37, 1: "people who ... put their trust in their wealth and did not allow God to be their succor and their hope"), is carefully built around refusal (two parallel negative clauses) and awarding of NA, "mercy" (one positive clause, focused on Paul).

NṬA PNA TAZE THYṬĪ MMATE NTEYŪH <MN PEZOYŪ> NTKYPIAKH ETBE PMEPIT MĪPNOYΓE, ΠΑΥΛOC ΔΕ ΔΥΕΝΤΥ ΕΠΕΪΝΑ, "mercy has been shown to you for the night and the day of the Lord's Day only for the sake of Paul, the beloved of God, because he was brought to this place": We supplemented "for the night and the day of the Lord's Day," which the logic of the text demands, in accordance with the Latin (*nocte et die*) and the Greek (νύκταν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν). The omission of the fifty days following Easter in the address of the angels confirms that these are quite likely a secondary addition (see above, at 44, 6).

The adverb MMATE, "only," qualifies the preceding second perfect verb (Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 122, par. 158). This final sentence is very similar in the Latin: *propter Paulum, dilectissimum dei, qui descendit ad uos*, "on account of Paul, the most beloved of God, who has descended to you" (Silverstein and Hil-

horst, *Apocalypse*, 162, 1.31–32). It fulfills a vital role here, marked by the second perfect tense of the Coptic, as it brings Paul back center stage. From now on, he is the central character of the text.

45–64. The last part of the *Apocalypse* takes Paul by gradual steps away from hell, first to earthly Paradise (45–54), then briefly to the third heaven (55), and finally to celestial Paradise (56–62) and back to the Mount of Olives (63–64). Again, Paul follows a carefully outlined track that completes his tour of the world, now primarily on a vertical axis. However, whereas the earlier parts of the text were concerned with the fate of the various categories of sinners and righteous in a more comprehensive way, these last chapters focus on Paul in particular. This switch of perspective is already cleverly announced in 44, 6, in the final words of the angels supervising the punishments, and again very explicitly in the address of the *angelus interpres* in 45, 1, who invites Paul: “Now follow me once more and I will take you to Paradise, so that all the righteous may see you with joy and exultation.” In the next chapters, his mission on earth is situated in the line of a whole series of biblical precedents (46–54); then, his future transfiguration, announced in 2 Tim. 4:7–8, is predicted to him in a vision of celestial Paradise, which is the scene of a final apotheosis, where Paul is shown his throne (55–62).

The Syriac version not only omits the previous paragraphs (44, 2–6), where Christ grants respite to the souls of the damned, but also the entire description of terrestrial Paradise (45) as well as Paul’s encounter with the Virgin Mary (46) and the biblical patriarchs (47). It only reconnects with the story line of the *Apocalypse* in chapter 48, which describes Paul’s encounter with Moses. Also the Arabic *Homily cxii*, attributed to Athanasius (see chapter 4, section 2), omits chapters 45–47.

45. This chapter is devoted to a rapid tour of the Paradise of Genesis, the biblical Garden of Eden (although it is nowhere called thus), which acts as a prelude to the long series of Paul’s meetings with, first, the Virgin Mary and, then, a number of exemplary biblical saints (46–54). That this entire section of the work is situated in earthly Paradise, as opposed to celestial Paradise, is clear from the sequel, which briefly describes Pauls’ (second) rapture to the third heaven (55) and his following visit of celestial Paradise (56–62). The latter is explicitly identified as such in 58, 1, and 59, 1. The interpretation of the present locality as terrestrial Paradise is confirmed by the description itself, for instance by the enumeration of the earthly rivers in 45, 2 (Phison, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates), and the nations and lands watered by them. The text’s location of Paradise is therefore in conformity with a broad tendency in early Chris-

tian literature to situate the paradise of Genesis, as described in 45, on earth, but beyond the inhabited world and the Ocean, in the east (cf. Gen. 2:8). This widespread idea is found, among many other authors, in the *Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes IV, 7 (Wolska-Conus, *Topographie* I, 542–545, with the map; cf. de Vuippens, *Paradis terrestre*, 43–51). An alternative locality was commonly sought in heaven, in particular, in accordance with Paul's visionary experience, in or near the third heaven. Thus also 2 Enoch 5, one of the models of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, situates Paradise at the third heaven (see, in general, de Vuippens, *Paradis terrestre*, 97–111). The *Apocalypse*, therefore, on the one hand adheres to the situation of Paradise upon or near the earth, and on the other, to the situation suggested by Paul himself in 2 Cor. 12, which places it in or near the third heaven. This celestial Paradise, of which chapter 58 describes the topography, indeed presents a totally different landscape than the garden of Eden, described in chapter 45. The overt allusion to 2 Cor. 12:2–4 in chapter 55 signals the transition from the terrestrial to the celestial and at the same time explains this “doubling” of Paradise. The doubling is rare, yet not exceptional in early Christian literature (de Vuippens, *Paradis terrestre*, 110–111; James's claim, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 526, that the Coptic relates three visits of Paradise is not supported by the text). Nevertheless, the *Apocalypse's* descriptions of celestial or paradisiac regions show a certain ambiguity, already noticed in our commentary to 29, 3.

The description of earthly Paradise in the present chapter is based mainly on Gen. 1–2 and would be devoid of originality were it not for the paragraph about the Spirit and the water (45, 3). After Paul had seen the spring of the four biblical rivers of Paradise from a distance (cf. 45, 2: “when I had come closer to Paradise”), he enters Paradise and sees a tree from the root of which wells the water that feeds the source of the four rivers and upon which the Spirit of God sits, regulating the flow of the water (45, 3). Paul is then taken to the middle of Paradise, where he sees the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the tree of life, the latter guarded by a cherub with a fiery sword (45, 4). The descriptions of 45, 2, and 45, 4, closely follow the biblical text (Gen. 2:10–14 for 45, 2; Gen. 2:9 with 3:24b for 45, 4). Only the passage about the Spirit of God (45, 3) proves exceptional (see the discussion below).

Despite their apparent triviality, the precise cosmographic descriptions in the present chapter reflect important concerns of the *Apocalypse*. On the one hand, they transmit a coherent view of the cosmos, in which everything is interconnected and nothing lacks a well-reasoned *raison d'être*. The four rivers here mentioned, for example, are the models of those surrounding the City of Christ, while the tree of the Spirit plays a crucial role in the regulation of the earth's water supply. On the other, they allow us a glimpse of the author's theologi-

cal views and the role he attributes to the Spirit before and after creation. See below our commentary to 45, 3.

45, 1–2. For a plausible early Greek fragment of these paragraphs, see our chapter 1, section 6.

45, 1. $\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\ \epsilon\rho\kappa\ \xi\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\omega\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda$, “so that all the righteous may see you with joy and exultation”: These words of the angel already announce the theme of chapters 46–54, Paul’s meeting with the saints who recognize him as one of them and sanction his mission as an apostle of Christ. The words $\xi\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\omega\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda$, “with joy and exultation,” are inserted by the Latin at the end of the next sentence: *parati sunt obuiam te uenire cum gaudio et exultacione*, “they are ready to come and meet you *with joy and exultation*” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 1.4–5), which seems a slightly more logical position.

$\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\rho\iota\tau\bar{\iota}\ \xi\bar{\nu}\ \pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon\chi\mu\alpha$, “he seized me in the spirit”: The Latin has *impetu spiritus*; the Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \rho\iota\pi\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, “in a rush of the spirit” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64), which may be preferable readings.

45, 2. $\tau\alpha\rho\chi\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\varrho\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron$, “the spring of the four rivers”: In its description of the four rivers, the text rather closely follows Gen. 2:10–14, though with several abridgements.

$\pi\kappa\alpha\chi\ \tau\eta\rho\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\omega\omega\epsilon$, “the entire land of the Cushites”: The Coptic word $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\omega\omega\epsilon$ may refer indiscriminately to Nubians, Blemmyes and Ethiopians, Egypt’s southern and southeastern neighbors; see Crum, *Dictionary*, 65b. The Latin expands: *Egypti et Ethiopie*, “of Egypt and Ethiopia” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 1.14), whereas the biblical model has Ethiopia only.

45, 3. $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota\bar{\rho}\ \pi\rho\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\mu}\pi\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\eta\ \epsilon\varphi\eta\tau\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\varphi\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \omega\omicron\gamma\bar{\omicron}\ \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\gamma\pi\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\varsigma\bar{\iota}\ \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\varphi\tau\omicron\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\alpha\rho\chi\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\varrho\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron$, “as soon as I entered Paradise, I saw a tree growing, the root of which poured forth water into a source that provided water for the four springs of the four rivers”: Paul first saw only the “spring” or “head” ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$) of the four rivers (in 45, 2). Entering Paradise, he now sees the “source” ($\pi\eta\gamma\eta$) of that spring, which is fed from the root of a tree. This source may be the one of Gen. 2:6 ($\pi\eta\gamma\eta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\iota\eta\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\varsigma$).

$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\varphi\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \omega\omicron\gamma\bar{\omicron}\ \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \epsilon\gamma\pi\gamma\eta$, “the root of which poured forth water into a source”: In the expression $\omega\omicron\gamma\bar{\omicron}\ \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$: “to pour forth water,” the use of the absolute state $\omega\omicron\gamma\bar{\omicron}$, instead of $\omega\omicron\gamma\epsilon$, is a regular feature; cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 602, s.v.

ἐρε πεπνεῦμα ἡπνοῦτε νιφε ριχμ̄ πωην. εφωανωω ἡβι πεπνεῦμα, ωρε πμοογ σωκ, “and the Spirit of God blew over the tree. Whenever the Spirit called, the water flowed forth”: The manuscript reads ἐρε πεπνεῦμα ἡπνοῦτε νιφε ριχμ̄ πωην. εφωανσωκ ἡβι πμοογ, ωρε πεπνεῦμα ωω, “and the Spirit of God blew over the tree. Whenever the water flowed forth, the Spirit called.” The Latin has *spiritus autem dei requiescebat super arborem illam et cum flasset spiritus, efflabant aque*, “the Spirit of God rested upon that tree and when the Spirit blew, the waters flowed forth” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 1.21–23), which is definitely a superior reading, confirmed by the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 349–350). Apparently, at some point in the transmission of the Coptic text, a scribe got confused over cause and effect and produced a countersense in the second sentence. In our text, we retained the verbs, but in the second sentence changed the order of the constituents, in accordance with the Latin and the very similar sentence found a few lines further (εφωαννιφε δε ἡβι πεπνεῦμα, ωαφσωκ ἡβι πμοογ, “whenever the Spirit blows, the water flows forth”), in order to restore the logical sequence of events. Note, however, that the verb ωω, “to call,” has no counterpart in the other versions nor in the biblical source text (Ps. 147:7b, see below) and is most likely a substitute for νιφε. The original text may have read: ἐρε πεπνεῦμα ἡπνοῦτε ρμοο ριχμ̄ πωην. εφωαννιφε ἡβι πεπνεῦμα, ωρε πμοογ σωκ, “while the Spirit of God dwelt upon the tree. Whenever the Spirit blew, the water flowed forth,” which offers a correct rendering of the situation.

ζαον ἡπατε πνοῦτε ταμιε τπε μῃ πκαρ, μῃ λααγ ἡσα μοογ ἡμαατε αγω ερε πεπνεῦμα ἡπνοῦτε να εφνηγ ριχμ̄ μμοογ, “before God created heaven and earth, there was nothing but water alone and the Spirit of God went to and fro over the waters”: Cf. Gen. 1:1–2. For μῃ λααγ ἡσα μοογ ἡμαατε, “there was nothing but water alone,” the Latin has *erant autem omnia inuisibilia*, “and all things were invisible” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 1.26). This more closely follows Gen. 1:2, but is less appropriate than the Coptic, since it is the association of the Spirit with water that counts here (see below).

ἡτερε πνοῦτε δε ταμιε τπε μῃ πκαρ, πεπνεῦμα ἡωορπ̄ πε ριχμ̄ πμοογ, ἡτοϣ ον πε ριχμ̄ πωην, “but from the time God created heaven and earth, the same Spirit that was first upon the water, dwells upon the tree”: For the terse Coptic idiom in the main clause, compare Hebr. 13:8: 1(ἡσογ)ς πεχ(ριςτο)ς ἡτοϣ ἡσαϣ πε· αγω ἡτοϣ ον ἡποογ πε· αγω ον ωα νιενεζ, “Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever” (Thompson), with ἡτοϣ ον πε rendering ὁ αὐτός, “the same”; see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 214–215, par. 273–274. The Latin reads here: *ex quo autem preceptum* (read: *precepto*) *dei apparuit celum et terram, spiritus requieuit super arborem hunc*, “but from the time when on God’s order heaven and earth appeared, the Spirit found rest upon this tree” (Silver-

stein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 1.27–29; similarly in the Slavonic: Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 349–350); cf. the Greek, about the tree: ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “upon which the Holy Spirit had come to rest” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64).

This enigmatic paragraph describes how the Spirit of God, which first moved over the waters (Gen. 1:2), now dwells on a tree in Paradise, regulating the water of the source that feeds the four rivers. The relevance of this motif in the present context is not immediately obvious. One might be inclined to consider the passage an interpolation, if it were not attested by several other major versions of the text (Latin, Slavonic and, somewhat abridged, the Greek; it lacks in the Syriac). It must therefore be part of the original composition. Actually, the story about the Spirit is arguably the most conspicuous feature of the present chapter (cf. Hilhorst, “Visit to Paradise,” 129–130); the other paragraphs (45, 2 and 4) are nothing but trite paraphrases of well-known biblical verses.

The concept of the Spirit of God regulating the flow of the waters and also the actual phrasing of part of our text derive from Ps. 147:7b: πνεύσει τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ῥύσεται ὕδατα, “his Spirit will blow and the waters will flow forth” (cf. Sahidic περτηγὴ ναμικε, ντε νμοογ ὡογο, Bohairic εφναμικι νδε περ-πνευμα, cεναβδλ νδε ρανμωογ, Vulgate *flabit spiritus eius, et fluent aquae*). A somewhat similar operation of the Spirit, explicitly situated in Paradise, is evoked in a passage from the Macquarie ritual handbook: ντοκ πεντακτογ-νoс αααμ εβολ ρμ παρaticoc· ντοκ πεντακτογνoc ἡτιωτε εβολ ρη πεκ-πνευμα ετογααβ· δεκαδс εκетноογ νετειωτε εχῆ Δ, “It was you who raised Adam in Paradise; it was you who raised the dew through your Holy Spirit, so that you may send the dew over N.N.” (P. Macq. I 1, 4, 23–27, Choat and Gardner, *Coptic Handbook*, 50; our translation of the unemendated text, which intentionally seems to conflate Gen. 2:6 and 7). A parallel for the tree that bleeds water from its root is found in the Sahidic *Mysteries of John*. There, John has been taken up to the seventh heaven where he sees a huge source (πηγή) of water, white as snow, so as to resemble milk. Around the source, fruit bearing trees are growing that consist of a single branch and the root of these trees bleeds water into the source (τνογνε ἡῖωρην ἡτοс ετταγε μoογ εβολ εττηγῆ). The source is under the control of an angel who dips his wings in the water. When he sheds them, the water descends as dew upon the earth (Budge, *Apocrypha*, 64). The role of the roots of the trees that feed a source is the same, but in the *Mysteries of John* it is an angel, not the Spirit that regulates the water flow. These parallels, both concerned with the descent of dew, suggest that our passage presents a variation on the apocalyptic theme of celestial climate management that appears prototypically in 1 Enoch (The Book of Parables, in particular 60:11–23) and in many visionary texts from Christian Egypt,

such as the the *Mysteries of John* or the *Apocalypse of Shenoute* (Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera* IV, textus, 198–199), but also in chapter 43 of the present text, about the role of the Archangel Michael (general: Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 72–94).

The Spirit that regulates the water flow dwells on a tree that is clearly distinguished from the two biblical trees in the middle of Paradise, briefly described in 45, 4. This feature is obviously absent from the passage in Psalm 147. Divine beings or celestial powers dwelling upon trees in Paradise are known from a number of Gnostic and ritual texts from Egypt, though. The most pertinent example is again found in the Macquarie ritual handbook. In a passage that appears to invoke the celestial illuminator Davithe, it is said: ΝΤΟΚ ΤΑΡΧΗ· ΤΗΔΔΥ ΝΑΡΧΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΩΤ ΜΠΤΒΑCΝΔΥ ΝΑΓΕΛΟΣ ΖΙ ΑΡΧΗΑΝΓΕΛΟΣ· ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΤΡΙΞΕΝ ΠΩΗ<Ν> ΕΤΡΗΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΠΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΟ· ΕΦΕΜΔΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΙΝΟΣ ΝΑΪΤΟΣ ΕΡ ΘΗ ΜΟΥ Ο ΝΖΑ ΝΜΟΥΙ· ΕΡΕ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΟΥ Ο ΝΖΑ ΝΛΑΒΟΙ· ΕΦΑΚΩΡΩ ΕΧΝ <Ν>ΕΨΗΧΟΟΥΕ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ· ΙΒ: ΣΟΠ ΜΗΝΕ ΦΑΝΤΟΥΤΙ ΕΜΤΟΝ ΝΔΥ, “You are the beginning, the mother of all beginnings; you are the father of the twenty-thousand angels and archangels; you are the one upon the tree that is growing beside the River Euphrates, where there is the great eagle whose front is lion-faced and whose back is bear-faced, who prays for the human souls twelve times a day, until rest is granted to them” (P. Macq. I 1, 6, 17–24; Choat and Gardner, *Coptic Handbook*, 54, with minor adaptations). Although Paradise is not explicitly mentioned, this context is implied in the localization of the tree at the River Euphrates. It is, moreover, confirmed by two striking parallels, already noted by the editors of the Macquarie handbook, to wit the long recension of the *Apocryphon of John* and the ritual text P. Berlin 5565.

In the long recension of the *Apocryphon of John*, it is Jesus who teaches Adam and Eve “perfect knowledge” from the tree of knowledge in Paradise: ΔΙΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠCΜΑΤ ΝΟΥΔΕΤΟΣ ΖΙΧΝ ΠΩΗΝ ΜΠCΟΟΥΝ ... ΧΕΚΑΔC ΕΪΝΑΤCΕΒΑΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΑΤΟΥΝΟCΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΩΙΚ ΜΠΡΙΝΗΒ, “I myself appeared in the form of an eagle upon the tree of knowledge ... in order to teach them and raise them from the abyss of sleep” (after ΝΗC II, 23, 26–31; Waldstein and Wisse, *Apocryphon of John*, 135). As a comparison between the long and the short recensions of the *Apocryphon* brings out, the image of Jesus as an eagle revealed upon the tree of knowledge overlays a perhaps more original representation of the tree itself as an incarnation of Epinoia, “Thought” (attested somewhat differently also in *On the Origin of the World*, ΝΗC II, par. 91; Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, II, 68, where the first, superior Eve transforms into the tree of knowledge; cf. Tardieu, *Trois mythes*, 259; *Hypostasis of the Archons*, ΝΗC II, par. 9; Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, I, 241–242). Yet this latter motif is best kept apart from that of a power sitting upon a tree in Paradise that distinguishes the

Macquarie handbook and the long recension of the *Apocryphon*, as well as a third text, the ritual of P. Berlin 5565. The latter, a spell combining traditional material with Christian themes, addresses a power who is able to make people asleep: $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa \pi\epsilon \alpha\acute{\chi}\cdot \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa \pi\epsilon \alpha\beta\rho\alpha\zeta\alpha\acute{\chi}, \pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\bar{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma \chi\bar{\iota}\chi\bar{\mu} \pi\omega\eta\eta\bar{\iota} \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$, “You are Ax, you are Abrazax, the angel who is dwelling upon the tree of Paradise” (Adolf Erman, in *BKU* I, 21, 10–11; cf. Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, no. 47). Although the *Apocalypse* does not state so much, these various parallels allow the hypothesis that the Spirit upon the tree was also conceived of as a bird, for which the tree in Paradise offered the archetypal platform to manifest its power.

In depicting the Spirit as dwelling upon a tree that bleeds water, our text combines an exegesis of Ps. 147:7b with an explanation of what happened to the Spirit after the creation. The Latin version and even the much abridged Greek show more clearly than the rather terse Coptic that the description of his settlement in Paradise hinges on the opposition between the present “rest” of the Spirit on the tree (*spiritus requieuit super arborem hunc*, “the Spirit found rest upon this tree”; earlier: *requiescebat super arborem illam*, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 1.28–29 and 21–22; cf. the Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \hat{\eta} \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron$, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64) and its former restless movement, “going to and fro” ($\pi\alpha \epsilon\varphi\eta\eta\chi\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron$, *ferebatur*) over the unshaped waters before creation, according to Gen. 1:2. In Coptic Gnostic texts, the movement “to and fro” in the Genesis verse is often judged negatively. Thus, in a well-known passage from the *Apocryphon of John*, both long and short recensions, it is interpreted as the expression of Sophia’s despair and repentance (Waldstein and Wisse, *Apocryphon of John*, 78–83). In *On the Origin of the World*, NHC II, 5, the moving spirit is the hypostatized thought of the evil Yaldabaoth (par. 14, Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, II, 34, and par. 28, *ibid.* 42). By contrast, the (eschatological) Paradise of the Father in the *Gospel of Truth* (NHC I, 3) is characterized as “his resting-place” ($\pi\epsilon\varphi\mu\alpha \text{ n}\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$, 36, 38–39, Malinine, *Evangelium Veritatis*, 8; cf. Helderman, *Anapausis*, 145–155).

The text of our chapter 45, 3, however, while thematizing the opposition movement—rest, does not give reason to suspect a negative judgment of the Spirit’s movement. It rather seems to conceive of God’s Spirit as an ordering, regulating principle, which plays different roles at different moments in the history of the cosmos. Whereas in a pre-cosmic state everything happened randomly and without order (cf. the “formless and empty” earth of Gen. 1:2), in a cosmic state everything appears to have a good reason and place in the context of God’s creation. At a pre-cosmic stage, the Spirit of God hovering on the waters, as an ordering principle, transmits order to formless matter, to the waters that moved randomly; at a cosmic stage, once creation has been com-

pleted, it regulates the flow of the fluvial waters. Thus, this paragraph shows once again the importance of the cosmographic descriptions interspersed in the text. Besides the already mentioned function of tying the world structure together, the present passage allows a glimpse of the cosmological views of an author who is sensible to the intelligibility of God's creation and consequently betrays a clear Platonic background.

45, 4. ΔΥΧΙΤ ΕΤΜΗΗΤΕ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC, “he brought me to the middle of Paradise”: The precision “to the middle of Paradise” lacks in the Latin. The Coptic, as usually, carefully marks the stages of Paul's progress and, following Gen. 2:9b, situates both the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the tree of life, next to each other, in the middle of Paradise.

ΠΩΗΝ ΝCΟΥΕΝ ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥÇ ΜΝ ΠΠΕΤΘΟΟΥ, “the tree of knowledge of good and evil”: For the fairly common τ added before the θ in ΠΕΤΘΟΟΥ, see Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 95, sub 70.

ΠΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΑ ΔΔΑΗ ΟΥΩΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤÇ, “the one from which Adam ate”: The Latin has an additional reference to Eve: *ex ea accipiens a muliere sua*, “taking (the fruit) from it from his wife” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 2.2), which is confirmed by the Greek and must have dropped out from the Coptic.

ΕΡΕ ΟΥΧΕΡΟΥΒΕΙΝ ΜΝ ΟΥÇΗÇΕ ΝΚΩÇΤ {ΚΩÇΤ} ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟÇ ΕΠΚΩΤΕ, “which is surrounded on all sides by a cherub with a fiery sword”: A somewhat free and brief rendering of Gen. 3:24b: ΔΥΚΩ ΜΠΕΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ· ΔΥΩ ΤÇΗÇΕ ΝCΑΤΕ ΕCΚΩΤΕ· ΔΥΩ ΕCÇΑΡΕÇ ΕΤΕÇΙΝ ΜΠΩΗΝ ΜΠΩΝΞ, “and he (sc. God) appointed the cherub and the fiery sword that surrounds and guards the way to the tree of life” (Sahidic, Ciasca). The Latin version omits this clause, yet it survives in the Greek, in a slightly different phrasing: “over this the cherub and the fiery sword keep guard,” which likewise abbreviates the biblical text (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64; the same in the Slavonic: Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 350–351). Copeland retains the double ΝΚΩÇΤ ΚΩÇΤ in her Coptic text, apparently on the assumption that the reiteration represents a kind of intensive form (hence her translation, *Mapping*, 229: “a sword of all kinds of fire”). With ΚΩÇΤ, “fire,” which is a mass noun, this usage seems unattested, however, and the repetition is best seen as one of many instances of dittography in the manuscript.

46–54. Still admiring Paradise with its trees, Paul is greeted by a parade of saints who show themselves eager to meet him: first the Virgin Mary, then a series of characters from the Old Testament, from Adam to John the Baptist, though not in chronological order. As Carozzi, *Eschatologie*, 33–34, aptly observed, the saints appear in twelve groups, at least in the practically complete Coptic version. In their address of Paul, most of them briefly refer to their

own biography. The purpose of these chapters is double. On the one hand, Paul is in the limelight throughout. He is hailed by all the saints as the great apostle whose teaching “draws multitudes towards Christ” and allows them to be saved. On the other hand, the saints chosen from the Old Testament tell a story of their own. This is a story of exemplary self-sacrifice and obedience, which lends these chapters a strong paraenetic character, in line with the earlier parts of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The long series of Old Testament examples recalls similar enumerations in Hebr. 11 and in particular 1 Clement. The selection of the actual examples suggests that 1 Clement was quite likely among the models of the author for this part of his work, in addition to other apocrypha and the Bible itself (see further our chapter 3, section 1). As in the earlier parts of the work, in these chapters the author appears to use a variety of sources, which cannot always, however, be identified with certainty, as for instance in the case of Ezekiel (49, 1).

Table 12 visualizes the series of saints that come forward to greet Paul in chapters 46–54, omitting those from the New Testament (the Virgin Mary in chapter 46, John the Baptist and his father in 53), and briefly mentions the principal virtues or merits for which they are praised, in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in Hebrews 11 and in 1 Clement.

Similar to the chapters about the punishments of hell, this part of the text, too, is carefully organized, apparently on the basis of the number twelve (see above). The twelve episodes that make up the series again show the author's preference for repetitive, identically laid out textual units. Each follows a similar format, with an ample use of recurrent formulae, yet enlivened by considerable variation. Invariably, Paul first sees a saint or a group of saints approaching, who are sometimes briefly characterized and often accompanied by angels; he asks the *angelus interpres* to identify them or asks them himself who they are; they then briefly recount their story, to end with words of praise for Paul, his future followers or those who will follow their own example.

In the arrangement of the episodes, the author resigned from chronological order, but gave free rein to his love for symmetry. The series is framed by the emblematic figures of the Virgin Mary and Adam. These do not merely represent moments of beginning and end nor even the Old Testament versus the New, but—on a deeper level—refer to the dialectics of fall (in Adam) and redemption (in Mary's son Jesus), as unfolded by the historical Paul in his letter to the Romans. This concept of sacred time is prominently present also in the last-but-one episode, of chapter 53. John the Baptist, the last and greatest of the prophets, marks the transition from the Old to the New Testament. Similarly, Abel and Zechariah, John's father, represent mirroring images of accepted sacrifice, situated at chronological opposites, as are Adam and Mary. Although,

TABLE 12 The righteous of the Old Testament in chapters 46–54

Chapters	Characters	Virtues / merits	Hebr. 11	1 Clement	Other
47, 1–2	Abraham, Isaac, Jacob	faith	8–12, 17–21: faith	10:7; 31–32: faith, obedience	
47, 3–4	Joseph	persecuted	22: faith	4:9: persecuted	
48	Moses	meekness, faith scorned	23–28: faith	17:5–6: faith, modesty; 41:10, 53:2–4: scorned	cf. Deut. 9; Ex. 32–33
49, 1	Prophets	martyred	37: martyred	8: repentance; 45: persecuted	cf. <i>Lives of the Prophets</i>
49, 2	Lot	hospitality	–	11:1: hospitality, piety	cf. 2 Pet. 2:6–8
49, 3	Job	humility, perseverance	–	17:3–4: humility	
50	Noah	obedience	7: faith	7:6: repentance; 9:4: obedience	
51	Elijah	righteousness (martyred)	–	17:1: humility	cf. James 5:16–18: righteousness
52	Enoch	(martyred)	5: faith	9:3: obedience	
53	Abel	martyred	4: faith	4:1–6: martyred	
54	Adam	repentance	–	(6:3; 50:3)	cf. <i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>

from chapter 52 onwards, the text is represented only by a single witness, our Coptic manuscript BL, there is no reason whatever to suspect that the entire, cleverly organized series from Mary to Adam was not from the outset an integral part of the text's layout.

46, 1. ΖΟCΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΙΔΑΞΕΡΑΤ ΕCΩΥΤ̄ ΕΠΕΘΟῩ Μ̄ΠΩΗΝ Μ̄ΠΩΝΞ̄, “while I still stood gazing at the glory of the tree of life”: For ΕΠΕΘΟῩ Μ̄ΠΩΗΝ Μ̄ΠΩΝΞ̄, “the glory of the tree of life,” the Latin simply has *lignum*, “the tree.” As it appears, the Coptic preserved something of Paul's wonder, still visible in the Greek too (θαυμαζόντος, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64).

ΝΙΜ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ, ΠΑΧΘΕΙC, “who is that, my Lord?”: In accordance with the pattern that can be observed in the other chapters, Paul's question must originally

have run: ΝΗΜ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ, ΠΑΧΘΕΙΣ, ΕΧΖΜ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ἤΕΘΟΥ, “Who is that, my Lord, surrounded by such great glory?,” as in the Latin: *Domine, qui est ista in tantam gloriam ueniens?*, “Lord, who is she that comes in such great glory?” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 2.10–11), and similarly in the Greek, which expands: ἡ ἐν τοσαύτῃ τιμῇ καὶ ὡραιότητι, “in such glory and beauty” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64). Compare, 48, 1, about Moses: “Who is that man, so beautiful in his appearance?” Here the element ΕΧΖΜ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ἤΕΘΟΥ was apparently skipped by a careless copyist who then noticed his error and inserted the clause in the answer of the angel.

ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ, ΤΜΑΧ ἡΠΕΝΧΘΕΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ΕΧΖΜ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ἤΕΘΟΥ, “that is Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, surrounded by such great glory”: As argued above, the phrase ΕΧΖΜ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ἤΕΘΟΥ, “surrounded by such great glory,” is misplaced here and should logically have been part of Paul’s question. The text is correct and intelligible as it stands, however.

46, 2. {ΠΜΕΡΙΤ} ΠΜΕΡΙΤ ἡΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Μῆ ἡΡΩΜΕ, “beloved of angels and men”: The double ΠΜΕΡΙΤ is a dittography due to the transition to a new page.

These words of the Virgin Mary introduce the praise of Paul that will dominate the following chapters and their parade of biblical figures. This first, introductory address is lengthier than the brief tribute offered by the single biblical figures that follow. Mary’s words already summarize the reasons behind the joy of the inhabitants of Paradise at the sight of the apostle, advancing the three main themes that will be recurrently mentioned by them: (a) the desire of the inhabitants of Paradise to see Paul in the flesh (“Will you oblige us and bring Paul up to us so that we may see him in the flesh, before he comes forth from the body?”); (b) Paul’s great glory, which he has earned due to his heroic pastoral efforts (“Do not grieve us, our Lord. We desire to see him in the flesh, since he has earned so very great glory, caring for big and small”), and (c) the importance of Paul’s evangelizing activity and the multitude of believers he has attracted to Christ (“When any of them enters this kingdom, we inquire: ‘Why has this one reached this place?’, and they will say: ‘There is one called Paul upon the earth, who preaches Christ with his sweet words, draws multitudes towards Christ and introduces them into the City of Christ, Jerusalem’”).

ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΑΓΛΟΣ, ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ἡΚΥΡΙΖ ἡΤΜΕ ΖῆΝ ΤΠΕ ΔΥΩ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ, “hail, Paul, who has become a herald of truth both in heaven and upon earth”: The Latin has collapsed the triple greeting of Paul, with a threefold ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΑΓΛΟΣ, into a single one, much reduced. The present, third member lacks entirely in the Latin, whereas the Greek still preserves an echo of it: “who has proclaimed (κατήγγειλας) the word of God in the world” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*,

64), which suggests that the triple greeting of the Coptic may be original, as seems likely anyhow.

For Paul as $\kappa\eta\rho\nu\varsigma$ of truth, see 1 Tim. 2:7 (cf. 2 Tim. 1:11); cf. also below at 47, 2.

κναπιθε ἴμον, “Will you oblige us ...?”: Pace Copeland, *Mapping*, 230, n. 144 (who translates correctly), there is no confusion here and the construction is perfectly grammatical. Coptic πιθε (here πιθε) represents both πείθω and πείθομαι; for the valency of the verb πιθε, see Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 632–633, s.v.

ἐαυτοῦ ἡπεινός νεοῦ ἡττειρε, ἐφυῖ ἡδ νεῖνός ἡν νεῖκοῦ, “since he has earned such great glory, caring for the great and the small”: For “admirative” ἡττειρε, see above, at 40, 5.

The Latin phrases this passage differently: *per hunc enim glorificatum est nomen tuum in seculo ualde et uidimus quia omnia opera substullit minorum siue maiorum*, “for thanks to him your name is much glorified in the world and we saw how he took care of all works whether of the little or the great” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 164, 2.22–25). In both versions, the interpretation of the second clause is not entirely obvious and either may contain errors of translation. To the Coptic verb ⲕⲓ ⲉⲁ, “to bear, support,” corresponds Latin *suffero*, which has a similar semantic range. The sequel of the text shows that ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲟⲩⲓ refers to the Christians who are received in heaven thanks to Paul’s efforts. We take the “great and small” as an inclusive formula, encompassing the entire class of these, whether important or unimportant. This is confirmed by the use of a generalizing demonstrative (ⲛⲉⲓ-) and perhaps also by the much abridged Greek, which cites the witness of πάντες οἱ σωθέντες διὰ σοῦ, “all who were saved by you” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64).

46, 3. This entire paragraph is a recommendation aimed at the audience of the book (copyists and readers). It seems entirely out of place here. It has no parallel in the other versions and must be a scribal insertion. A similar, more extensive recommendation is found in a far more logical position, at the end of the text, in chapter 64, 2, there attributed to Christ himself.

†ƵŲṚĸ ṆΤΟΥΝΑΜ ἡΠΑΩΗΡΕ, ű ΠΣΩΤΉ ἡΠΠΟΥΓΤΕ, ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, ΧΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΣΖΑΙ
 ṆṆΩΔΧΕ ΝΤΕΙΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΗΨΙC ṆΤΑΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΖṆ ἡΠΗΥΕ, ṆṆΕΦΧΔΙ †ΠΕ ṆΛΑΔΥ
 ṆΒΑΖΑΝΟΣ ΖṆ ṆΚΟΛΑΣΙC ṆΤΑΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖṆ ΑΜΗΤΕ, ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΤΑΝΑΓΚΗ ṆΜΑΑΤΕ
 ṆΤΕΥΘΙΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖṆ ΣΩΜΑ, “I swear by the right hand of my son, O chosen of
 God, Paul, that whoever will copy the words of this revelation that you saw
 in the heavens, will not experience any torture of the punishments that you
 have seen in hell, except for the agony alone, at the moment when they go
 forth from the body”: For the phrasing and very similar ideas, compare Ps.-
 John Chrysostom, *On John the Baptist*, where Jesus himself says: ΔΥΩ ΛΑΔΥ
 ṆΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑṖ ΠΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΪΧṆ ΠΚΑΖ, ΖΑΜΗΝ, †ΧΩ ṆΜΟΣ ΝΑΚ, ΠΑΣΥΤΤΕΝΗΣ

47, 1. ΕΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΕΜΑΔΑΤΕ Ζῆ ΤΕΥΖΙΚΩΝ, “very beautiful in their appearance”: The Latin is more expansive: *pulcros ualde speciae Christi et imagines eorum fulgentes*, “very beautiful after the figure of Christ and radiant in their appearances” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 1.9–10), which looks like a secondary embellishment.

47, 2. ἸΤΑΙΤΑΛΟΥ ΕἶΡΑΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “whom I sacrificed to God” (cf. Gen. 22): The Latin omits this phrase, which produces an asymmetry in Abraham’s presentation of Isaac and Jacob that can hardly be original.

ΕΙΣ ΙΔΚΩΒ, ΠΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “this is Jacob, the beloved of God”: For ΠΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, the Latin has a more logical epithet: *dilectissimus meus*, “my most beloved” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 1.18–19). The Coptic seems to have mechanically applied the epithet that is used again and again for Paul in the present chapters, for instance in 47, 1, in the address of the patriarchs themselves.

Ζῆ ΠΤΡΗΣΟΥΕΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ζῆ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ, ΜΠΕΦΛΥΠΕΙ ΜΗΜΟΝ ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕΡ-ΝΕΙ ΕΡΑΤῶ, “Because we acknowledged God in the world, God did not grieve us when we came to him”: The Latin has *et cognouimus deum et secuti sumus eum*, “and we acknowledged the Lord and we followed him” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 1.19–20), which looks like a collapsed and inferior rendering of the same sentence. The same phrase “God did not grieve us,” which the Latin lacks here, is used again a few lines lower, in the speech of the twelve patriarchs (*deus non contristavit nos*; Greek: ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐλύπησεν ἡμᾶς; Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 65).

ΝΑΙΑΤΟΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤῚ, ΝΣΕΖΥΠΟΜΕΙΝΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ζῆ ΟΥΖΙΣΕ Μῆ ΟΥ|ΜῆΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ Μῆ ΟΥΤῚΒΟ Μῆ ΟΥΘῚΒΙΟ Μῆ ΟΥΗῆΤΡῆΡΑΩ Μῆ ΟΥΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “blessed are all people who will come to believe through you and will abide in God with labor and charity and purity and humility and meekness and faith in God”: Abraham is the first of the righteous to meet Paul. In the long parade that follows (47–54) each new character appearing on stage will greet and praise Paul for different aspects of his person and work. Even though the reasons for the praise advanced by them always go back to the summary provided by Mary above (46, 2), the author nevertheless succeeds in avoiding monotony by introducing some variation in the addresses. Abraham’s praise of Paul focuses on the third of Mary’s arguments, namely Paul’s eager evangelizing activity by which he managed to attract great numbers of believers.

ΑΛΛΑ ΔΑΝCΜΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΔΙΑΘΥΚΗ Ζῆ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕΚΚΥΡΙΣΕ ΜΗΜΟQ ΧΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤῚ, ΔΑΝΟΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΑΥ, “but we concluded a covenant with him whom you proclaim (sc. Jesus) to the effect that we will

minister to all people who will come to believe through you”: The manuscript has a preposition ϣ̅ instead of ⲙ̅ that seems inappropriate in the present context, but has not been corrected by us (for the valency of ⲙ̅, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 338a–339b). Otherwise, the Coptic text is clear and concise, whereas the Latin is slightly convoluted: *et nos quoque abuimus deuocionum ad Iesum quem tu predicas testamento, ut omnes anime credencium ei adistamus et ministremus sicut patres ministrant filiis suis*, “and we also made a vow to Jesus, whom you preach, by covenant that we will come to the assistance of all souls of those who believe in him and minister (to them) as fathers minister to their sons” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 1.24–28). The Latin’s final clause lacks in the Coptic, but is supported by the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (“just as parents minister to their children”). These words recall chapter 27, where the three patriarchs welcome the hospitable *sicut filios aut fratres*, “as sons and brothers” (St Gall, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 128, 2.10–11; compare the Coptic of 27: ⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲁⲗⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲛⲉⲩ, “O, our children and our brothers”). Here, the Coptic misses this reminiscence, which must be original, though. The entire passage is lacking in the other versions, including the Greek.

The idea of a covenant, διαθήκη, concluded between Jesus and the three patriarchs is also found in the final paragraphs of the Coptic *Testament of Isaac*, which gives it a slightly different turn, though: “Blessed is everybody who will show charity in the name of these patriarchs, for they will become their children in the kingdom of heavens. For our Lord concluded an eternal covenant with them (ⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲃⲟⲩⲕⲛ ⲛⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉⲗ), that all who will perform an act of charity on the day of their commemoration shall be given to them as children in the kingdom of heavens, till eternity” (Sahidic, Kuhn, “Sahidic Version,” 237; cf. Guidi, “Testamento,” 244; Dochhorn, “Testament Isaaks,” 323). At the background of all this is the concept of the eschatological repose of the souls of the deceased “in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,” as articulated for instance in the funerary liturgy; cf. 4 Macc. 13:17; Matt. 8:11, Luke 13:28, 16:22, and the inscription quoted in our commentary at 22, 5; see Staerk, “Abrahams Schoß”; Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules de prière”; Van Loon, “Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.”

ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲣⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩ, “him whom you proclaim”: Cf. Acts 19:13 (Sahidic: “Jesus, ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲕⲛⲣⲥⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩ, whom Paul proclaims,” Thompson) and similar passages.

ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲩ, “we will minister to them”: The phrase, a cleft sentence, is entirely grammatical and shows no Bohairic influence whatever, *pace* Copeland, *Mapping*, 293, n. 154.

47, 3. {Ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲭⲟⲓⲥ; ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲓ}: The scribe by inadvertence repeated an entire clause here, as was observed already by Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 553) and Copeland (*Mapping*, 239); we divided the text a bit differently, though.

ⲙⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲗⲫⲉⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲣⲏⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲣ̄, ⲙⲡⲁⲧ̄ⲕⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ, “God did not grieve us, since he has allowed us to see you in the flesh, before you come forth from the body”: These words of praise by the patriarchs revolve around around the first aspect highlighted by Mary in 46, 2, namely the saints’ desire to see Paul in the flesh.

47, 4. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ, ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, “I am Joseph, whom they sold”: The sequel shows that a personal translation, referring to Joseph’s brothers, is required (“whom they sold,” not “who was sold”). Among the twelve patriarchs, Joseph is singled out, in accordance with the paraenetic character of the text and the massive Christian (and Egyptian) interest in the story of Joseph; for Egypt, see the literature cited in Van der Vliet, “Coptic,” 74, n. 10.

ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲟⲛⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ, “the pains that they inflicted on me”: The Latin gives *fratres mei*, “my brothers,” as the subject of the clause, which renders it less ambiguous (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 2.7–8). The reading of the Latin is confirmed by both the early Greek of the Bodleian fragment (for which, see our chapter 1, section 6) and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*.

ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲉⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ, “I did not for a single day allow myself to nurse malice against them”: The word ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ, “malice” (κακία), occurs already in 19, 1. The Latin has *in nullo maliciose egi cum eis*, “in no way did I deal maliciously with them,” which is rather close to the Coptic and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (“I never responded to them with malice”), but adds a verbose and redundant description of the wicked behavior of Joseph’s brothers (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 2.8–11).

ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲓ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, “because whoever will take pains for God”: With the words ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, “for God,” the parallel text of the Vienna leaf of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* begins (our manuscript AA, in Appendix 1). There, the next sentence is introduced by ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ, “because,” which shows that the previous sentence in AA must have read [ⲛⲁⲉⲓⲁⲧⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲓ ⲛⲟⲛⲥ] ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, “blessed is he who will take pains for God,” or very similarly.

ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧ̄ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ, ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ, “because God shall recompense whoever will take pains for God many times over when he comes forth from the body”: Here the manuscript reads: ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧ̄ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, ⲱⲁⲣⲉ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΩΩΩ ΑΔΥ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΟΠ, ΕΦΩΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΣΩΜΑ, literally “because, whoever will take pains for God, God himself shall make them for him many times over, when he comes forth from the body.” Although more or less understandable, the phrase ΩΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΩΩΩ ΑΔΥ ΝΑΥ is apparently corrupt. The reference of the plural object in ΑΔΥ is unclear and the verb itself (ΑΔΥ) inappropriate. The very similar passages below, ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ Ν<Α>ΑΔΥ ΖΝ ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ, ΩΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΟΒΟΥ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΟΠ (49, 2, speech of Lot) and ΝΡΙΣΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΔ ΝΑΩΠΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΩΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΒΟΥ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΑΠΣ ΝΟΠ ΕΥΚΗΒ (51, speech of Elijah), suggest a correction of the ΩΑΡΕ clause to ΩΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΩΩΒΕ ΝΑΥ, “God will recompense him” (cf. also the similar phrasing in 56, 3). The copyist of the Coptic or one of his predecessors probably misread or misheard the group ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΩΩΒ as ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΩΩΩ. The reading adopted here (and in Copeland’s translation, *Mapping*, 233, n. 154) is supported by the parallel in manuscript ΑΑ, which runs: ΩΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΙΟ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΟΠ, “God shall recompense him many times over” (ΤΟΥΙΟ is a synonym of ΤΩΩΒΕ; Crum, *Dictionary*, 444a), as well as the Latin, which has: *dominus retribuet ei multipliciter cum exierit de mundum*, “the Lord shall repay him manifold when he is going to leave the world” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 2.13–14).

48. Paul’s conversation with Moses takes up somewhat more space than most of the others. After their briefly sketched meeting (48, 1), Moses starts to weep and complains that his efforts on the Israelites were lost (48, 2). He then relates a curious scene that took place in heaven at the time of the crucifixion, before he concludes with the habitual blessing of Paul and his followers (48, 3).

For this chapter, we have a practically complete Sahidic version in the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, our manuscript ΑΑ. Comparison of our text with the Sahidic and Arabic versions of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* and the Latin of the *Apocalypse of Paul* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165–166) confirms two minor omissions in the Coptic text of our manuscript ΒΛ: in 48, 2, a phrase corresponding to *Israel autem non est ingressus*, (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.3–4); in 48, 3, a reference to God the Father (*pater deus omnium*, *ibid.*, 1.6). For both, see below.

48, 1. ΕΤΝΕΣΩΩ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΖΙΚΩΝ, “so beautiful in his appearance”: Manuscript ΑΑ is more generous in its description of Moses: [Ε]ΦΖΑ ΕΟΟΥ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΟΥΩΠΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΩ, “very glorious—he was amazing to see,” but abridges the following dialogue. The Latin has a simple *pulcrum*, “beautiful.” For the splendor of Moses’ face, see Ex. 34:29–35 and 2 Cor. 3:7.

ἡ̅τε̅ρε̅φ̅ω̅ζ̅ ε̅ροι̅ ἀ̅φ̅α̅σ̅π̅α̅ζ̅ε̅ ἡ̅μο̅ι̅ ἀ̅φ̅ῤ̅ι̅μ̅ε̅, “when he reached me, he greeted me and wept”: The scene is reminiscent of Paul’s meeting with Enoch and Elijah in chapter 20.

48, 2. ἡ̅τ̅κ̅ ο̅γ̅ρ̅ῃ̅ρα̅ω̅ πα̅ρα̅ ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ ν̅ι̅μ̅ ε̅φ̅ε̅ι̅χ̅ῃ̅ π̅κα̅ζ̅, “you are meeker than anyone on earth”: For Moses’ meekness, see Num. 12:3.

ἡ̅α̅τ̅ω̅β̅ε̅ ἡ̅τ̅αι̅το̅β̅ο̅υ̅, “my shoots that I planted”: The Latin adds *cum labore*, “with effort,” which lacks in all other versions (including our manuscript AA), whereas it omits the following ἡ̅πο̅υ̅χ̅ε̅ νο̅γ̅νε̅ ε̅β̅ολ̅, “have not taken root” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 2.26). For the planting language, cf. Isa. 5; 1 Cor. 3:6–8, and chapter 57.

ο̅γ̅Δ̅ε̅ ἡ̅πο̅υ̅†̅ καρ̅πος̅, “nor did they yield fruit”: The Latin here adds a phrase *nec aliquis proficit de eis*, “nor did anyone profit from them” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 2.27), which lacks in our manuscript BL, but may have been present in manuscript AA (if our tentative reconstruction of the text of AA can be accepted), and therefore could be original.

ἡ̅α̅ε̅σο̅υ̅ ε̅†̅μο̅ο̅νε̅ ἡ̅μο̅ο̅υ̅, “my sheep that I herded”: Manuscript AA adds ω̅α̅ πο̅ο̅υ̅, “till today,” absent also in the Latin.

ἡ̅θ̅ε̅ ἡ̅νε̅τε̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅το̅υ̅ ω̅ω̅ς̅ ἡ̅μα̅γ̅, “as if they had no shepherd”: The phrasing in AA, ἡ̅θ̅ε̅ ἡ̅νε̅ι̅ε̅σο̅ο̅υ̅ ε̅τε̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅το̅υ̅ ω̅ω̅ς̅, “like sheep that have no shepherd,” even more closely follows Matt. 9:36.

ἡ̅α̅ρι̅ε̅ τ̅η̅ρο̅υ̅ ἡ̅τ̅αι̅α̅α̅γ̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅ ἡ̅ω̅η̅ρε̅ ἡ̅π̅ι̅ς̅ρα̅η̅λ̅ ἀ̅γ̅ω̅ρ̅ῃ̅, “all my troubles that I took with the sons of Israel were lost”: For the phrasing compare 20, 2: ἡ̅ε̅κ̅-
ρι̅ε̅ ... ἡ̅τ̅α̅κα̅α̅γ̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅ τ̅η̅ῃ̅τ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅, “your troubles that you (sc. Paul) took with humanity.” Manuscript AA presents some lexical differences: ἡ̅α̅ρι̅ε̅ τ̅η̅ρο̅υ̅ ἡ̅τ̅αι̅ω̅πο̅ο̅υ̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅ <ῃ̅>ω̅η̅ρε̅ ἡ̅π̅ι̅ς̅ρα̅η̅λ̅ ἀ̅γ̅ω̅η̅ε̅ ε̅λα̅α̅γ̅, “all my troubles that I endured with the sons of Israel came to nothing”; the Latin phrases almost identically: *omnes labores quos pertuli propter filios Israel ad nihilum disputati*, “all the troubles that I endured because of the sons of Israel were counted as nothing” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 2.30–31).

ἡ̅β̅ο̅μ̅ τ̅η̅ρο̅υ̅ ἡ̅τ̅αι̅α̅α̅γ̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅μα̅γ̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅ τ̅ε̅ρ̅η̅μ̅ο̅ς̅ ἡ̅πο̅γ̅νοι̅ ἡ̅μο̅ο̅υ̅, “all the miracles that I did with them in the desert they failed to understand”: Manuscript AA, but not the Latin, phrases differently and theologically more correct: ἡ̅β̅ο̅μ̅ γ̅α̅ρ̅ τ̅η̅ρο̅υ̅ ε̅α̅ π̅λ̅θ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ ἀ̅α̅γ̅ ἡ̅ῃ̅μα̅γ̅ ἡ̅πο̅υ̅†̅ ἡ̅τ̅η̅γ̅ ε̅ρο̅ο̅υ̅, “indeed, all the miracles that *the Lord* did with them they did not heed.” Both the Latin and manuscript AA omit the phrase ἡ̅ῃ̅ τ̅ε̅ρ̅η̅μ̅ο̅ς̅, “in the desert.”

ε̅ῖ̅ρ̅ ω̅π̅η̅ρε̅ <Δ̅ε̅> ἡ̅ε̅να̅λλ̅ο̅φ̅γ̅λο̅ς̅ ἡ̅α̅τ̅ς̅β̅β̅ε̅ ἀ̅γ̅ω̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ε̅φ̅ῃ̅ω̅ε̅ ε̅ι̅δ̅ω̅λ̅ον̅ ν̅ε̅τ̅-
ἡ̅αι̅ε̅ ἡ̅ζ̅ο̅γ̅ν̅ ε̅τε̅κ̅λ̅η̅ρο̅νο̅μ̅ια̅ ἡ̅π̅ι̅ς̅ρα̅ῃ̅λ̅, “I am amazed that foreigners, the uncircumcised and the idol worshipers, will come into the inheritance of Israel”: The manuscript has ε̅ῖ̅ρ̅ ω̅π̅η̅ρε̅ ἡ̅ε̅να̅λλ̅ο̅φ̅γ̅λο̅ς̅, which would demand a con-

tinuation with a circumstantial clause (object depictive), in this case εἶναι, “I am amazed that foreigners ... will come into.” Instead, the sentence continues as a cleft sentence: “it is foreigners ... who will come into.” On the authority of the Latin (*miror quia*, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.1) and manuscript AA, we restored a missing χε after εἰρ ὡπηρε and suppressed the object marker (ñ-) in order to make the sentence grammatical, while retaining the cleft sentence.

Manuscript AA abridges and phrases somewhat differently: αἰρ ὡπηρε χε α ναλλοφγλος ἡατсвβε ει εζογν ετπιστιс, ἡπο[γ]ει ἡτοογ, “I was amazed that the uncircumcised foreigners attained the faith, yet they did not”; compare the Latin: *miror quia alienigine et non circumcisi et idola adorantes conuertentes ingressi sunt in repromissa dei, Israel autem non est ingressus*, “I am amazed that foreigners and uncircumcised and idol worshipers converted and came into the promises of God, but Israel did not” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.1–4). The Latin is very close to the Coptic of our principal manuscript, but for the final but-clause, *Israel autem non est ingressus*, which must be original, though, as manuscript AA shows (“yet they did not”).

48, 3. ἡπναγ ἡταγстаγρογ ἡπῳηρε ἡπνογτε, “at the moment they crucified the Son of God”: For ἡταγстаγρογ, a personal translation (“they crucified”) is indicated by both the Latin (*populus suspendit*; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.5) and manuscript AA, where we reconstructed [ερε π]λα[ос стаγ-роγ], and is generally confirmed by the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*.

μιχαηλ ἡἡ γαβριῆλ ἡἡ ἡαγγελος, “Michael and Gabriel and the angels”: The Latin is more expansive, adding before the angels God the Father, who lacks here and in the Greek: *pater deus omnium, qui dedit mihi legem, et Michael et omnes angeli*, “the Father, the God of all, who gave me the law, and Michael and all the angels” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.6–7). Manuscript AA has a lacuna here, but the sequel: νετογaa[в] τηρογ ετγμοос з[а]γτηч, “all the saints that dwell in his presence,” with a pronoun that can only refer to God, possibly confirms the reading of the Latin. Otherwise, manuscript AA apparently abridges this passage, while the Latin basically has the same text as manuscript BL, but for minor variants.

μωγснс, сωωγт̄ епеклаос χε ἡтаγρ оγ, “Moses, look what your people has done”: The Latin corresponds almost exactly (*vide, Moyses, quid fecerunt ...*), but manuscript AA uses a different verb and turns the imperative into a direct question: μωγснс, кнаγ епеклаос χε ἡтаγρ оγ, “Moses, do you see what your people has done?”

наи етнапсгег̃ епектаωε̃еиω, “they who will believe in your preaching”: Moses’ praise of Paul picks up the third theme highlighted by the Vir-

gin Mary's introductory summary, namely Paul's preaching and those who are blessed for believing it. Although supported by the Latin (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.13–14), this phrase lacks in manuscript AA, which is generally inclined to abridging.

49, 1. ΚΕ ΜῆΤΕCΝΟΟΥC, “twelve more”: The same in Latin and therefore likely original, but manuscript AA has ΚΕ ΤΩΜΤ, “three more” (similarly in the Greek: Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 67). Our text explains the number twelve by the statement: ἀνοη νεπροφητης, “we are the prophets,” which is not found in any other witness. As the redactors of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* and the medieval Greek version saw, the text of this passage actually focuses on the violent death of the first three of the major prophets; cf. Satran, *Biblical Prophets*, 53–55. For the tradition of the violent death of the prophets in early Christianity in general, see Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*.

οὐλανθεν ἡωε, “a wooden saw”: The redactor of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* replaced the rare word λανθεν with the more common βαωογρ, found also in our text in 16, 2. For this influential tradition about the death of Isaiah, see Hebr. 11:37; *Ascension of Isaiah* 5; *Lives of the Prophets* 1; cf. Norelli, *Ascension*, 12–33; Schwemer, *Studien* I, 102–115; Acerbi, *Serra lignea*, 69–102, citing the present passage at 71–73.

πεντα ἡωηρε ἡπικραηλ νεχ ὡνε ερωε ταντογμοογτῆ, “who was stoned by the children of Israel so that he was killed”: The Latin has a similar sentence (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.22–23), but the Coptic manuscript AA abridges the speech of Jeremiah: πεντα ἡωηρε ἡπικραηλ ζοτβεε, “who was murdered by the children of Israel.” The Syriac leaves out Jeremiah entirely. For the death of Jeremiah by lapidation, see the *Paraleipomena of Jeremiah* 9:19–32; *Lives of the Prophets* 2; cf. Schwemer, *Studien* I, 167–169.

πεντα ἡωηρε ἡπικραηλ αμαρτε ἡνῶογρηητε αχσωκ ἡμοε ριχῆ νεχα-λαζ ετχοοσε, “whom the children of Israel seized at his feet and dragged over the high gravel”: The Latin of this famous passage has: *quem traxerunt per pedes filii Israel super petram in montem*, “whom the children of Israel dragged by his feet over the stones into the mountains” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.24–25). The “mountains” of the Latin lack in manuscript BL, but are found in the Coptic manuscript AA too: πεντα ἡωηρε ἡπικραηλ αμαρτε ἡναογερητε αχσγλα ἡμοι εβολ ριχῆ νεχαρῆ ἡνῆ ντοογ ετχοσε, “whom the children of Israel seized at his (ms.: my) feet and carried (ms.: carried me) off over the gravel and the high mountains.” Apparently, the scribe of BL or his *Vorlage* skipped the phrase ἡνῆ ντοογ, “and the mountains,” that is found in AA and supported by the Latin (and even the Syriac: “whom the Jews dragged on the mountain,” Perkins, in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 66, n. 49; Ricciotti, “Apocalyp-

sis Pauli,” 142–143). This omission produced the somewhat embarrassing phrase ΝΕΧΑΛΛΑΖ ΕΤΧΟΟΘΕ, “the high gravel,” which Copeland (*Mapping*, 235, with 164) rendered as “jagged gravel.” A further precision is possible thanks to the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*, Achmim codex 30, where sinners are tortured with χάλικες ... ὀξύτεροι ξιφῶν, “gravel ... sharper than swords” (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 8, 86), and, in particular, the Latin version L² of the present chapter of the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself, quoted in this context by Hilhorst, “Lebensende,” 251. This latter version reads: *ego sum Ezechyel qui super acervos lapidum et supra ruppes ... detractus sum*, “I am Ezekiel who was dragged ... over sharp (*acervos* for *acervos*) stones and on top of the rocks” (Graz manuscript, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul*, 205, 2.10–14). In both instances, the distinctive property of the gravel appears to be its sharpness. Likewise, in the Bohairic *Acts of Apatil*, the martyr is dragged over “sharp pavements,” ԵՆ ԶԱՆԻԱՆՈՈՆԻ ԵՂՇԻՐ, in a way that is strongly reminiscent of the torture undergone here by Ezekiel (Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum* I, textus, 94, 5–7). It may hence be considered likely that the collapsed phrase in our manuscript BL reflects an original ԶԻՃՆ ՆԵՃԱԼԻԶ <ԵՂՇԻՐ ԻՆ ՆՏՕՕԿ> ԵՂՇՕԹԵ, “over the sharp gravel and the high mountains,” with an omission due to *saut du même au même*, from ԵՂՇԻՐ, “sharp,” to ԵՂՇՕԹԵ, “high,” which both begin similarly.

This tradition about the end of Ezekiel is not found in the *Lives of the Prophets* and is usually considered a Christian innovation, for which the influence of Christian martyrological literature may be suspected; cf. Schwemer, *Studien* I, 255–259, in particular 256–257. See further for this passage, Hilhorst, “Lebensende”; Stone, Satran and Wright, *Apocryphal Ezekiel*, 97–99.

ԶԻՃՆ ՆԵՃԱԼԱԶ, “over the gravel”: We follow Copeland (*Mapping*, 235) in interpreting ՃԱԼԱԶ as χάλιξ, “gravel” (cf. the Latin *super petram*, Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.24–25), yet the spelling here and in the parallel of manuscript AA, which has խաբՅ, shows that the Coptic scribes had reinterpreted the rare word χάλιξ as the more common χάραξ, “pole, pale, fence” (Lucchesi, “(Pseudo-)Apocalypse,” 246, reads “χάραξ?” in the text of AA, but translates “rocaïlles”). The word χάλιξ occurs also in the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*, Achmim codex 30 (cited above), but the Ethiopic, 9:5, has a word for “pillar” here (“its pillar is sharper than a knife,” interpreted by Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 210–211, as a stake). The incongruous “pillar” of the Ethiopic suggests that its *Vorlage* had likewise confused χάλιξ and χάραξ.

ԾԱՆՏՕԴՆՈՅԸ ԵՅՈԼ ՆՏԱԱՊԵ, “until my head was severed”: With the word ՆՏԱԱՊԵ, “my head,” the parallel text of the Vienna leaf of the Sahidic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, manuscript AA, ends.

ՆԵՐԻՇԵ ԿԻՐՈՂ ՆՏԱԿՈՊՈՅ, ԵՅՈՂԾԾ ԵՐԵ ՈՐԲԱՆԼ ՕՂՃԱԻ, “all these sufferings I endured, because I wanted Israel to be saved”: The manuscript has

ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲣⲟⲩⲱ, “we endured,” yet the construction, a second perfect expanded by a circumstantial clause (a “subject depictive”; cf. Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 311), requires the same subject in both clauses. The Latin uses plural forms in both: *et omnes hos labore[s] pertullimus uolentes saluar[e] filios Israel*, “and all these pains we suffered, because we wanted to save the children of Israel” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.26–28). Yet the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* makes Ezekiel use the first person singular throughout his speech, which fits the flow of the text better and is therefore quite likely original. Copeland (*Mapping*, 235) and Budge (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1075) do not change the text and link the clauses incorrectly (taking the second perfect for a relative clause, as did the translator of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*). The copyist’s error (ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲟⲣⲟⲩⲱ for ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲟⲣⲟⲩⲱ) is best explained in terms of structural priming (see chapter 1, section 4); the chapter’s opening clauses introduce the prophets as a group (“we are the prophets”), so the switch to the first person plural here and in the Latin is natural enough.

ⲭⲉ Ⲭⲉⲛⲉ ⲩⲁⲩⲧⲓ ⲩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲟⲓ ⲛⲩⲩⲣⲉ ⲙⲓⲛⲣⲁⲛⲓ, “that whenever the children of Israel harassed me”: Copeland reads ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲩⲧⲓ and translates as if this were a cleft sentence (*Mapping*, 296, cf. 235), which is structurally incompatible with the use of ⲛⲓⲟⲓ. In fact, a subordinate clause is needed; cf. Latin: *q[ui]a post labores quos intulerunt mihi*, “that after the trouble they imposed upon me” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.28–29). Loss of an epsilon in the sequence ⲭⲉ Ⲭ- is not uncommon; see Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, 44, par. 80 (on vowel elision); Kahle, *Bala’izah*, 179–180 (in particular on ⲭⲉ).

ⲭⲓⲛ ⲡⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲕⲛ ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲣⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ, “from the morrow of the Lord’s Day until the entire week had passed”: The Latin has a briefer phrase *usque in secunda horam dominice*, “until the second hour of the Lord’s Day” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.31).

ⲉⲓⲡⲁⲩⲧⲓ ⲉⲭⲙ̅ ⲡⲁⲩⲟ ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲛⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲩⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥⲧⲓ ⲭⲓⲭⲙ̅ ⲡⲕⲁⲩ, “lying prostrate on my face until Michael came and raised me from the earth”: The motif of “a spirit” raising the prostrate prophet is familiar from Ezek. 2:1–2 and 3:23–24.

49, 2. ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲡⲁⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ, ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲩⲩⲉ, “who is that, my Lord, who saw me and rejoiced?": The Coptic shows that the literally corresponding Latin should be read as: *Quis est hic, domine, qui cum uidisset me, gauisus est?* (pace Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 2.4–5).

ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲁⲥⲡⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲓⲙⲟⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲕ̅, ⲙⲓ ⲡⲁⲩⲕⲟⲥ, ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲕ̅ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲩⲛⲉⲁ. ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲕⲱⲧ, “he said to me, greeting me: ‘Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed is your offspring.’ He said to me: ‘I am Lot’”: The redundant repetition of the quotative index ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ, “he (sc. Lot) said to me,”

indicates that the Coptic of our manuscript BL omitted an intervening question by Paul. This question is partly preserved in our Coptic manuscript IC: [ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ] Λ[Ω]Τ, ΠΔΙΚΑΙ[Ο]ς; “Are you Lot, the righteous?,” and somewhat more expanded in the Latin version: *et respondens dixi ei: Tu es Loth qui in Sodoma [iu]stus inuentus es?*, “And I answered him and said: ‘Are you Lot, who was found righteous in Sodom?’” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 2.8–10). The evidence of the Coptic manuscripts shows that Carozzi (*Eschatologie*, 259, n. 34) is wrong in assuming that Paul’s repeated question in the Latin is meaningless and due to a copyist’s error. Similar dialogues, which occur throughout the *Apocalypse*, have an important function in enlivening and clarifying an orally reproduced and aurally processed text.

The adventures of Lot, from Gen. 19:1–11, are cited also in 2Pet. 2:6–8 and 1Clem. 11:1. Yet only 1Clement praises Lot’s hospitality (φιλοξενία).

ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΛΩΤ, ΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΖἸ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ἩΝΔΕΒΗΣ, “I am Lot, who lived in the city of the impious”: This standard introduction is omitted in the Latin, but supported by the almost identical phrasing in Coptic manuscript IC: ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΞΡΑΙ ΖἸ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ἩΝΔΕΒΗΣ, “It was I who lived in the city of the impious.” For the variants ΠΕΤΩΟΠ / ΠΕΙΞΡΑΙ, see our chapter 1, section 5.

ἸΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΤΑΟΥΕΖΟΙ, “who came to stay under my roof”: For the word ΟΥΕΖΟΙ, “roof,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 318a, s.v. COI.

49, 3. ΔΙΣΩΥΤ̄ <ΔΙΝΑΥ> ἘΚΕΟΥΔ̄, “I looked and saw someone else”: The restoration of ΔΙΝΑΥ is demanded by the logic and the style of the narrative; the same phrase occurs *passim* throughout the text to introduce a next stage in Paul’s trajectory.

ΕΙἘ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΟΩΥΕ Μἢ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΗΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, “is then each of the righteous accompanied by an angel?”: The partly reconstructed manuscript IC phrases almost identically but for the use of the verb ΜΟΩΥΕ, for which see our chapter 1, section 5.

ΠΕΧΔΑΙ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΥΜΝΕΥἘ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΜΕΥCἸΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ἩΝΔΑΥ ΝΙΜ, “he told me: ‘The angels of them all sing hymns to them and at no time part from them’”: The angel’s answer is ambiguous. The logic of the question demands that ΤΗΡΟΥ agrees with the possessor pronoun in ΝΕΥ-, not with the angels. The Latin *unusquisque sanctum abet proprium adsistentem et hymnum dicentem et non recedit alter ab alio*, “each of the saints has his own (angel), who assists him and sings hymns (to him), and the one does not part from the other” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 2.24–26), and the very fragmentary manuscript IC, which has merely ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ [..., “the righteous ...,” clearly to be taken in a generic sense, both suggest that manuscript BL abridged the angel’s reply.

Similar to the situation on earth, where everybody is monitored by a personal angel, see above at 7–10 (not extant in Coptic) and later chapters, the righteous enjoy a similar service in Paradise. Paul himself is particularly privileged, since already during his lifetime Uriel and Suriel sing hymns to his still empty throne in heaven; see chapter 56, 3. Also according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topography*, IX, 18, the souls of the righteous in Paradise are “taken care of by the invisible powers with hymns and all honor” (Wolska-Conus, *Topographie*, III, 225; interestingly, this chapter pretends to deal with Paul’s vision of Paradise in 2 Cor. 12).

ⲁⲅⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓⲡⲱⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ, “and when he had reached me”: Preceding this phrase, the Latin (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 2.26–27) and the Syriac (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 142–143) insert a question of Paul first (“Who is this?”), then the angel’s answer (“This is Job”). The Coptic omits both. Neither is indispensable, but they add to the liveliness of the text and are likely to be original.

ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲣⲓⲗⲓⲛ ⲉⲁⲓⲣ ⲙⲁⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩ, “due to the plagues that I bore for a full thirty years”: Copeland (*Mapping*, 297) deleted the second ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ, which seems unnecessary; for patterns of noun reiteration, see Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 52–53, par. 62, and 81, par. 97 (iii). Also the Latin has an intensifying expression here: *xxx annorum tempus*, “a period of thirty years” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 2.31). Instead of ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲧⲟⲩ, with a plural pronoun referring to the plagues, the manuscript has an ungrammatical singular, ⲛⲉⲓⲛⲧⲓ (reading or dictation error), which we corrected.

ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲓ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟ, “a grain of wheat”: ⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲓ for ⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ by vowel assimilation.

ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲡ ⲛⲉⲓⲱ, “a donkey’s hoof”: For ⲕⲁⲡ, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 824a–825b, s.v. ⲥⲟⲡ; the present kappa is unetymological; cf. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 344.

ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲓⲛ, “a palm long”: Latin: *iiiior digitos longitudinem*, “four fingers long,” which amounts to the same length (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 167, 1.3). For ⲱⲟⲡ, translating Greek *παλαιστή*, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 574b; for ⲉⲓⲛ, *ibid.*, 549a, s.v. ⲱⲓⲛ, where the *hori* is seen as an Achmimic feature; the standard spelling ⲱⲓⲛ occurs in 22, 1 and 42, 1.

ⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲱⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ ⲉⲓⲕⲱ ⲛⲙⲟⲥ [ⲕⲉ ..., “the devil appeared three times to me, saying: ...”: As it appears from the sequel in the Latin, the text attributes the words of Job’s wife in Job 2:9 to the devil.

For the remainder of Job’s speech, we have in Coptic a single sentence in manuscript IC: ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ ⲛ]ⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱ[ⲗⲓⲱⲓⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧ]ⲉⲡⲓⲗⲓⲛ ⲛⲡⲁ[ⲁⲩⲉ ⲧⲛⲣⲓ], “when God will let me suffer this affliction and the plague for the whole of my lifetime,” which very closely corresponds to the Latin: *si sic est uoluntas dei ut permaneam in plaga omne tempus uite meae ...*, “if such is the will of God

that I remain suffering from the plague all the time of my life ..." (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 167, 1.6–7).

50, 1–2. For this chapter on Noah, we have in Coptic only part of the initial dialogue: [--- ΠΩΤΤΙ ΜΠ]ΝΟΥΤΕ; ΠΕΧΕ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ̅ ΝΙΜ; ΑΦΟΥΩΥΒ̅ ΧΕ ΔΝΓ̅ ΝΩΡΕ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΩ ΜΠΑΤΑ[ΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ ---], "... the chosen of God?" And Paul said: 'Who are you?' He answered: 'I am Noah, from the time of the flood'" (manuscript 1C). It neatly correspond to the Latin: *Tu es Paulus, dilectissimus dei? Et ego interrogaui eum: Tu quis es? Et dixit: Ego sum Noe qui fuit in tempore diluuii*, "Are you Paul, the most beloved of God?" And I asked him: 'Who are you?' And he said: 'I am Noah, who lived at the time of the flood'" (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 167, 1.21–24), but for a switch to the third person, which is not found in any of the other witnesses (Latin: "And I asked him"; Coptic: "And Paul said"). For this variant, which is most likely a mere stylistic feature, see the commentary to chapter 43, 4, above, and our chapter 1, section 5.

51–52. These pendant chapters introduce the couple of Enoch and Elijah, already encountered in chapter 20, where they had welcomed Paul at the gate of the third heaven. The duplication may seem disturbing to the modern reader, but is certainly original and can be explained by the totally different contexts. Here, Elijah and Enoch are inserted in a series of saints of the Old Testament that follows its own logic and uses different sources. This also explains the changed order of both. Now, Elijah comes first, since biblical sources have more to tell about him than about his partner. Thus, chapter 51 relates the miracle of Elijah obstructing the fall of rain, after 3 Kings 17–18. Precisely this episode is referred to in Rev. 11:6, in the passage about the two apocalyptic witnesses that was commonly applied to Elijah and Enoch in antiquity, for instance in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, quoted at 20, or in the Egyptian *Apocalypse of Elijah* 4:7–19 and 5:32–35 (Sahidic, Pietersma, Comstock and Attridge, *Apocalypse*, 48, 8–52, 4, and Achmimic 42, 10–43, 8, Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 104, with Frankfurter's chapters and verses); cf. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt*, 144–145 (and *passim*, for the prominent place of "apocalyptic" Elijah in late-antique Egypt). The rainfall story common to both our chapter 51 and Rev. 11:6 suggests that the present coupling of Elijah and Enoch has its background in their joint role in apocalyptic settings, to which the Greek of chapter 20, 1, about Enoch, already alluded (see our commentary, above).

Chapter 52 does not survive in any of the other versions and in chapter 51 the Latin and most other versions, including the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, though not the Greek, replace Enoch with Elisha. The first half of 51 lacks in the Coptic. Yet, the combined evidence of the Greek of chapter 51, where

Elijah and Enoch figure as a pair, and the surviving Coptic of 51–52, which mentions only Elijah and Enoch, shows that Elisha cannot be original in this context and represents a secondary replacement. The association of Elijah and Elisha was familiar from 3–4 Kings (cf. Luke 4:25–27; 1 Clem. 17:1), whereas the couple Enoch and Elijah was only known from apocryphal sources. This implies that the Greek original must have had a chapter similar to the present Coptic chapter 52.

The primary importance of these observations is in what they say about the defective state of all witnesses of the text other than the Sahidic Coptic version represented by manuscript BL. They provide substantial proof that the present end of the long Latin (L¹) and the medieval Greek versions, in the middle of chapter 51, does not result from an editorial intervention, based for instance on a lack of interest in what followed, but is due to a physically defective *Vorlage*, that is, a manuscript that lacked its last pages or, more likely, its entire last quire (thus too Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 440). In other words, the present end of the Latin and the Greek is arbitrary, not intentional. This is illustrated in Table 13, on the next page, which juxtaposes the surviving text of the Coptic, the Greek (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 68–69) and the Latin versions (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 167, 2.16–30).

As can be seen immediately, the Greek and the Latin break off in the middle of Elijah’s words. They therefore lack the refrain-like phrases that conclude each of the chapters in this part of the text as well as the pendant about Enoch, required by the Greek (52; see below). The translator of the Syriac saw the defect and supplied a (made up) variant of the obligatory blessing pronounced over Paul and his future followers, but not the pendant about Enoch (or, in his case, Elisha). After brief parting words from the angel, the Syriac goes on to relate the story of Paul writing down the text of his revelation (Ricciotti’s chapter 51) and the subsequent discovery of his manuscript in Tarsus (chapters 1–2 in the Latin; cf. our chapter 4). This procedure shows that the Syriac translator, too, had only an incomplete *Vorlage* at his disposal, breaking off at the same unlikely spot as the Latin and the medieval Greek.

51. [--- ϣΟΜΤΕ ΝΡΟΜ]|ΠΕ ΜΗ ΣΟΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΥ, “three years and six months”: Here, the Coptic seems to lack a phrase that follows in the Greek: διὰ τὰς ἀδικίας τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, “on account of the iniquities of the sons of men” (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 69; similarly in the Syriac and the Latin). It may have fallen in the preceding lacuna, however.

ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΕΩ ΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡῲ, “for God loves a righteous person more than the whole world”: Instead, the Latin has *iustus deus et uerax qui facit uoluntatem famulorum suorum*, “righteous and truthful is God,

TABLE 13 Comparative analysis of chapters 51–52 in Coptic, Greek and Latin

Coptic	Greek (Tischendorf)	Latin (L ¹ , Paris ms.)
[intro] 51. –	[intro] 51. And I looked and saw two others coming from afar. And I asked the angel: “Who are these, Lord?” And he told me: “These are Enoch and Elijah.” And when they had come, they greeted me, saying: “Hail, Paul, beloved of God.” And I said to them: “Who are you?” And the prophet Elijah answered and said to me:	[intro] 51. And turning around, I saw other righteous ones coming from afar. I asked the angel: “Who are these, Lord?” And he answered me: “These are Elijah and Elisha.” They greeted me and I said to them: “Who are you?” And one of them answered and said:
[story] [“ --- three] years and six months, for God loves a righteous person more than the whole world. The angels appeared before him to beseech him for the rain. And God said to them: ‘If you do not persuade my servant Elijah to entreat me, I will not let rain fall upon the earth.’	[story] “I am Elijah, the prophet, who prayed to God and he let no rain descend upon the earth for three years and six months, on account of the iniquities of the sons of men. Often indeed even the angels beseeched God for rain and I heard: ‘Be patient until my beloved Elijah will pray. Then I will send rain upon the earth.’”	[story] “I am Elijah, the prophet of God. I am Elijah who prayed and because of my word the heaven did not rain for three years and six months, on account of the iniquities of men. Righteous and truthful is God, who does the will of his servants. For often the angels beseeched God for rain and he said: ‘Be patient until my servant Elijah will pray and asks for this. Then I will send rain upon the earth.’”
[conclusion] God will recompense each person manifold for the pains that he will suffer for the sake of God. Blessed are you, O Paul, and blessed is the nation that will come to believe through you.”	[conclusion] –	[conclusion] –
[intro] 52. As he was speaking, also Enoch came and greeted me. He said to me:	–	–
[conclusion] “When a person will suffer pain for the sake of God, God will not grieve him when he comes forth from the world.”	–	–

who does the will of his servants” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 167, 2.24–25), which seems closer to the Syriac (Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 144–145) and the Slavonic (Trunte, *Reiseführer*, 356–357). Quite likely, however, the Coptic has a superior text here, since its phrasing preserves a distinct echo of James 5:16–18, where Elijah’s miracle is cited as an example of the power of the prayer the righteous one, an allusion that is lost in the Latin and the other versions.

Δ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΙ ΕΥΣΟΠΙΉ ΜΗΜΟΨ ΜΠΕΦΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΖΩΟΥ, “the angels appeared before him to beseech him for the rain”: The Coptic lacks an expression for “often,” where the Greek has *πολλάκις*, the Latin *sepe*. The role of the angels here, absent in the biblical model of the story, reflects typically Egyptian representations of the angels as intercessors for the environment; compare here chapter 43, about Michael interceding for the dew from heaven and the inundation of the Nile.

ΕΤΕΤΗΤΜΠΘΕ ΜΠΑΖΗΖΑΛ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ ΝΩΤΩΒΕ ΜΜΟΙ, ΝΉΝΑΚΑ ΜΟΥ ΝΖΩΟΥ <ΔΝ> ΕΕΙ ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ, “if you do not persuade my servant Elijah to entreat me, I will not let rain fall upon the earth”: The negation ΔΝ in the second clause is required by correct grammar and the initial Ν-. The Greek and the Latin (both cited in the table above) phrase God’s reply positively, but essentially with the same meaning.

The words “upon the earth,” Coptic ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ, are the last of the text in the Latin Paris manuscript, which merely adds: *Explicit visio s(AN)c(T)i Pauli*, “thus ends the Vision of Saint Paul” (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 167, 2.30, cf. pl. 47), and in Tischendorf’s Greek version (*Apocalypses*, 69). From here onwards, the Coptic text of manuscript BL continues where all other witnesses stop. For the remaining chapters Copeland’s numbering is followed, though with minor liberties, including the insertion of paragraph numbers.

52. ΔΥΕΙ ΝΒΙ ΠΚΕΕΝΩΧ, “also Enoch came”: This phrase shows that Enoch had been mentioned before, in 51, exactly as in the Greek. It was erroneously translated by Copeland, *Mapping*, 237, as: “another, namely Enoch, came,” which is not what ΠΚΕ- says; see, for instance, Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian*, 160, under α; Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 47–48, par. 55.

Enoch is cited as an example of faith in Hebr. 11:5 and of obedience in 1 Clem. 9:3, yet otherwise very little is known about him from biblical sources, which may explain the extreme brevity of the present chapter. For his association with Elijah, see above.

53, 1. ΕΙΣ ΚΕCΝΑΥ ΔΥΕΙ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ, ΕΡΕ ΚΕΟΥΔ ΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΙ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ, “there appeared two others as a pair, with someone else walking behind them”: Here

Zechariah and his son, John the Baptist, are introduced together with Abel. The three have in common that they were murdered. The death of Zechariah is linked furthermore to that of Abel in Matt. 23:35 / Luke 11:51, while the text's explicit references to their sacrifices forge an additional link between the two, probably inspired by their association in the prayer for the offerers in the Liturgy of Saint Mark (Cuming, *Liturgy of St Mark*, 31–32, cf. 115–116).

ΕΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΘΟΥ ΧΕ ΔΡΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΖΩΩΤ, “calling to them: ‘Wait for me ...’”: The almost comical way in which Abel is represented here contrasts remarkably with his importance as a model of accepted sacrifice in the liturgy (cf. Cuming, *Liturgy of St Mark*, 31–32) and a celestial judge in the *Testament of Abraham*, long recension, 13:2–4 (Schmidt, *Testament*, 136); short recension, 11:2, where he is also called the first martyr (Schmidt, *Testament*, 72).

ΔΡΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΖΩΩΤ ΤΑΕΙ ΤΑΡΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “Wait for me so that I too will be able to see the beloved of God”: Note the unusual ΤΑΡΕ tense; the double clause shows that the first person singular forms of the ΤΑΡΕ tense and the conjunctive are not interchangeable. (cf. Green, “ΤΑΡΕ pattern,” 133–134).

53, 2. ΟΥΓΖΙΜΕ ΕΔΕΘΟCΘC ΖΝ ΟΥΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ, “a woman who danced during a banquet”: The daughter of Herodias; see Matt. 14:3–12 / Mark 6:17–29.

ΠΕ<ΧΕ> ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC, “Zechariah said”: The group ΧΕ, similarly restored by Budge and Copeland, was perhaps skipped because of the faint formal similarity between the χ and the ζ of the scribe.

ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΙΤΑΛΟ ΕΡΡΑΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, “I am he who was killed while I was sacrificing to God”: The form ΜΜΟΥΤ for the absolute state of ΜΟΥΟΥΤ, “to kill,” is not rare; see Crum, *Dictionary*, 201a; Kasser, *Compléments*, 32.

For the story of Zechariah, our text seems to follow the *Protevangelium of James* 23–24, or rather a tradition depending on it, since no angels are mentioned in the *Protevangelium*. The notice in the *Lives of the Prophets* 23 (Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae*, 23–24) is much different; cf. Schwemer, *Studien* 11, 294–296.

ΝΖΙCΕ ΝΤΑΝΩΡΟΠΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΕΝΛΑΔΥ ΝΕ· ΝΕΝΤΑΝΑΔΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΝΡ ΠΕΥΩΒΩ, “the pains that we suffered for the sake of God are insignificant. What we did for God, we have forgotten”: For the phrasing and the interpretation, compare Ps.-Athanasius, *Homily on the Passion*: after the judgment, ΝΖΙCΕ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΩΡΟΠΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC CΕΝΑΡ ΠΕΥΩΒΩ, “all the pains that the righteous suffered they will forget,” to enjoy God’s boons for ever (Bernardin, “Coptic Sermon,” 128).

54. ΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΥΧΟΟΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΝΕCΩΥ ΕΜΑΔΤΕ, “someone else, who was taller than all of them and very beautiful”: For traditions about Adam’s appearance, see Ginzberg, *Legends* 2, 58–62; among Coptic texts, see the *Mysteries of John* (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 67–68, 250–251), and, in particular, the *Book of Bartholomew* 46 (Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 128–132), where Adam has a height of eighty cubits (according to manuscript C).

ΧΡΟ ΜΜΟΚ, “be victorious!”: For this traditional acclamation, see below, our commentary at 59.

ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΖΩ ΝΤΑΙΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ, “just as I myself repented”: For the theme of Adam’s repentance, see the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* 29, cf. Anderson, “Penitence narrative”; Stone, “Fall of Satan”; it is echoed in various Coptic sources, for instance in an acephalous homily on human ἀντεξουσία (in Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 332–333); the *Book of the Investiture of Gabriel* 7 (Müller, *Einsetzung*, textus, 71, 29–32), and in particular the *Mysteries of John* (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 62–63, 244–246).

The address of Adam brings the series of Paul’s meetings with the righteous to its conclusion. The choice for Adam may not seem a logical one at first sight. He is hardly a model that deserves to be followed, apart from his (apocryphal) repentance. As was argued above, however, Adam mirrors Mary, who opens the cycle. Their position at beginning and end reflects the author’s concept of sacred time, which is already apparent in chapter 53 (figuring John the Baptist, his father Zechariah and Abel). Adam’s words of encouragement for Paul will be echoed in the very last chapters of the text.

55–62. Chapters 55–62 represent the final stages of Paul’s voyage and its apotheosis. They take him first to the third heaven (55), then to Paradise (56–62), where he gets a preview of the glory of his future celestial dwelling, before he returns to the earth (in 63). Outwardly, the text follows the stations indicated by the famous passage in 2 Cor. 12:2–4, to which 55 briefly alludes. Yet the following chapters should not be read as a commentary to these verses. They are primarily part of the plan that underlies the composition as a whole. In this context, they serve to underline Paul’s apostolic authority and that of his teaching, which includes the present revelation, explicitly mentioned in 56, 2 and 59, and to prepare him for his return to the earth. While describing celestial realities, they basically remain focused on Paul himself. For a further analysis of this part of the text and the structural problems that it poses, see our chapter 2, section 5.

55. The very briefly described vision of the third heaven in this chapter is difficult to follow. Even allowing for a degree of intentional obscurity, the text

probably suffered in the course of transmission (see below). In line with earlier and later visions of the celestial world (see above at chapters 29, 3–4 and 44, 1), the third heaven is characterized as a liturgical space, with an altar (θυσιαστήριον) as its focal point and chanting as the single activity of its inhabitants. The third heaven is apparently not the highest heaven or the dwelling place of the Father (see 29, 4); the vision rather seems to serve as a lead-up to the description of celestial Paradise and Paul's "place" there.

Despite its brevity, this chapter plays an important role in the overall structure of the text. Once the depiction of the horizontal axis has been accomplished, the author proceeds to complete the account of the vertical axis, of which the first chapters of the *Apocalypse* only provided a brief description. In the first part of the *Apocalypse*, the author was mainly concerned with marking off Paul's point of departure (probably) on the Mount of Olives and his arrival at the place of trial in the "middle of the air." The third heaven was only mentioned in passing in Paul's brief visit to this place in 19–20 in order to complete his ascent before going down in order to visit the east and west of the cosmos. The cosmographic description that opens in 55 and continues in 56, 3 and 58 intends now to augment this too sketchy description, providing additional information both on the region and its function in the overall structure of God's creation.

55, 1. ἀγτορπῖτ ἔν οὔκλῳλε ἀχῑτ ὡδ τμεζῳομτε ἡπε, "I was seized in a cloud and taken to the third heaven": This and the following injunction (see below) are modeled upon the famous verses of 2 Cor. 12:2–4. The verb τῳρπ, used only here and in chapter 45, 1, where Paulus is seized and taken from hell to Paradise, is the exact equivalent of Greek ἀρπάζω, used in 2 Cor. 12:2 and 4 (in the Sahidic, Thompson, ⲉⲁγτῳρῖ ἡπαῖ and ⲁγτορῖḳ, respectively).

The cloud is not in the biblical model and has not been mentioned before as a means of transport. In chapter 45, 1, Paul is seized "in the spirit" by the angel (ⲁγτορῖτ ἔν πεπνεῡμα), or perhaps better, with the Greek, taken ἐν ῥιπῇ τοῦ πνεύματος, "in a rush of the spirit" (Tischendorf, *Apocalypses*, 64), but no further details are given. The question whether the cloud appearing here is the same as that mentioned in 64, 3, cannot be answered with any certainty.

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ, ⲡⲁγλⲟⲥ, ⲁῖρ ḳⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲁⲩⲉ, "and I, Paul, was much scared": For the motif of the fear of the visionary, see below at 55, 3.

ⲁῖⲛⲁγ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲉ ⲛῡⲙⲁἰ ⲁϥῳῖⲉ ϫῳϥ ἔν πεϥϥⲥⲙⲁ ⲁϥϥⲉⲣⲟ ἡⲟⲉ ἡⲟγϥḳḳ, "I saw the angel who accompanied me, but he had changed his appearance and blazed like fire": Physical transformation is a common motif in ascent visions; see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 29 and *passim*. Compare for instance, *Ascension of Isaiah* 7:25: "the glory of my face was being transformed

as I went up from heaven to heaven,” which is about the visionary himself, however, not about the angel that accompanies him.

αϛχερο ἵθε {ρο ἵθε} ἵογκωζτ̄, “he blazed like fire”: Dittography by simple inadvertence.

NETKNAAY EPPOY M̄PEIMA M̄PPOYONZOY ELAAY NPOME, “do not make known to anybody what you are going to see here”: A similar injunction in chapter 21, 1: NENTAKNAAY EPPOY Z̄N̄ PEITOTIOS M̄PPOYONZOY EBOL Z̄N̄ TCAPZ̄, “do not make known what you have seen in this place in the flesh.” Both are inspired by 2 Cor. 12:4: NAÏ ETE NCTO EXOY EPOME, “things that no human is permitted to tell” (Sahidic, Thompson). Note that in the present case, the words are not spoken by the angel, but by a depersonalized “voice.”

ZENWAXE N̄AZOPATON NETKNAAY EPPOY, “you will be seeing invisible (ἀόρατον) things”: Cf. 2 Cor. 12:4: αϛωτῖ ἐξενωαχε ἐγρηπ, “he heard secret (ἐγρηπ) words” (Sahidic, ed. Thompson; note that the Coptic stative ρηπ, in ἐγρηπ, is not “hidden,” as the result of an act of hiding, but “hidden” to normal sense perception, that is “inaudible, invisible, secret”), where the Greek has ἄρητα, “unspoken, ineffable.” Given the context, it seems incongruous to render the word ωαχε in our text with “words,” as Copeland does (*Mapping*, 239); ωαχε, like ῥῆμα, can have the broader meaning of “affair, thing” (Crum, *Dictionary*, 613b–614a).

55, 2. ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΕΣΑΩΕ Ζ̄N̄ ΟΥΕΣΥΧΙΑ, ΕΡΕ ΟΥΕΜΕΡΕΝΙᾹ ΟΥΟΠ Ζ̄N̄ ΟΥΦΩΝΗ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ, “I saw a seal hanging in quiet and there was a translation present in a language of light”: It is difficult to gauge what exactly Paul saw here. The spelling ΕΣΥΧΙΑ for ἡσυχία occurs fairly often (even though the word is absent from Förster, *Wörterbuch*), for instance in the Coptic *Life of Aaron*, Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, 112, 24. Yet its interpretation here is not obvious (Copeland, *Mapping*, 239: “in silence”).

A word ΕΜΕΡΕΝΙᾹ is unknown as such; with Copeland, we suppose that ἐρμηνεία may be meant, assuming a /m/-/r/ swap that is not unusual. For such a “textual” seal, perhaps compare Ex. 28:36, 36:37 or 2 Tim. 2:19, though here no actual text is given.

ΕΡΕ ΣΑΩῖ̄ N̄AËITOC NOYOEIN ΔAZEPATOY N̄CA OYNAH M̄PEOYCIACTHPION AYΩ ΣΑΩῖ̄ N̄CA Z̄BOYR M̄MOY, “seven eagles of light were standing at the right side of the altar and seven at its left”: The twice seven eagles of light vaguely recall the seven lamps burning before the throne of God in Rev. 4:5 and the seven-armed candlestand of Ex. 25:31–37, though here they seem to be rather a kind of angels, singing praise (see below). A similar symmetric group of twice three eagles reappears at either side of the door of Paradise in 58, 1. For eagles in the Christian imagination of Paradise, see Thomas, *Funerary Sculpture*, 78–79, with

further references. Twelve human-faced eagles are spreading their wings over each of the celestial thrones of the apostles in the Vision of Siophanes (from the *Sahidic Book of Bartholomew*, cited in our chapter 3, section 2). *Rossi's Gnostic Tractate* 15, a Coptic ritual text, evokes “the great eagle whose wings are spread out over the head of the Father” (ΠΝΟΣ ΝΑΕΤΟΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΤΕΝΑΞ ΠΟΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΑΠΕ ΗΠΙΩΤ, Meyer, *Rossi's*, 22).

ΠΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, “the altar”: Note that, in spite of the definite article, no altar (θυσιαστήριον) has been mentioned previously.

ΕΥΖΥΜΝΕΥΕ ΖἸ ΟΥΧΟΡΟΣ ἸΣΜΟΥ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙΩΤ, “singing hymns in a choral chant (χορός) of blessing to the Father”: Like the altar, the Father has not been mentioned previously. The scene evokes a celestial liturgy celebrated in his honor, yet he himself remains invisible, as he is throughout the text (cf. above at 44, 1). The picture invites comparison with that of the five lower heavens in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 7–9, where angels on the right and left of a throne are singing to the throne, while God himself dwells in the seventh heaven (yet no qualitative distinction between [negative] left and [positive] right is envisaged here). Our text, too, seems to situate the Father in the seventh heaven (cf. 29, 4), but replaces the throne with an altar, which is consistent with its interpretation of celestial space as liturgical space.

ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΤΒΑ ἸΤΒΑ ἸΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ἸΠΕΦῆΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΩΟ ἸΩΟ ΕΥΚΩ<ΤΕ> ΕΡΟΥ ΕΥΧΩ ἸΜΟΣ ΧΕ, “while myriads upon myriads of angels were standing in front of it and thousands upon thousands around it, saying ...”: The parallel circumstantial clauses, ΕΡΕ ΣΑΩῤ ἸΑΕΙΤΟΣ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ἸΣΑ ΟΥΝΑΝ ἸΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ (etc.) and ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΤΒΑ ἸΤΒΑ ἸΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ἸΠΕΦῆΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ (etc.), show that what is described here is the disposition of the eagles and the angels around the altar, not around the Father (as Copeland's translation, *Mapping*, 239, would seem to imply).

ΕΥΚΩ<ΤΕ> ΕΡΟΥ, “surrounding it”: Omission of a syllable by switch of line.

ΥΤΑΙΝΥ ἸΒΙ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΥΖΑ ΕΘΟΥ ἸΒΙ ΠΕΚῆΘΟΥ, ΠΧΘΕΙΣ, “Praised be your name and glorified your glory, Lord!”: For the performative ἸΒΙ construction, see above at 43, 2. For the chanting, compare below, at 58, 3.

55, 3. ΑΥΩ ΑΙΖΕ ἸΖΡΑΙ ΕΧῆ ΠΑΖΟ, “and I fell down upon my face”: The visionary falling on his face from awe, then to be raised by an angel is a common motif in ascent literature; cf. *Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven*, 39–40 (on 2 Enoch); it is announced already in 55, 1, and typically found only in this chapter.

ΤΩΟΥΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝῆΟΥΑΖῆ ἸΣΩΙ, ἸΤΑΤΣΑΒΟΚ ΕΠΕΚΤΟΠΟΣ, “Now get up and follow me and I will show you your place”: This is the first of a series of similar injunctions, repeated in 58, 1 and 59 (end).

56. Following the angel, Paul proceeds from the third heaven to Paradise, apparently a distinct place from earthly Paradise described in 45, even though the explicit qualification as celestial Paradise, “Paradise of heaven,” is only used in reference to the garden of 58. Here, he meets three groups of people, the prophets and the undefiled, in the first paragraph of the present chapter, the converts of Paul himself, in chapter 57, and the martyrs, in 62. The description of these groups is very stereotypical and their principal role seems to be that of paying homage to Paul. Actually, the focus of the present chapter is less on these transfigured souls than on Paul himself, on the throne that awaits him “here,” that is in “the Holy Land of the Lord” within Paradise (56, 2–3), and on his mission on earth (56, 2). The cosmographical description in 56, 3, further develops the portrayal of the vertical axis of the cosmos, represented in the *Apocalypse of Paul* from 55. The angel explains to Paul that his throne and future dwelling are in this region and that he will see it before descending to the world. There follows the description of “a tabernacle of light,” with Paul’s throne and Uriel and Suriel singing beside it. The themes of Paul’s throne and his mission on earth reappear in chapters 59–60, which creates an impression of redundancy (see our chapter 2, section 5, on the structure of the text).

56, 1. ἀγγέλῳ ἑβί παγγελος ἐτμοοϋε νῆμα ἐππαρὰδεῖκος: “and the angel who accompanied me took me to Paradise”: The transition from the third heaven to Paradise appears to be immediate. This suggests that the author considers both to be topographically adjacent, as seems to be implied as well in the primary text of 2 Cor. 12:2–4. At the same time, Paul’s statement implies that this Paradise is at once a different place than the scary sanctuary previously described in chapter 55, and terrestrial Paradise of 45, which was the scene of 46–54.

ερε νεγχο ῥ ογῶειν ἡε ἡπρη ἡσαϋῳ ἡῶν αγω ερε πῶν ἡτεγαπε ὁ ἡε ἡογσαρτ ἡογῶβῳ, “their faces beamed seven times more than the sun and the hair of their head was like white wool”: Stereotypical elements in apocalyptic descriptions of divinity or transfigured saints; for the face, see chapter 20, 1, the description of Enoch, with our commentary; for the hair, Dan. 7:9; Rev. 1:14.

ερε ογμνηϋε ἡῶνονος ῥῆ πῆα ἐτῆμαγ εγῆα εοογ, “a great number of splendid thrones stood in that place”: For the motif of the thrones, which plays an important role in these chapters, see already chapter 29, 2.

εογет πеооγ ἡπογα πογα {πογᾶ}, ερε ογον ογотῆ εογον ῥῆ πеооγ, “each of them different in splendor, one surpassing the other in glory”: For the idiom, compare the very similar description of the walls of the City of Christ in chapter 29, 1. The redundant third πογα slipped in due to a switch of line.

αγωϋ εβολ, “they exclaimed”: The scribe wrote αγογϋϋ for αγωϋ, as he did earlier in 44, 2; see our chapter 1, section 4.

ΝΑΙΑΤῚ, ὦ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, ΝΑΙΑΤῚ ἡ ΠΡΕΘΝΟΣ ΕΤΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤῚ, “blessed are you, O Paul, blessed is the nation that will come to believe through you”: Similar blessings ended almost each of Paul’s previous meetings with the saints in chapters 46–54.

56, 2. ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΚΑΖ ἘΤΟΥΑΔΒ ἡ ΠΛΟΕΙΣ, “this is the Holy Land of the Lord”: This is the answer to Paul’s question, ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ, “what is this place?” The qualification “Holy Land” reappears in 60, 1 and 62, 1, but nowhere else in the text. This “Holy Land” seems to be situated within Paradise (cf. 65, 1: “the angel who accompanied me took me to Paradise”), which raises the question of its status. It seems that the term is used for those parts of Paradise where the saints are dwelling, that is, here the prophets as well as, in a future time, Paul himself (“your throne will be here”); in 60, again Paul himself and the other apostles (“before the veil”); in 62, the martyrs. By contrast, the term Paradise seems, at least in this part of the text, reserved for the mathematically laid-out garden of chapter 58. In fact, the word Paradise does not appear anymore after the extensive description of 58, where it is used very often, and the retrospective remarks in 59. This observation would seem to be corroborated by the complete absence of human or even angelic life in the description of the garden in 58, where it is not angels or humans who sing God’s praise, but the trees (58, 3). In this respect, too, the dehumanized Paradise depicted in 58 is clearly differentiated from terrestrial Paradise as described in chapters 45 and following.

ΑΥΩ ἡ ΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΚΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ἡ ΠΕΙΜΑ, “Your throne, too, will be here”: Paul’s throne is a major motif in this and the following chapters. The descriptions of Paul’s throne here and the multiple thrones in 60 clearly reflect the inspiration of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, noted already above, at chapter 29, 2; see also below, at 58, 1.

ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΚΝΑΤΑΩΕ ΟΕΙΩ ἡ ΤΕΙΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΜΨΙΣ Ζῆ ΠΚΟΜΟΣ ΤΗΡῚ, “wherever you will preach this revelation in the entire world”: The phrasing echoes Matt. 26:13: ΖΑΜΗΝ, †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΤΑΩΕ ΟΕΙΩ ἡ ΠΕΙΕΓΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΖΗΤΥ Ζῆ ΠΚΟΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΥ ... (Aranda Pérez); similarly in 64, 2. This sentence, perhaps a bit unexpected, develops the previous clause, ἡ ΠΑΤΚΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ἘΠΚΟΜΟΣ, “before you descend to the world,” and prepares Paul’s words of regret that follow.

†ΟΥΩΩ ΜΕΝ ΕΩΩΠΕ Ζῆ ΠΕΙΤΟΠΟΣ, “I rather wish to live in this place”: For this naïve wish of Paul, compare the similar desire of Isaiah in the sixth heaven, *Ascension of Isaiah* 8:23–28.

ἡ†<Ν>ΑΡ ΑΤΩΩΤῚ ΑΝ, “I will not be disobedient”: The omission of the *ny* in the first future is described as a Subachmimic phenomenon in Kahle, *Bala’izah*, 151–152. As it does not occur elsewhere in this late manuscript, it may as well

be another instance of drop of the weak *ny* between two vowels; as such it was restored by us (following Budge and Copeland).

56. 3. ΕΥΣΚΥΝΗ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ, “to a tabernacle (σκήνη) of light”: In the Vision of Siophanes (cited in our chapter 3, section 2), the thrones of the apostles are situated in “a place that is called the tabernacle of the Father (ΤΕΣΚΗΝΗ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΤ)” (Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 178, f. 18v, 9–10, with a minor correction); cf. here, chapter 60: ΠΡΙΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ, “before the veil,” that is, of the celestial tabernacle.

ΟΥΡΙΗΛ ΜΝ СОΥΡΙΗΛ, “Uriel and Suriel”: See the commentary at 17, 4, above.

ΜΗ ΝΓΨΟΟΥΝ <ΑΝ> ΧΕ ..., “don’t you know that ...?”: A rhetorical question; Coptic grammar demands a negation here, as in the parallel sentence that precedes it.

ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΡΙΣΕ ΖΗ ΠΚΟСМОС ... ΩΔΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΤΩΒΕ ΝΑΥ ΝСАΩḳ̄ ΝḲΩВ ΝСОП, “God will reward sevenfold every person who will labor in the world ...”: The phrasing follows similar promises in chapters 47 and later; see above at 47, 4.

ΑΥΩ ΩΔΡΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟС ΤΗΡΟΥ ΡΑΩΕ ΝḲΜΑϣ, “and all the angels will rejoice with him”: Undoubtedly meaning “with everybody who suffered,” in spite of the plural pronoun in ΩΔΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΤΩΒΕ ΝΑΥ, “God will reward *them*” (construction *ad sensum*).

57. ΕΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΩΗΝ ΕΦΛΕΞΛΩΞ, “a multitude of lovely trees”: For ΩΗΝ as a collective singular, see above at 22, 1; for trees in Paradise, below at 58.

ΕΦΛΕΞΛΩΞ, “lovely, delightful”: Crum’s entry, *Coptic Dictionary*, 149b, s.v. ΛΑΞΛΞ, is slightly misleading; the verb is fairly frequent in Gnostic and Manichaean texts (Kasser, *Compléments*, 24–25), with both positive (“lovely”) and negative connotations (“proud, haughty”). The most pertinent parallels for its present use are probably the descriptions of Paradise and its trees in *On the Origin of the World* 55 and 104 (NHС II, 5; Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II*, II, 54 and 72; cf. Tardieu, *Trois mythes*, 175–212) and the verdant garden of Saint Anthony in the Sahidic translation of Jerome’s *Life of Hilarion* 21,7 (Rossi, *Papiri copti* I, fasc. 4, 36.1, already cited by Crum).

ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΩḲΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΚΤΟḲΟΥ ΖḲ ΠΚΟСМОС, “these are all the shoots that you planted in the world”: For the planting imagery, see Isa. 5; 1 Cor. 3:6–8, and above, at 48.

58. This chapter includes the last major cosmographic description of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Similar to all the preceding cosmographic sections (see our comments at 21, 2; 23, 2; 22, 1; 23, 1; 23, 2; 23, 3; 31, 2; 31, 3; 42, 1; 45, 2; 45, 4; 55, 1; 56),

it plays an important function in the overall structure of the world depicted in the text and its role transcends the mere topographical interest. It completes the description on the vertical line that timidly started in chapters 19–20 and was more confidently developed from 55 onwards, and which can be now considered complete.

From the point of view of contents, the description of celestial Paradise given here rounds off the description of the “nice part” of the world. Architectural details delimit the setting of the marvellous garden here described, which includes abundant vegetation, a wonderful variety of fruits, precious herbs and fragrant plants, all of them bathing in zenital light. The character and structure of this portrayal continues the description of the wonders of the Land of Inheritance (21–22) and the City of Christ (23–30). Besides numerous common elements, the same symmetry governs the plan of the garden and the exposition of its wonders. In point of fact, the portrayal of celestial Paradise combines the elements included in both other places: the fertility and profuse vegetation of the Land of Inheritance and the architectural elements of the City of Christ. There is, however, one element that lacks in the previous descriptions, that is, the wonderful fragrance of the place. In this sense, the current description is presented as the culmination, the *summum* of bliss and well-being, which not only combines but also surpasses the splendor of both.

58, 1. ἀμοῦ ἡτὰτρεκῶεῶρει ἡππαρὰδεῖος ἡττε μῆ πεκῶρονος μῆ πεκκλῶμ, “Come and I will let you behold the Paradise of heaven and your throne and your crown”: This is the first explicit reference to celestial Paradise, which is here and in 59 formally distinguished here from the terrestrial Paradise of chapter 45. The qualification “of heaven” was used before only once, in reference to celestial Jerusalem (29, 2), but will be used again twice (once more in 58, 1, and in 59) to designate the present place, which is surrounded by silver and golden walls. On the difficulty of locating the different abodes of the righteous in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, see our earlier comments at 29, 3, 45 and 56, 1 and 2.

The angel’s invitation announces Paul’s vision of his throne in chapter 60; it echoes an earlier invitation in 55, 3, and is repeated—after a long intermezzo—in the end of 59: ἀγῶ ὅν ἡδχιτῆ ἡτὰτσαβὼκ επεκῶρονος μῆ πεκκλῶμ μῆ πα νεκσνῆ ἄποστολος, “now, I will take you once more and show you your throne and your crown and that of your apostle-brethren.” The angel’s promise to Paul almost verbally echoes the one held out to Isaiah in the *Ascension of Isaiah* 7:22 (Ethiopic). There, during his ascent, while admiring the glory of the second heaven, Isaiah is told by the angel who guides him not to dwell there,

“for your throne, your garments and your crown, which you will see (shortly), are set above all these (lower) heavens and their angels,” namely in the seventh heaven. Our text omits the “garments” here, but this is remedied in the actual vision of chapter 60.

In attributing these words to the angel, the author seems to have forgotten that, already in chapter 56, Paul had been taken to Paradise (“and the angel who accompanied me took me to Paradise”) and been shown his throne (“this is your throne ...”). The vision of the throne in chapter 60 doubles the earlier one in 56, 3 and the text is obviously in disorder here; for a discussion of this doublet and for a hypothetical reconstruction of the original text, see our chapter 2, section 5.

The following description of Paradise, with its walls, pillars and precious stones, is loosely inspired by the visions of the temple in Ezek. 40–42 and the new Jerusalem in Rev. 21–22, including the pseudo-mathematical precision of its dimensions. As a space devoid of human and even angelic life, it seems to be distinguished here from “the Holy Land of the Lord,” where the prophets, the apostles and the martyrs have their dwelling (see above, at 56, 2). In spite of its three impressive walls, it is primarily a garden, in accordance with the etymology of the word Paradise, though a slightly eerie one. Traditional features are the trees, the perfumes and the bright colors of Paradise; see Bremmer, “Birth of Paradise”; cf. Tardieu, *Trois mythes*, 175–212, on the Gnostic Paradise of the treatise *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II, 5). Striking elements in the present description are the emphasis on the changing scents exhaled by Paradise (58, 2), which reflects the text’s general interest in olfactory sensations, and its display of botanical details, which betrays an indubitable medical interest. Almost all of the trees and herbs mentioned figure in late antique medical and magical recipes and the entire chapter reads like the description of a giant monastic herb garden (but cf. already Cant. 4:13–14, though with different species). It is significant that precisely the olfactory and botanical aspects of Paradise are developed in the description in Ps.-John Chrysostom, *On John the Baptist* (Sahidic, Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 141–142), which enumerates “mint, cinnamon, amomum, mastic and nutmeg,” all exhaling “a sweet scent, each more delicious than the other” (cited in our chapter 3, section 2). For the medical aspect, compare the tree of life in Rev. 22:2, the leaves of which serve the healing of the nations (ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲉⲕⲟⲉⲣⲁⲡⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲟⲥ, Sahidic, Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts*, 328; Bohairic, Horner: ⲉⲕⲉⲣ ⲫⲁⲩⲣⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲉⲛⲟⲥ, “healing the eyes of the nations”; cf. the “healing dew” of the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* 29:7, quoted below, at 58, 2). As 58, 2 shows, Paradise, like the third heaven in chapter 55, is in its entirety a liturgical space, where not the angels, though, but the trees sing God’s praise thrice a day.

ΕΥΝ ΘΟΜΗΤ ΝΟΒΤ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCOC ΗΤΠΕ, “three walls surrounded the Paradise of heaven”: Cf. Rev. 21:12–21, and the description of the walls of the City of Christ in 29, 1.

ΟΥΩΗΜΕ ΗCΤΡΟΒΙΛΛOC, “a row of pine trees”: For the word ΩΗΜΕ, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 564a, who suggests (with a question mark) to emend to ΜΗΩΕ, which is entirely unnecessary, however. In chapter 29, 2, in a very similar context, the related word ΩΘΕΙΜ is used: ΕΞΕΝΩΘΕΙΜ ΝΘΡΟΝOC, “rows of thrones.” For the etymology of ΩΗΜΕ / ΩΘΕΙΜ, see Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 307; for the use of pineapples in recipes, Marganne, *Inventaire*, 370; Muñoz Delgado, *Léxico*, 120, s.vv. στροβίλιον and στρόβιλος.

ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ ΗΤΒΑ ΜΗ ΥΤΘΟΥ ΝΩΕ ΝΚΑΩ ΕΤΧΩ, “two hundred and forty thousand and four hundred reeds at each side”: For the interpretation of ΕΤΧΩ, “at each side,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 753b, s.v. ΧΟ, “wall,” who quotes our passage. The word ΚΑΩ, “reed,” equivalent to five cubits, is not a commonly used measure, but proper to apocalyptic contexts like the present; see Crum, *Dictionary*, 130a. This is, however, the only occasion at which the “reed” appears in our text. Previous topographical descriptions in the *Apocalypse of Paul* exclusively used the cubit (ΜΑΖΕ) as their basic measure.

ΕΥΝ ΜΗΤΩΜΗΝ ΝΩΕ ΜΗΙΝΕ ΝΖΥΠΩΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΩ, “eighteen hundred kinds of fruit were growing within it”: The description of the profuse vegetation and the abundant fruit of celestial Paradise develops, but clearly in a surpassing degree of quality and splendor, that of the Land of Inheritance, in chapter 22.

ΧΟΥΩΤ ΝΩΕ ΝΒΟΤΑΝΙ ... ΕΥΤΑΙΗΥ, “two thousand precious herbs”: For βoτάνη as, in particular, a medical herb, see Marganne, *Inventaire*, 357 (Greek); Förster, *Wörterbuch*, 140, s.v. (Coptic).

ΖΜΕΤΗ ΗΙΝΕ ΝCΤΗΝΟΥΦΕ, “forty-five kinds of fragrant plants”: For CΤΗΝΟΥΦΕ as “fragrant plant, spice, aromatic,” see Crum, *Dictionary*, 363a.

ΜΗΤCΝΟΟΥC ΝΚΥΠΑΡΙCOC, “twelve cypresses”: The cypresses derive from Ezek. 31:8: “similar cypresses were not growing (even) in the garden of God (ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ)”; see Tardieu, *Trois mythes*, 201–203, for other classical and Jewish associations; medical use: Marganne, *Inventaire*, 363, s.v. The significance of the number twelve is not immediately obvious.

ΠΕΦΡΩ ΟΥΘΥΝΟΝ ΠΕ, “its door was of citron-wood”: Copeland (*Mapping*, 304, cf. 243, n. 195), unnecessarily corrects ΘΥΝΟΝ to ΘΥΟΝ. The word is θύϊνος, written ΘΙΝΟΝ in the Sahidic version of Rev. 18:12 (ΟΥΕ ΝΘΙΝΟΝ, Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts*, 316), where it occurs in an enumeration of luxury products.

ΘΟΜΗΤ ΝΔΕΙΤOC, “three eagles”: Compare the symmetric groups of “seven eagles of light” at either side of the altar in chapter 55, 2, and our commentary above.

58, 2. $\text{neqo } \bar{\text{n}}\langle\text{o}\gamma\rangle\bar{\text{o}}\text{ein } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pa}\gamma\text{an } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pe}$, “shone with sky blue”: For the drop of the glide $\text{o}\gamma$ next to a similar vowel (here o), see our chapter 1, section 4.

$\text{em}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ kake } \bar{\text{n}}\text{zht}\bar{\text{q}} \text{ alla } \text{po}\gamma\bar{\text{o}}\text{ein } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pno}\gamma\text{te } \text{pet}\omega\text{oo}\text{p } \bar{\text{n}}\text{zht}\bar{\text{q}} \bar{\text{n}}\text{na}\gamma \text{ nim}$, $\text{eq}\bar{\text{t}} \text{ o}\gamma\bar{\text{o}}\text{ein } \text{thr}\bar{\text{q}}$, “and there was no darkness in it, but the light of God was dwelling in it at all times and it beamed entirely”: In the clause $\text{eq}\bar{\text{t}} \text{ o}\gamma\bar{\text{o}}\text{ein } \text{thr}\bar{\text{q}}$, as it stands, the third person pronouns must refer to Paradise, not to the light of God. This produces a slightly bumpy sentence (with an unmarked topic shift). A more elegant reading would be, for instance, $\text{alla } \text{po}\gamma\bar{\text{o}}\text{ein } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pno}\gamma\text{te } \text{pet}\omega\text{oo}\text{p } \bar{\text{n}}\text{zht}\bar{\text{q}} \bar{\text{n}}\text{na}\gamma \text{ nim}$, $\text{eq}\bar{\text{t}} \text{ o}\gamma\bar{\text{o}}\text{ein } \langle\text{m}\text{pma}\rangle \text{ thr}\bar{\text{q}}$, “but the light of God was dwelling in it at all time, illuminating the entire place.” Since the text is not ungrammatical, however, we choose not to emend; Copeland (*Mapping*, 243) translates similarly: “all of it is shining.”

This is an almost literal quote from the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, Achmimic 2, 4–8 (Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 36): $\text{pma } \text{ete } \bar{\text{n}}\text{dikaios } \text{zoo}\text{p } \bar{\text{n}}\text{zht}\bar{\text{q}} \text{ m}\bar{\text{n}}$ $\text{neto}\gamma\text{aabe}$, $\text{m}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ keke } \text{zoo}\text{p } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pma } \text{et}\bar{\text{m}}\text{mo}$, $\text{a}[\lambda]\text{la } \text{a}\gamma\text{zoo}\text{p } \text{z}\bar{\text{n}} \text{ po}\gamma\text{a}\text{eine } \bar{\text{n}}\text{o}\gamma\text{a}\text{e}\omega \text{ nim}$, “there where the righteous and the saints are dwelling, in that place there is no darkness, but they are dwelling in the light at all times,” which in turn is an echo of Isa. 60:19; cf. also Rev. 21:23 and 22:5: $\text{pxoeis } \text{pno}\gamma\text{te } \text{petna}\bar{\text{p}} \text{ o}\gamma\text{oein } \text{epoo}\gamma$ (Sahidic, Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts*, 328); the Isaiah verse itself is quoted in Pachomius’ vision of Paradise, thus: $\text{m}[\text{p}]\text{o}\gamma\text{oein } \text{an } [\text{m}\text{p}]\text{rh } \text{petna}\bar{\text{p}} \text{ o}\gamma\text{oein } \text{ep}\bar{\text{o}} \bar{\text{m}}\text{pezo}\gamma \text{ a}\gamma\omega \text{ ppeire } \text{an } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pooz } \text{etna}\bar{\text{p}} \text{ o}\gamma\text{oein } \text{ep}\bar{\text{o}} \bar{\text{n}}\text{te}\gamma\omega\text{h}$, $\text{alla } \text{pxoeis } \text{petna}\gamma\omega\text{pe } \bar{\text{n}}\text{e } \text{no}\gamma\text{oein } \omega\text{a } \text{ene}\bar{\text{z}}$, “it is not the light of the sun that will illuminate you by day nor will the shining forth of the moon illuminate you by night, but it is the Lord who will become for you light eternal” (Sahidic S², Lefort, *Pachomii vitae sahidice*, textus, 22a, with a minor correction; cf. our chapter 3, section 2).

$\omega\text{ape } \text{ppara}\bar{\text{deicoc}} \omega\text{e}\omega \text{ c}\bar{\text{t}} \text{ n}\bar{\text{z}}\text{p}\omega\text{ra } \text{ebol } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pna}\gamma \bar{\text{n}}\text{ztooye } \text{a}\gamma\omega \omega\text{aq-}\omega\text{e}\omega \text{ c}\bar{\text{t}} \text{ n}\bar{\text{m}}\text{ric } \text{ebol } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pna}\gamma \bar{\text{m}}\text{meere } \text{a}\gamma\omega \text{ ep}\omega\text{an } \text{prh } \text{zwt}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{p}}$, $\omega\text{ape } \text{pes}\bar{\text{t}}\text{noyche } \bar{\text{n}}\text{nw}\bar{\text{h}}\text{h } \text{thro}\gamma \text{ et}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{m}} \text{ ppara}\bar{\text{deicoc}} \omega\text{e}\omega \text{ebol } \omega\text{ante } \text{te}\gamma\omega\text{h } \bar{\text{m}}\text{pkocmoc } \text{para}\bar{\text{ge}}$, “Paradise exhaled a scent of fruit at dawn and it exhaled a scent of must at noon and when the sun would set, the fragrance of all the trees that are in Paradise spread forth until the night of the world had passed”: For this passage, Copeland (*Mapping*, 243) aptly refers to the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* 29:7: “For winds shall go forth from me (sc. God) bearing the scent of aromatic fruits every morning and, at the end of the day, clouds distilling a healing dew” (a passage describing the time of the advent of the Messiah; cf. Bogaert, *Apocalypse* 2, 64–65).

Fragrance is a marked characteristic of celestial Paradise. Compared to the wondrous descriptions of the Land of Inheritance and the City of Christ, the olfactory aspect, notably missing in both, takes a prominent place in the

present. While the earlier descriptions were mainly visual, that of celestial Paradise puts an important emphasis on the delicious odours of the place. Precious herbs, fragrant plants, scents of fruit, must, cinnamon and storax make celestial Paradise a most delightfully smelling region. Situated at the highest place of the cosmos, with its zenithal light and delicious smells, celestial Paradise appears as the exact counterpoint to the deep, dark and narrow well of the abyss, from which a “thick foul-smelling smoke” arises, in chapter 41, 2 (cf. also our commentary at 44, 1).

ⲓⲁⲓⲩⲉⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲓⲣⲓⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, “it exhaled a scent of must”: Coptic ⲛⲓⲣⲓⲥ, “must, new wine,” translates Greek γλεῦκος; cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 183; for its etymology, Dévaud, *Études*, 9–11. For the medical use of γλεῦκος, see Till, *Arzneikunde*, 102 (par. 166b); Marganne, *Inventaire*, 242–243 (“vin doux”).

ⲛⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲧⲓⲕⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲅⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲏⲁⲗⲁⲃⲁⲑⲟⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲓⲅⲣⲁⲗⲓ ⲛⲏⲉ, ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲅⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲗ ⲕⲗⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲕⲗⲁⲗⲟⲛ, “the bases of the pillars were overgrown with cinnamon (μαλάβαθρον) and genuine storax (στύραξ) and their capitals were growing branches of almond trees (ἀμύδαλον)”: For the medical use of these plants, see Till, *Arzneikunde*, 74 (par. 88, cinnamon), 96–97 (par. 152, storax, *Styrax officinalis* L.); Marganne, *Inventaire*, 364 (cinnamon), 370 (storax), 355–356 (almond).

58, 3. ⲛⲟⲩⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲅⲣⲓⲙⲛⲉⲅⲉ̇ ⲉ̇ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲙⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ ⲛⲏⲏⲏⲏⲉ, “all the trees of Paradise were singing hymns to God three times a day”: In addition to exhaling perfumes on a three times a day basis (58, 2), the trees are also singing God’s praise thrice a day, according to a liturgical schedule.

ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ, ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ, ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲙⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ, ⲙⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲓ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲣ, “holy, holy, three times holy! Praised and glorified be God almighty”: A more complete version of the song of praise already heard in 55, 2 (in the third heaven); for these various forms of celestial praise, typically with the triple “holy” of Isa. 6:3 (cf. Rev. 4:8 and 11), see Bietenhard, *Himmlische Welt*, 137–142; Ten Kate, “Sanctus.”

59. ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲧⲓⲉ, “Paradise of heaven”: That is, celestial Paradise; for this qualification, see our commentary at 56 and 58, above.

ⲗⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲗⲣⲟ ⲁⲕⲱ ⲕⲛⲁⲗⲣⲟ ⲉ̇ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲉ̇ⲧⲏⲏⲩ ⲉ̇ⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̇ⲛ ⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ, “Be victorious, you who will be victorious, and you will prevail over the accuser who comes up from hell”: In this sentence, the Coptic nicely uses the same verb, ⲗⲣⲟ, thrice, which is lost in translation.

The traditional acclamation ⲗⲣⲟ (ⲏⲙⲟⲕ), “be victorious, succeed, take courage!,” corresponding to Greek ἀνδρίζου, ἵσχυε or νικά, occurs earlier in chap-

ter 54, where Adam is addressing Paul: $\chi\rho\omicron\ \mu\mu\omicron\kappa, \omicron$ (read ω) $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (see our commentary above). It had probably been used as well in chapter 14, not extant in Coptic, where the soul of a righteous person is encouraged in the moment of dying: *viriliter age, anima, et confortare* (St Gall); *confortare, anima, in uirtute omni modo* (Arnhem; Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 90, 2.16–17; 91, 2.16–17; cf. the Syriac, Ricciotti, “Apocalypsis Pauli,” 12–13). For the origin of this acclamation, Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 149–150, and *Ascent to Heaven*, 39, claims Josh. 1:6 and later verses. In late-antique Egypt, however, the acclamation was widely used, both with and without the reflexive object, independently of the Joshua passage; see Crum, *Dictionary*, 783b. Thus, it occurs several times in the Manichaean Psalm-book, for instance Allberry, *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 210, 14–15, in a context much comparable to the present (victory over the demons of hell), whereas both Steindorff, *Apokalypse*, 55, n. 1, and Van der Vliet, “Spätantikes Heidentum,” 118, cite a famous passage from Shenoute, which illustrates its traditional use in the Panopolite region (from *The Lord Thundered*; cf. Emmel, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus*, 2.618–619).

As Martha Himmelfarb first argued (*Tours of Hell*, 149–150), following less precise indications by James (*Apocryphal New Testament*, 554), the present sentence appears to be a slightly modified quote from the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. There, the same characteristic address occurs on three different occasions, cited and compared in our chapter 3, section 1. The situation in which these encouraging words are spoken is more or less similar in both apocalypses. An angel cheers up the despondent seer, who questions his own worth or is simply scared by what he sees. The *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* appears to offer the original context for the angel’s address, as it provides a natural explanation for the mention of the “accuser,” a character otherwise absent from the *Apocalypse of Paul*. The “accuser” ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$) in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* is a monstrous angel, associated with the underworld, who acts as a frightening prosecutor in the judgment of the soul, yet is nowhere identified as the devil. The *Apocalypse of Paul* does not know this character, neither in its judgment scenes nor in any other context. The conclusion is therefore inevitable that our text borrowed the accuser, together with the angel’s formulaic words of encouragement, from the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (thus already Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 39). Different than the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, however, the present context in the *Apocalypse of Paul* and in particular the phrase “the accuser who comes up from hell” suggest an understanding of the term $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ as a designation of the devil, following Rev. 12:10 (for the devil / Satan as “accuser,” see already Zech. 3; cf. Breytenbach and Day, “Satan”; Van der Vliet, “Thoth or Lady Justice?”). The context here is not the soul’s judgment, but Paul’s salvatory mission in the world, as the sequel shows.

ΕΚΝΑΧΙ ΕΘΟΥ ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΟΥΘ̄ ΕΚΘΑΝΘΩΚ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ Ν̄ΚΕΣΟΠ, “Yet you will gain even more glory when you descend once more to the world”: In 56, 2, Paul had considered staying in Paradise; here, he doubts his right to stay there. In both passages, the angel encourages Paul, in more or less similar words, to return to the world in order to resume his mission and preach the present revelation and its message of repentance.

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ †ΝΑΧΙΤ̄Κ̄ Ν̄ΤΑΤΣΑΒΟΚ ΕΠΕΚΘΡΟΝΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΠΕΚΚΛΟΜ, “Now, I will take you once more and show you your throne and your crown”: This is largely a repetition of the words of the angel in the beginning of chapter 58 (see above), but this time they really lead up to Paul’s (second) viewing of his throne.

Μ̄Ν ΠΑ ΝΕΚΣΝΗΥ Δ̄ΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, “and that of your apostle-brethren”: The possessive prefix ΠΑ apparently refers to the (first-named) throne. This phrase is absent from the much similar sentence in 58. In fact, apart from the final chapters 63–64, the other apostles are only mentioned here and in 60 and 62. In each of these cases, they are emphatically presented as Paul’s brothers or fellows. The status of Paul in relation to the other apostles is also a theme in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* from Nag Hammadi (see here chapter 3, section 1, and Van der Vliet, “Paul and the Others”).

60. Paul’s visionary journey culminates here, in a description of the thrones, gowns and crowns that await him and his fellow-apostles in a celestial locale, “Holy Land,” again characterized as liturgical space. As was noted above, at 29, 2, these thrones, crowns and robes are important signifiers of celestial citizenship (cf. Rev. 4:4, the Twenty-Four Elders). The following description, equals similar ones in 29, 2; 56 and 62, 1, and may be inspired by the *Ascension of Isaiah*, where the vestment symbolism is thematically important (see below) and where the combination thrones—crowns—robes is found in contexts very similar to the present; see *Ascension of Isaiah* 7:22: throne, garments and crown promised to the visionary; 9:24–26: “I saw many robes and thrones and crowns lying there,” *vidi stolas multas et thronos et coronas iacentes* (Latin, 24), about the seventh heaven, and 8:26, about the sixth. For the widespread symbolism of the crown, see Burns, “Sethian Crowns.”

60, 1. ΑΥΧΙΤ̄ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Ν̄Π̄Ν̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑΣΜΑ Ζ̄Ν ΠΚΑΖ̄ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, “The angel led me before the veil in the Holy Land”: Whereas in chapter 56, 3, the throne of Paul was situated in “a tabernacle of light,” ΟΥΣΚΥΝΗ Ν̄ΟΥΘ̄-ΕΙΝ, here it is “before the veil (καταπέτασμα)” that conceals the divine presence. Although undoubtedly a similar liturgical space is meant in both cases, the different terminology may support the hypothesis of a doublet that marks a seam in the text. For the veil, see our commentary at 44, 1.

ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΓΠΟΡΩ, “I saw a throne standing prepared”: In the present scene, Paul’s crown must have fallen out; it was announced by the angel in the previous chapter, but is not mentioned here, whereas the crowns of the other apostles are.

ΟΥΣΤΟΛΗ ... ΕΣΤΙ ΡΑΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΗ ΘΕ ΝΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΕΣΤΗΜΗ, “a robe ... beaming with bliss, of unutterable worth”: As the description suggests, the word στολή designates, both in Coptic and in Christian Greek, a ceremonial robe, not a garment for daily use. The word is biblical, used for instance in the Sahidic of Rev. 6:11, and similar celestial contexts. In *Rossi’s Gnostic Treatise* 15, 8–10, a ritual text, the Father himself wears a στολή, “white as snow” (Meyer, *Rossi’s*, 20; cf. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16–20, with n. 53). In the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the robe (Latin *stola*) of Isaiah has a crucial role in defining his right to enter the seventh heaven, see in particular 8:14 and 9:2. In later Coptic usage, the στολή seems associated with priesthood; cf. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress*, 21–23. Note that for the robes of the other apostles, in 60, 2, a generic term (ϣḲΩ) is used.

ΕΡΕ ϣΕΝCMAZ ἡΜΑΡΗΑΡΩἰ ἡΠΕΤΠΕ ἡΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ, “and marble (μάρμαρος) bunches of grapes crowning the throne”: For ϣΕΝCMAZ, the manuscript has ϣΕΝCMAΣ. The word CMAΣ is either a *hapax* of unknown meaning (thus Crum, *Dictionary*, 339b) or an erroneous spelling. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts* *Coptic Texts*, 1081, renders it as “slabs (of marble)”; MacDermot, *Cult of the Seer*, 1.561, as “mosaics,” and Copeland, *Mapping*, 245 (citing MacDermot), as “inlays.” These are mere guesses. With due hesitation, we emended CMAΣ to CMAZ, “bunch, in particular of grapes,” which is formally close. Bunches of grapes were a common motif in late-antique funerary sculpture, with “paradisiac” connotations (Thomas, *Funerary Sculpture*, 73–80). In our text, they occur in the same context in the description of the miraculous grapevine in the Land of Inheritance (chapter 22). For the present description of Paul’s throne, two Coptic ritual texts are relevant. Both evoke a grapevine crowning the celestial throne of God: ΤΩ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΟ ἡΟΥ ... ΕΧἡ ΤΑΠΕ ἡΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ἡΠΕΘΟΥ, “the white grapevine that is [...] upon the top of the throne of his (sc. God’s) glory” (P. mag. British Library Or. 5987, after Choat and Gardner, *Coptic Handbook* 108, 53–54); the partial parallel in P. mag. British Library Or. 6796, 2–3, verso, 58–60, reads: ΤΩ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΟ[Υ]ΩΩ [Ε]ΤΠΟΡΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧἡ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ἡΠΕΙΩΤ [Π]ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, “the white grapevine that branches out over the throne of the Father almighty” (Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* 1, 43). In the Vision of Siophanes, from the Coptic *Book of Bartholomew*, each of the twelve thrones of the apostles is overshadowed by a tree laden with fruit in all seasons (Westerhoff, *Auferstehung*, 178, f. 18v, 15–17, quoted in our chapter 3, section 2). It is therefore not far-fetched to assume that Paul’s celestial throne could be crowned by a vegetable motif. Additionally, there may be a link between the

qualification $\text{OYWB}\bar{\text{Q}}$, “white,” in the two ritual texts (“white grapevine”), and the marble of our text, a material that stands out by its luminous quality (cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, 476b); in the Vision of Siophanes, the material of the thrones is “shining pearl” ($\text{M}\bar{\text{A}}\text{P}\bar{\text{Γ}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{P}\bar{\text{I}}\text{T}\bar{\text{H}}\text{C}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\gamma\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\text{N}$).

60, 2. $\text{EYKH}\ \text{EZPAI}\ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{T}\bar{\text{O}}\ \text{EBOL}\ \text{NNE}\bar{\text{Θ}}\text{PONOC}$, “displayed before the thrones”: The manuscript reads instead of $\text{NNE}\bar{\text{Θ}}\text{PONOC}$, $\text{MPE}\bar{\text{Θ}}\text{PONOC}$, “the throne,” in the singular. A scribe mechanically copied the article from the preceding $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{M}}\text{T}\bar{\text{O}}$. We restored the plural, as the context demands.

$\text{AZW}\ \text{ERE}\ \text{OYCT}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\gamma\bar{\text{Q}}\bar{\text{E}}\ \text{QWQ}\ \text{EBOL}\ \text{Z}\bar{\text{M}}\ \text{PMA}\ \text{ET}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\gamma$, “and a sweet odor spread forth from that place”: Fragrance characterizes divine space; see our remarks at 44, 1, and 58, 2.

61. This brief chapter echoes the description of David as choirmaster of the celestial liturgy found already in chapter 29, 3–4 (see our commentary at 29). As in the earlier passage, it emphasizes the liturgical character of the celestial landscape, which is entirely focused on singing God’s praise.

$\text{EYRWME}\ \text{EQFOR}\bar{\text{E}}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\gamma\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\gamma\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{Q}}$, “a man wearing a white garment”: The group $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\gamma\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}$ shows a double writing of the preposition $\bar{\text{N}}$ -, which is a common phenomenon, in particular before the article OY -; see Kahle, *Bala’izah*, 119–120, par. 90; Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, par. 22(b); it appears to be its only occurrence in the present text.

62, 1. $\text{EQTOBC}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{W}}\text{NE}\ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}$, “set with precious stone”: For the verb, see above at 23, 1.

$\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{P}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\text{PON}$, “lapis lazuli,” rather than “sapphire.” The Greek word is $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\text{π}\phi\epsilon\text{ι}\text{-}\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, which occurs in Rev. 21:19 (Sahidic, Budge: $\text{C}\bar{\text{A}}\text{P}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\text{C}$), about the foundations of celestial Jerusalem, and in other biblical lists of stones; cf. Smagina, “Interprétation copte,” in particular 255, with further references.

$\text{ERE}\ \text{PKAZ}\ \text{ET}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\gamma\ \text{OY}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{Q}}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Θ}}\bar{\text{E}}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\gamma\chi\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{N}}$, “that land was white as snow”: Whiteness as a (positive) topographical feature is a recurrent motif in our text; see above chapter 21, 3: “that land was seven times brighter (whiter: $\text{OY}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{Q}}$) than silver”; 22, 1: “the land where they were growing was seven times brighter ($\text{OY}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{Q}}$) than silver,” and 22, 5: “a river, the water of which was whiter than milk.” The whiteness of snow is a well-known biblical trope; see for instance Ps. 50:9.

$\text{ERE}\ \text{OYMHQ}\bar{\text{E}}\ \text{NKLOM}\ \text{AZW}\ \text{OYMHQ}\bar{\text{E}}\ \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Θ}}\text{PONOC}\ \langle\text{ZM}\ \text{PMA}\ \text{ET}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\gamma\rangle$, “and a multitude of crowns and a multitude of thrones were found in that place”: The circumstantial clause as it stands lacks a predicate; we filled in $\langle\text{ZM}\ \text{PMA}\ \text{ET}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\gamma\rangle$, “in that place.” The same phrase occurs in the next sentence and its

omission here may therefore be one of many instances of haplography in the manuscript. Note the side-by-side occurrence of $\mu\eta\omega\epsilon$ and (normal) $\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$ in one sentence (see chapter 1, section 4).

$\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\nu\zeta\bar{\eta}\pi\omicron\mu\iota\varsigma\ \mu\bar{\eta}\ \zeta\epsilon\nu\kappa\iota\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$, “stoles and tiaras”: For the dress symbolism, see also above at 60, 1. The combination of stole ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\mu\iota\varsigma$) and tiara ($\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$) recalls the high-priestly dress of Aaron, as described for instance in Ex. 28 and Eccles. 45:6–12; for heaven as temple in apocalyptic literature and the investiture of the seer in accordance with priestly stature, see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, in particular 29–46. For the $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\mu\iota\varsigma$ as a vestment of Christian clergy, see Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress*, 55–58; Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger*, 116.

62, 2. $\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\bar{\kappa}\bar{\iota},\ \bar{\omega}\ \pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, “blessed are you, O Paul”: Here begins a final hymn in praise of Paul, which comes as the conclusion of a long chain of more or less similar blessings that began with the Virgin Mary in chapter 46. This preference for refrain-like passages to wind up similarly laid out episodes (in this part of the text, the meetings with three groups of inhabitants of Paradise: the prophets and the undefiled, in 56, 1; the converts of Paul himself, in 57, and the martyrs, here) is a sure hallmark of the original author, amply attested in the chapters about hell as well. It strongly argues in favor of the unity and coherence of the entire stretch of text from chapter 45 up to here.

$\eta\alpha\iota\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\lambda\ \eta\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma,\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \varsigma\omicron\tau\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \alpha\kappa\eta\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\ \pi\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$, “What no eye has seen and no ear has heard, you have seen in the body”: An echo of another famous Pauline verse, 1 Cor. 2:9: $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\ \beta\alpha\lambda\ \eta\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma,\ \eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \varsigma\omicron\tau\mu\omicron\upsilon\gamma$, “what no eye saw, what no ear heard” (Sahidic, Thompson). Cf. also the *Ascension of Isaiah* 8:11 (Latin), where it is the *angelus interpretis* who says: “Yet I tell you, Isaiah, that nobody who wished to return in the flesh of that world saw what you see or was able to see what you saw.” As a kind of summary, the quote from 1 Cor. provides a fitting motto for the entire vision.

$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \eta\alpha\gamma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\kappa\omega\omicron\upsilon\pi\bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\varsigma}$, “because God saw your continence in which you live”: This last sentence reads a bit like a monastic afterthought; it is the only place where the word $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ occurs in our text.

63–64. The epilogue, which describes Paul’s final return to the Mount of Olives and his reunion, first with the other apostles, then with Jesus himself, is extensively discussed in our chapter 2, section 2.

63, 1. $\alpha\eta\omicron\kappa\ \Delta\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma,\ \alpha\iota\mu\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\bar{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\pi\eta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$, “I, Paul, walked away in the Holy Spirit”: This sentence formally marks the end of Paul’s vision of celestial Paradise.

ΑΥΩ ΔΙΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΧΩ ΉΜΟΣ ΧΕ ..., “and blessed God, saying: ...”: What follows is a somewhat convoluted doxology, apparently made up from various phrases and epithets, expressing Paul’s gratitude.

†ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΉΠΤΗΡΪ, ΠΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΜΑΥΑΑQ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΉ ΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ, “I bless you, God of the universe, who alone sees himself through the mystery”: Although syntactically rather unproblematic, the interpretation of the clause ΠΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΜΑΥΑΑQ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΉ ΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ is not obvious. Copeland’s translation, “who alone is perceived through the mystery” (*Mapping*, 246; cf. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1082: “who can only be seen in a mystery”), lacks a basis in the Coptic as it stands. Given this unclarity, we prefer not to emend the text and stick as closely as possible to the Coptic wording, assuming by way of hypothesis that Paul’s words could be a somewhat obscure paraphrase of 1 Cor. 2:10–13: God can only be perceived by the divine. A similar idea, expressed in almost identical words, is found in the Gnostic *Apocryphon of John*, where precisely the incomprehensibility of the Father is intended: ΝΤΟQ ΕΤΝΟΪ ΉΜΟQ ΟΥΑΑQ ΖΗ ΠΕQΖΪΔΙΟΝ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟQ, “it is him who alone grasps himself in his own light that surrounds him” (version BG 26, 15–17; the parallel in ΝΗC II/IV has “who alone perceives himself,” with ΕΤΩΩΥΤ ΕΡΟQ instead of ΕΤΝΟΪ ΉΜΟQ; see Waldstein and Wisse, *Apocryphon*, 30–31). This interpretation gains likelihood from the fact that nowhere in the *Apocalypse*, not even in chapters 44, 1, or 55, 2, Paul sees the Father.

QCMAMAAΓ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΤΝΟΥΤΕ, “blessed be the splendor of your divinity”: For the performative ΝΒΙ construction, see above at 43, 2.

ΠΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΧΉ ΠΤΗΡΪ, “who governs the universe”: A Coptic paraphrase of the Greek noun παντοκράτωρ, which is otherwise an extremely common loanword, occurring here, for instance, in 16, 5, and 58, 3.

ΝΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΪ ΩΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤΪ, “through whom the universe came into being”: A literal quote of John 1:3a.

63, 2. ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΕ ΉΠΧΘΕΙC ΔQΤΑΛΟΙ ΔQΕΙΝΕ ΉΜΟΙ ΕΧΉ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΉΪΧΘΕΙΤ, “the angel of the Lord lifted me and brought me upon the Mount of Olives”: Paul returns to the earth, to what must have been also his point of departure, the Mount of Olives. The reader, too, returns to the paratextual frame of the Paul’s vision; for a full discussion, see our chapter 2, section 2.

ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΙCΟΤΠΟΥ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΚΟCΜΟC, “whom I have chosen from the world”: Cf. John 15:19.

ΔΝΟΚ ΜΑΡΚΟC ΜΉ ΪΜΘΘΕΟC, ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΉΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΠΑΥΛΟC, “me, Mark, and Timothy, the disciples of Saint Paul”: Neither Mark nor Timothy appear elsewhere in the transmitted versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul* nor are other instances of both disciples figuring together as authors known to us. A certain

relationship between the two could eventually be postulated on the basis of Col. 4:10, 2 Tim. 4:11, or Philem. 24, but is not otherwise attested. Their role here shows a perception of the genesis and diffusion of the text that obviously contradicts the Tarsus narrative, as known from Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic versions (see the discussion in chapter 2, section 2).

ἐτῆρῃς καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦτα, ἐγγὺς μὴ οὐ φερεῖται
 ἡμετέρας καὶ τῶν ἐροῶν, “to write down the words of this holy revelation, for the
 profit and the benefit of those who will hear them”: As the plural pronoun in
 ἐροῶν shows, the text originally had ἀποκάλυψις, “the words of
 this holy revelation,” as in 64, 2, and more often.

64, 1. α ΠΩΤΗΡ, ΠΕΡΙΠΤΟΣ, ΟΥΩΝΕ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ, “the Savior, Christ, appeared to us”: The following address of Christ, mainly serves to underline the authority of Paul’s revelation. The extensive recommendation of the text doubles a similar passage in chapter 46, 3, there put into the mouth of the Virgin Mary. A secondary purpose seems to be the prediction of the date of Paul’s (and Peter’s) martyrdom, which betrays an obvious liturgical interest (see below).

χαίρε, παῦλος, πεπιστολοφορος ἐτταίνῃ, “Hail, Paul, excellent letter-carrier”: ἐπιστολόφορος (or ἐπιστολαφόρος) designated an office in Roman Egypt, but had a wider use as well; see Schubert, *Bearers of Business Letters*, 7 and 10. As an epithet of Paul it is also used by Cyril of Alexandria, *Encomium in sanctam Mariam Deiparam* (CPG 5255; PG 77, 1029–1040, at 1037A; cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 535a). It may refer to 2 Cor. 3:1–3.

As Bremmer, “Apocalypse of Paul,” 441, observed, the epithets used for Paul in this paragraph are markedly different from those used earlier in the text, where he is usually called “chosen” or “beloved of God,” with some variation. This might seem to set the paratextual frame of the Coptic version, represented by the lost prologue and our chapters 63–64, apart from the body of the text (but see our discussion of the structure of the text in chapter 2, section 2).

χαίρε, πᾶν γλός, πμεσιτης ντ.α.ιδωγκη, "Hail, Paul, mediator of the covenant": Again a rare title, at least for Paul. In Hebrews (8:6, 9:15, 12:26), Christ himself is the mediator of the covenant. Perhaps Paul is represented here as the antitype of Moses, to whom the epithet is applied more often.

χαίρε, παῦλος, πλῶνθ̅ δ̅αυ̅ τ̅ς̅ν̅τ̅ε̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅κ̅κ̅λ̅η̅ς̅ḁ̅, “Hail, Paul, gable and foundation of the Church”: For the architectural terminology, cf. 1 Cor. 3:10, and the Coptic *Life of Aaron* 60 (Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Life of Aaron*, 98, with commentary at 210). For Paul as the λ̅ω̅ν̅θ̅ of the Church in Coptic (Bohairic) liturgical texts, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 138a s.v.

ἀρα ἂ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἡμετέραν ἐπισκοπὴν; ἀρα ἀκτιλοφθεῖ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἡμετέρος ἡμετέρας, “Are you satisfied by what you have seen? Are you convinced

The words of Jesus cannot be used to argue that this part of the text is an interpolation, as Suciū, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 114, does. They merely present a formal conclusion to the revelation that Jesus must have granted to Paul in the (missing) prologue. As Jesus' questions above, in 64, 1, show, the entire vision was Jesus' answer to precise questions or problems raised by Paul; see above, chapter 2, section 2.

ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ, "O my holy members": This formulaic expression is very often used when Jesus addresses his disciples in revelation dialogues (see Hagen, "Ein anderer Kontext," 351–353; Suciū, *Berlin-Strasbourg Apocryphon*, 108–120). Its occurrence here is typical, but the same expression is found in other contexts as well, for instance when the righteous are addressed at the last judgment (Ps.-Athanasius, *Homily on the Passion*, Bernardin, "Coptic Sermon," 126) or even for a homilist's living audience. A similar expression appeared previously in 26: ⲛⲉϥⲱⲃⲏⲣⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ, "their fellow members" (sc. of the Holy Innocents).

ⲁⲩⲩⲱⲛ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲉⲣⲟϥⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲗⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲗⲁⲩⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ, "your course and your holy contest have drawn near": For the agonistic terminology and its Pauline background, see Davis, "Completing the Race," in particular 340–353.

ⲕⲛⲁⲗⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲗⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ, ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ, ⲛⲥⲟϥ ⲓⲱϥ ⲏⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲡⲏⲫ, "you shall complete your course, you together with my beloved Peter, on the fifth of the month Epiphi (Epeph)": The fifth of Epiphi (29 June in the Julian calendar) is the traditional date of the commemoration of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul till today; for discussion, see Papaconstantinou, *Culte*, 171 (Paul), 175–176 (Peter); Zanetti, "Pierre et Paul." In late-antique Upper Egypt, as it seems, Paul alone was commemorated on this date, Peter on the third of Tybi, according to the Esna calendar (seventh century?), for which see R.-G. Coquin in Sauneron, *Ermitages chrétiens* IV, 49–52. In our text, the clause ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲙⲏ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ, "you together with my beloved Peter," which seems added as if by afterthought, might therefore be a later addition. As this is the only date mentioned in the text and, moreover, one authorized by Christ himself, it is likely that the fifth of Epiphi was the privileged date for the liturgical reading of the *Apocalypse* in the churches of Egypt.

64, 3. ⲁⲩⲕⲉⲗⲉϥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲥⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲏⲙⲁⲟⲩⲧⲏⲥ, "he ordered the cloud to lift the disciples": This sentence presupposes that, in the lost opening scenes, the disciples had been assembled from the various countries where they preached the Gospel, by a cloud; compare the similar scene in the *Mysteries of John* and our discussion in chapter 2, section 2.

The Sahidic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*

Vienna Papyrussammlung K 9653

47, 4. [--- ναειατq мπετναχιτq нсонс] (ro) ετβε πνογτε εβολ xε ωаре πноγте тоγιο ναq нoγμннωε нсон, εqωανει εβολ жн пeикoсмoс.

48, 1. ρoсoн дe ερε παι ωαxε нтeιρε, ειc κεoγa αqει [αq]αcπαze нμoι εqза εooγ εματε· oγωπнpe пe ναγ epoq. пexαι нπαггeлoc xε нм пe παι, пaxo-
 5 ειc; пexαq нαι xε παι пe мωγcнc пнoмoθнтнc, пeнтa πноγте † пнoмoс ναq. αγω нтepeqαcπαze нμoι, αqримe. пexαι ναq xε εтβε oγ екpиm⟨e⟩; κοι-
 тeι αicωтн xε нтк oγpнpaω παpa pωмe || нм εqзixм пkaз. 2. п[εxε мωγ-
 cнc нαι xε eιpимe xε] н[αтωбe нтaιтo]бo[γ нпoγ† жнγ] нo[γ]α нжнт[oγ]
 oγтe нпoγ† қapпoc. нaεcooγ ε†мooнe нμooγ ωa пooγ αγxωωpe εβολ нθe
 10 ннeиcooγ εтe нннтoγ ωωc. нaзice тнpoγ нтaιωпoγ нн <н>ωнpe нпic-
 paнλ αγωпe ελaαγ. нoн гap тнpoγ εa пxoeic αaγ ннмaγ нпoγ† жтнγ
 epooγ. αip ωпнpe xε a нaλλoφγлoc нaтcбвe ει εzoγн eтпicтic, нпo[γ]ει
 нтooγ. 3. †p [мн(γo)тpe нaк, ω aθaнacioc, xε εa п]λa[oc тaзo мпωнpe
 мпnoγтe, εγт]α[λo мmoq ep]εcтaγpoc, [мп]нaγ εтнмaγ a нeтoγaa[в]
 15 тнpoγ εтжmooc ж[α]жтнq xωpн oγвнι xε мωγcнc, кнaγ eпeклaoс xε
 нтaγp oγ нпωнpe нпnoγтe; ω нaειaтk, ω aθaнacioc, αγω нaειaтq нплaoс
 εтнacωтн нcωк.

49, 1. ρoсoн дe ερε παι ωαxε, ειc κε ωomт αqει αγω нтepoγнaγ epoi,
 пexαγ нαι xε нтoк пe aθaнa[c]иoc, пeнтaq|мoγ нoγμннωε нсон εxн тпi-
 20 cтic нпωнpe нпnoγтe; пexαι дe наγ xε нтωтн нм; пexε пωopп xε aнoк
 пe ειcaиaс, пeнтa мaнacн oγaстq жн oγвaωoγp нωe. пexε пмeзcнaγ xε
 aнoк пe ιepнмiaс, пeнтa нωнpe мпicpaнλ зoтвeq. пexε пмeзωomнт xε
 aнoк пe ιeзeкнλ, пeнтa нωнpe нпicpaнλ aмaзтe ннaoyepнтe αγcγλa
 нμoι εβολ жixн нexapз нн нтooγ εтxocε ωaнтoγнoγз нтaa[пe εβολ ---
 25].

6–7 κοιτεi: καίτοι 7 п[εxε: om. Lucchesi 8 н[αтωбe: om. Lucchesi || нжнт[oγ]: нжн[тоγ]
 Lucchesi 10–11 нп(сpa)нλ: мпнλ ms., мнλ Lucchesi 11 ж`т`нγ: corr. ex жнγ 13
 п]λa[oc:]α[Lucchesi 14 εγт]α[λo: om. Lucchesi || ep]εcтaγpoc: ep]εcпoc ms., пe]cпoc
 Lucchesi || [мп]нaγ: [жмп]нaγ Lucchesi 18 ωom`т': corr. ex oγa? 19 εxн: n ex corr.?
 24 нexapз: χάραξ for χάλιξ?

47, 4. "... Blessed is he who will take pains for God, because God shall recompense him many times over, when he comes forth from this world."

48, 1. While he was speaking in this manner, someone else arrived and greeted me, who was very glorious—he was amazing to see. I said to the angel: "Who is that man, my Lord?" He said to me: "That is Moses, the lawgiver, to whom God gave the law." And when he had greeted me, he wept. I told him: "Why do you weep, although I heard that you are meeker than anyone on earth?" 2. And Moses said to me: "I weep because none of my shoots that I planted was made to profit nor did they yield fruit. My sheep that I herded till today got scattered like sheep that have no shepherd. All my troubles that I endured with the sons of Israel came to nothing. Indeed, all the miracles that the Lord did with them they did not heed. I was amazed that the uncircumcised foreigners attained the faith, yet they did not. 3. I assure (*verso*) you, O Athanasius, that when the people had seized the Son of God and raised him on the cross, at that moment, all the saints that dwell in his (sc. God's) presence beckoned to me, saying: 'Moses, do you see what your people has done to the Son of God?' O, blessed are you, O Athanasius, and blessed is the people that will listen to you."

49, 1. While he was speaking, there arrived three more and when they saw me, they said to me: "Are you Athanasius, who died many times for the faith of the Son of God?" I said to them: "Who are you?" The first said: "I am Isaiah, who was sawn asunder by Manasseh with a wooden saw." The second said: "I am Jeremiah, who was murdered by the children of Israel." The third said: "I am Ezekiel, whom the children of Israel seized at his feet and carried off over the gravel and the high mountains until my head was severed."

Notes on the Text

In order to facilitate comparison, the edition of this fragment follows the principles outlined above for the *Apocalypse of Paul*, including its chapter numbers. For further observations on the present text, see our chapter 1, section 5 and the commentary to the corresponding chapters of the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

48, 2. Ν[ΑΤΩΘΕΝΤΑΙΤΟ]ΘΟ[Υ ΜΠΟΥΤ ΖΗΥ] ΝΟ[Υ]Δ ΝΖΗΤ[ΟΥ] ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΤ ΚΑΡ-
ΠΟΣ, “none of my shoots that I planted was made to profit nor did they yield fruit”: Tentatively reconstructed, following Lucchesi’s suggestion, “(Pseudo-) Apocalypse,” 246, n. 2, after the Latin (Paris): *fructum non adtulerunt nec aliquis proficit de eis* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 165, 2.26–27), changing the order of the clauses.

48, 3. [ΕΑ Π]ΛΑ[ΟΣ ΤΑΞΟ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΥΤ]Δ[ΛΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΠ]ΕΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ,
“when the people had seized the Son of God and raised him on the cross”: Tentatively reconstructed after Ps.-Athanasius, *Homily CXII*: “At the moment when the children of Israel took the Son of God and raised him on the cross” (unpublished; see above chapter 4, section 2), and partly confirmed by the Latin (Paris): *quando populus suspendit Iesum* (Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 166, 1.5).

The Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*

by Jos van Lent

This appendix contains the text and the first English translation of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (Graf, *Geschichte* 1, 276–277, no 1), which, as discussed in chapter 1, section 5.2, is ultimately based upon a re-edition of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It was first published in 1922 in Cairo, in a small collection of Christian Arabic texts published under the title *Nūr al-anwār fī manāẓir al-abrār* (The Light of Lights in the Views of the Righteous).¹ The editor of this volume, the monk Dumadius (Dometius) al-Baramūsī, did not provide any information on the manuscript that he used other than that in addition to the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* it also contained a second apocalyptic text included in *Nūr al-anwār*, to wit, the *Apocalypse of Gregory*.² As we are not aware of any other manuscript witnesses, Dumadius' edition therefore remains our only source for the Arabic version of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*.³

There are two editions of *Nūr al-anwār*. Between the two, we have chosen to reproduce the first edition here, on the reasonable assumption that it is closest to its unknown manuscript source. The second edition, published in 1926 in Cairo, is a slightly revised one.⁴ The revision resulted mainly in a high number

1 Dumadius, *Nūr al-anwār*, first ed., 7–60. The plural *manāẓir* (مناظر) in the second part of the title is often read by mistake as the singular *manẓar*, for instance in Graf, *Geschichte* 1, 275, 277; Lucchesi, "(Pseudo-)Apocalypse," 242, n. 8.

2 Dumadius, *Nūr al-anwār*, first ed., 61. On the *Apocalypse of Gregory*, edited on pp. 63–92, see Graf, *Geschichte* 1, 273–276.

3 Dumadius was ordained a monk at the Monastery of al-Baramūs in Wadi al-Natrun (in 1916), and so we asked this monastery if its manuscript collection (of which no published catalog exists) contains a manuscript with the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, in the hope of finding Dumadius' missing source. Unfortunately, despite the efforts of many, this quest did not yield any positive results. We thank Ibrahim Saweros of Sohag University for his mediation as well as for his kind help in obtaining access to the various printed versions of the apocalypse.

4 The 1922 edition was printed at the expense of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, with Dumadius as copyright holder, for which see Dumadius, *Nūr al-anwār*, first ed., 1. Dumadius then relinquished his rights to Murqus Girgis (Ġirġis), owner of a bookstore on Klūt Bey Street in Cairo, while the printing of the 1926 edition was entrusted to the Ramses Printing Press (Maṭbaʿat Raʾmsīs) in nearby Faggala (Faġġālah), Cairo; see Dumadius, *Nūr al-anwār*, second ed., 1. A small excerpt of this second edition (pp. 53–55) is reproduced and translated in Lucchesi, "(Pseudo-)Apocalypse," 247–248.

of spelling adjustments. While their overall purpose may have been to comply more closely with the conventional orthography of Classical Arabic, the choices made have not been systematically implemented, and not all orthographic adjustments are an undeniable improvement.⁵ Moreover, the 1926 version of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* is marred by several unfortunate corrections or typographical errors that have led to confusing changes in meaning.⁶

Much more recently, Dumadius' edition was re-used in a publication entitled *Ru'yā li-l-qiddisain Aṭanāsīyūs wa-Agrīgūrīyūs 'an mawāḍi' al-abrār wa-l-aṣrār* (A Vision of Saints Athanasius and Gregory about the Righteous and the Wicked).⁷ Again, despite the anonymous editor's claim to not have modified anything,⁸ adjustments were made in the spelling of words, pushing for further compliance with Classical Arabic orthography.⁹ As the title suggests,

- 5 As for the *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, most orthographic adjustments fall into the following categories: (a) replacement of plain *alif* with *alif hamza* in the beginning of words, for which see, e.g., p. 5, l. 3: أن for ان; p. 9, l. 4: أيضا for ايضا; p. 25, l. 3: ابوابها for ابوابها; (b) adding of diacritical points to final *yā'*, for which see, e.g., p. 7, l. 5: في for في; p. 8, l. 6: الذي for الذي; but also, e.g., p. 9, l. 10: الى for الى; (c) removal of diacritical points from final *yā'* in case of *alif maqṣūra*, for which see, e.g., p. 9, l. 12: حتى for حتى; p. 11, l. 10: على for على; but also, e.g., p. 16, l. 12: فاني for فاني; p. 30, l. 10: أقامني for أقامني; p. 34, l. 1: في for في; (d) adding of diacritic *fathātān* above the plain *alif* in case of final *-an* (*tanwīn bi-l-fath*), for which see, e.g., p. 8, l. 12: نارا for نارا; p. 17, l. 3: ايضا for ايضا; yet also their removal in, e.g., p. 23, l. 1: ايضا for ايضا; p. 26, l. 2: اطفالا for اطفالا; p. 27, l. 2: عظيمًا for عظيمًا; (e) adding of diacritical points above final *hā'* in case of *tā' marbūṭa*, for which see, e.g., p. 8, l. 9: عظيمه for عظيمه; p. 11, l. 2: النجسة for النجسة; p. 11, l. 7: نقيته for نقيته; yet also their removal in, e.g., p. 20, l. 9: ملائكة for ملائكة; p. 28, l. 7: نقيته for نقيته.
- 6 Notably, p. 12, l. 7 (in 14, 6) and p. 16, l. 14 (in 16, 2–3): تنظر “you see” for ننظر “we see”; p. 15, l. 4 (in 15, 2–3): الملائكة الصالحين “good angels” for الملائكة الطالحين “bad angels”; p. 17, l. 1 (in 16, 5): نطقت for نطقت “pronounced”; p. 22, l. 6 (in 20, 2): في “in” for فيه “in it”; p. 47, l. 2 (in 43, 4): حيتم for حينما “when.”

- 7 We had access to a 1988 version, digitalized, unpagged, and according to a note on [p. 3] produced for some Christian bookstores in Šubrā, Cairo. The *Apocalypse of Athanasius* is on [pp. 6–37]. On [p. 2], our copy of *Ru'yā li-l-qiddisain Aṭanāsīyūs wa-Agrīgūrīyūs* declares itself الطلعة الثانية, “the second edition.” At the same time, we were unable to find any information whatsoever on an earlier edition, which, as Ibrahim Saweros suspects (personal communication), may have never existed; “second edition,” then, may simply indicate the republication of texts on the basis of their *editio princeps*, and indeed the text of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* is clearly based on the first edition of *Nur al-anwār*, as the corrections or typographical errors typical of the second, 1926 edition and mentioned in the previous note, do not occur.

- 8 *Ru'yā li-l-qiddisain Aṭanāsīyūs wa-Agrīgūrīyūs*, [5].

- 9 It has kept, however, its own orthographical particularities, notably the abundant use of ي, *yā'*, without diacritical points in cases where in modern neat print they are usually added, such as in the preposition في, *fī*, and the pronominal suffix 1st person sg. ي/ني, *-ī/nī*.

this collection also contains the above-mentioned *Apocalypse of Gregory*,¹⁰ but curiously enough not in the short version of *Nūr al-anwār*, but in that of a similar religious publication from the 1920s, entitled *Rasā'il dīnīya qadīma* (Ancient Religious Letters, Cairo 1925).¹¹

Due to the dearth of textual witnesses, both Arabic and Coptic, it is difficult to estimate to what extent the printed text from Dumadius' *Nūr al-anwār* is representative of the original Arabic translation of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* and of the Coptic text that undoubtedly underlies it.¹² In any case, there is one striking feature that sets it apart from earlier, more original versions: in the section describing the various types of sinners that Athanasius encounters on his journey through the netherworld, the three aforementioned printed editions of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* share a sequence of events different from that in the latter's predecessor, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in that two contiguous sections of text, to wit 35b-37, 1a and 31, 4b-35a, have been inverted,¹³ thus creating abrupt breaks in the continuity of the narrative. On the one hand, as one can easily see, there is an interruption, *in medias res*, in the description of a gradual succession of sinners immersed in a river of fire either up to their knees, waist, lips or hair.¹⁴ On the other hand, the same displacement disrupts the series of clerics whom Athanasius meets—a priest, a bishop, a deacon, and a reader—and whose punishments are described.¹⁵

This inversion of sections 35b-37, 1a and 31, 4b-35a was presumably caused by the misplacement of a manuscript folio at some stage in the transmission—as a folio in Arabic script (recto and verso) roughly corresponds to the length of both sections. Probably, a leaf containing either of them had become detached from its manuscript and was then re-inserted in the wrong place, one folio away from its correct location (either backward or forward, depending on which section the leaf contained). Interestingly, a later redactor must have noticed the sudden interruptions in the contents that resulted from this error, as there is evidence of some clumsy repair work, in the form of newly-added transitional passages accompanied by minor phrasal adjustments.¹⁶ It is the presence of

10 *Ru'yā li-l-qiddisain Aṭanāsīyūs wa-Aḡrīgōrīyūs*, [38–74].

11 *Rasā'il dīnīya qadīma*, 3–39.

12 For indications of a Coptic *Vorlage*, see the discussion above, in chapter 1, section 5, in part. n. 90.

13 The a's and b's in this numbering, which also appear in the text and translation later in this appendix, mark a further subdivision of these paragraphs, introduced here only as a means of representing and explaining the disturbed order of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius*, discussed in this and the following paragraph.

14 Cf. *Apocalypse of Paul*, 31, 4.

15 Cf. *Apocalypse of Paul*, 34–36.

16 The first such passage, conspicuous by its absence in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, is found

this later editing work that, however minor, has prevented me from restoring the original narrative sequence, which would otherwise have been desirable.

The language of the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* as found in Dumadius' edition is a variety of Arabic that is very close to Classical Arabic, much closer in any case than the language of many other Christian Arabic texts preserved in manuscripts of Egyptian origin. As for its orthography and phonology, the edition's text is rather careful. Diacritic points are never left out and are always in the right place; the *tā'* (ث), and *dāl* (ذ), are simply rendered as they should and not replaced by *tā'* (ت), and *dāl* (د), as is customary in Arabic manuscripts, and the *hamza* (ء) is also commonly written. Occasionally, vocalization is added in the case of passive verb forms. The text is also close to Classical Arabic in terms of morphology and syntax. Colloquial elements of Middle Arabic that often appear in Egyptian manuscripts, such as the use of the ending *-ū* (وا) instead of the classical indicative ending *-ūn* (ون)¹⁷ and the relative pronoun (*a*)*llaḏī* (الذي) qualifying nouns that are not masculine singular,¹⁸ are missing or rare, while the text generally observes the norms of Standard Arabic in the verb system, the agreement and disagreement in number between the subject and a preceding verb, the case endings, the endings of plural and dual, and so on. At the same time, the text's frequent use of *wa* (و) or *wa-qad* (وقد) to introduce the apodosis of a temporal clause with *bainamā* (بينما), "while," as in 47, 3, 48, 1, and 50, seems to me a Middle Arabic element.¹⁹ Perhaps this usage was encouraged by an identical use of the equivalent ⲁϣⲱ / ⲟϣⲟⲩ in the Coptic *Vorlage*.²⁰

It may be that the general closeness of the text to Classical Arabic was a feature of the original Arabic translation, but it may just as well have resulted from

between 31, 4a and 35b, and probably runs to this extent: "'(31, 4a) ... undeservedly. By no means did they refrain from fornicating, nor did they do one commandment before God. That is why they are undergoing torture until the end of times.' (35b) After that I looked and there was a man being brought by angels in a hurry ..." As one can see, it was taken almost literally from 36, 1–2! Another likely addition intended to join two separate passages together is "he was a great fornicator" (lit., "he was plenteous of fornication") at the end of 35a.

17 Cf. Kussaim, "Contribution (II)," 37–38.

18 Cf. Kussaim, "Contribution (II)," 36–37.

19 Cf. Kussaim, "Contribution (II)," 67–69; Blau, *Grammar* II, 450–454, §§ 346–454. Probably, it is used to mark suddenness, for which cf. Blau, *Grammar* II, 453–454, § 346.6. Perhaps another Middle Arabic element is the *an*-clause ... وان يمضي ("and be taken away") parallel to the preceding *li*-clause ... فلتدفع الآن هذه النفس النجسه يرحم ("let now this unclean soul be handed over ...") in 16, 7, for which cf. Blau, *Grammar* III, 520, § 406, remark A.

20 On apodotic ⲁϣⲱ / ⲟϣⲟⲩ, see Crum, *Dictionary*, 20a (under III). However, its use is not exclusively Bohairic, as Crum writes; cf. Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, 386, § 592; Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, 188–189, § 373.

a tendency sometimes observed among later scribes or redactors to classicize texts written or translated into Middle Arabic.²¹ A last possibility, yet certainly not the least plausible, is that it was Dumadius al-Baramūsi himself, the editor of the printed text, who brought the language closer to the norms of Classical Arabic.²²

Only occasionally does the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* show traces of its Coptic *Vorlage*, and in general the text offers few translation problems. Some passages are clearly corrupt, which makes them difficult to understand, as in 30, 1, where the meaning of “alleluia” is dubiously explained (but, surprisingly, with a parallel in a Slavonic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*).²³ In some cases, other texts within the *Apocalypse of Paul* family may offer a plausible explanation, for instance for the name of the angel of punishment in 34.²⁴

The edition in this appendix closely follows the Arabic of the first edition of Dumadius' *Nūr al-anwār*, including its punctuation. As to the English translation, its goal has been to remain as close as possible to the Arabic, and the number of suggestions for improved readings has therefore been kept to a minimum. They have only been made in a few cases, when an acceptable translation was deemed impossible otherwise. These suggestions, based on other texts from the *Apocalypse of Paul* family, are indicated in the apparatus. The English translation follows the suggested readings, which appear between pointed brackets (< >). Given the limited purpose of this edition, which is to serve as an appendix to a study of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the choice has been made to leave out explanatory notes and comments, barring a few exceptions.²⁵ A division into chapters and paragraphs, not present in *Nūr al-anwār*, has been added; it follows the division used for the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*, elsewhere in this volume.

21 See, e.g., Grand'Henry, “Moyen arabe,” 182–183 (while emphasizing that also the opposite happened); Grand'Henry, “Deux types,” esp. 97, 110–111; cf. also Dikken, “Some Remarks.”

22 On this tendency among Arab editors of manuscripts, see La Spisa, “Perspectives ecdo-tiques,” 194.

23 See n. 2 to the translation below, and the commentary above, at 30, 1.

24 See n. 8 to the translation below.

25 For brief discussions of the Arabic *Apocalypse of Athanasius* in its relation to the *Apocalypse of Paul*, see chapters 1, section 5.2 and 4, section 2.2 above.

رؤيا القديس اثناثيوس الرسول البطريك العشرين من عدد بطارقة الكرسي الاسكندري

اني سألت ربنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح ان يريني جميع الصالحين والخطاه فاحببت ان اعرفكم يا جميع الشعوب ما رأيته في السماء ولم ادر بعد سؤالى الا وانا صاعد في الفضاء مع ملاك.

- (10, 1) ولم اشعريا اخوة الا وملائكة من الارض يسجدون بين يدي الرب وهم حيارى باكون
 5 يصيحون ويقولون الويل لنا من الذين نحن نخدمهم (10, 2) فحينئذ جاء صوت الرب يقول لهم من اين قدمتم يا خدامى فصاحوا عند ذلك بصوت واحد وقالوا ارحمنا يا سيدنا فانك جعلتنا لخدمة قوم
 قد ذهبت عقولهم الى حب العالم وقد ابغضوا وصاياك | واحتقروا مواعيدك فأني منفعه لنا الآن
 p. 8 في خدمة الخطاه فجاء عند ذلك صوت الرب وهو يقول دعوهم فاني منتظر توبتهم ورجوعهم فان
 لم يتوبوا فهم الى يصيرون وانا ادينهم (10, 3) فاعلموا الآن يا بنى البشر ان الملائكة تحمل اعمالكم الى
 10 الرب في كل وقت:

- (11, 1-2) واخبركم يا اخوه ان الملاك الذى كان معي ارانى الارواح التي كانت مدمنة في
 الخطايا ولم تنب وارانى ايضا ارواح الظلمه وارواح الفسق وارواح الذين كانوا يحبون الزنا وقد
 ابغضوا وصايا الله وهم في هاوية عظيمه (11, 3) فنظرت الى داخل السماء واذا بملائكة ليس لها
 رحمة ووجوهها ممتلئة رعباً واسنانها خارجة من افواهها واعينها مضيئة مثل الكواكب واجنحتها
 مبسوطة عليها وممتلئة نارا فلما نظرت هؤلاء سألت | الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء المفزع مناظرهم
 15 فأجاب الملاك وقال لي هؤلاء هم الذين يرسلون لانفس الخطاة الذين لا يتوكلون على الله والى
 الذين يحتقرون قوله وقد ابغضوا وصاياهم

- (12, 1) ثم اني ابصرت ايضا فوق اولئك ملائكة أخر مجتمعوا ووجوهها مشرقة مثل الشمس لا
 يملون من تحيد الله ويبداهم اكايل وهم ممتلئون من الروح القدس فسأبت الملاك وقلت له من
 هؤلاء الذين هذه مناظرهم فقال لي هؤلاء الذين يرسلون لانفس الصديقين واعلم انهم لا يذهبون
 20 الا اذا امر الله لهم بأخذ النفس. (12, 2) فقلت له ايها الملاك هل الخطاة والصديقون موتهم واحد

The vision of Saint Athanasius the Apostolic, the twentieth patriarch among the number of patriarchs of the Alexandrian see

I asked our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to show me all the righteous and sinners, as I wanted to inform you, O all you people, of what I would see in heaven. After my question, before I was even aware, it happened that I went up in space with an angel.

(10, 1) All of a sudden, O brethren, there were angels from the earth prostrating themselves before the Lord. Confused and weeping, they cried out and said: "Woe to us because of those we serve." (10, 2) At that time, the Lord's voice came, saying to them: "Where did you come from, O my servants?" At that moment, they cried out with one voice, saying: "Have pity upon us, O our Master, for you have made us serve people whose minds wandered to love for the world, (who) hated your commandments, | and looked down on your promises. So what use is it to us now to serve sinners?" At that moment, the Lord's voice came, saying: "Call them, for I am awaiting their repentance and their return (to me). If they do not repent, it is to me they shall come, and I shall judge them." (10, 3) Know now, O son of mankind, that the angels convey your deeds to the Lord the whole time.

p. 8

(11, 1–2) And I inform you, O brethren, that the angel who was with me showed me the spirits that were addicted to sins and did not return (to God). He also showed me the spirits of darkness, the spirits of immorality, and the spirits of those who loved fornication and hated God's commandments; they were in a great abyss. (11, 3) I looked into heaven, and there were angels without mercy, their faces filled with dismay, their teeth coming out from their mouths, their eyes shining like the stars, and their wings spread out over them and filled with fire. When I saw these (angels), I asked | the angel, saying to him: "Who are these (angels) so terrifying in their appearances?" The angel answered, saying to me: "These are the ones that are sent to the souls of the sinners who do not trust in God, and to those who despise his teaching and hated his commandments."

p. 9

(12, 1) Then I also saw, above those, other angels gathered together, their faces shining like the sun, not tiring of glorifying God and holding crowns while they were filled with the Holy Spirit. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these whose appearances are (like) this?" He told me: "These are the ones who are sent to the souls of the righteous. Know that they do not depart unless God commands them to take the soul." (12, 2) I said to him: "O angel,

فقال لي الطريق الي الموعد واحد ولكن انفس الصديقين معها الملائكة الصالحون وهم الذين يحفظونها من الاعداء حتي يوقفوها بين يدي الله الذي وكلهم بها

p. 10 (13, 1) واني طلبت من الملاك وقلت له دعني ايضاً انظر الي انفس الصديقين و الي انفس الخطاه وكيف تخرج من العالم: فقال لي الملاك عند ذلك انظر الي اسفل الارض فنظرت فاذا كل العالم 5 تحتي كمثل لا شيء فعجبت من ذلك وقلت للملاك هذا كله ارتفاع الجو فوق الناس فقال لي نعم هؤلاء الناس تنظرهم في العالم هكذا بعد حين من الزمن: (13, 2) فنظرت واذا بسحابة عظيمة مملوءة ناراً وهي مطروحة على العالم فسألت الملاك وقلت له ما هذه السحابة فقال هذه التي تهبط بين يدي الرب في يوم قيامته عندما ياتي ليدين الاحياء والاموات

(14, 2) فنظرت واذا برجل ينازع وقد اوشك بان يسلم نفسه الي سيده فسألت وقلت من هذا 10 فقال لي الملاك انظر الي هذا الرجل واعلم انه كان صالحاً وان ملاكه الذي كان موكلًا به منذ صباه قد اظهر كل اعماله والسيره التي كان يسير بها في العالم وان ذلك الملاك الذي كان موكلًا به اخذ روحه بقوة الله | (14, 3) فلما خرجت نفس ذلك الصديق احاطت بها الارواح النجسه 15 فكانت النفس مختارة فلما نظر اليها الملائكة الصالحون انتهروهم وقالوا لهم ابعدوا عنها يا نجسون فانه ليس لكم على هذه النفس سلطان لانها قد عملت بوصايا ربها وخالقها وسيدها وان ملاكها عند ذلك حركها ثلاث مرات وقال لها ايها النفس اعرفي هذه الجسد الذي خرجت منه فانك ستعودين اليه في يوم القيامة لكيما تأخذي مكافأتك مع جميع القديسين وانطلقوا بفرح عظيم (14, 4) وان ملاكها الذي كان موكلًا بها قال لها عند ذلك تقوى ايها النفس الصالحة فان نفسك نعم الرفيق لانك عملت ارادة مولاك وانت علي الارض ساكنة فالآن امضي معي حتي اوقفك 20 بين يدي مولاك وهو الذي يخرج عليك القضية من فيه لميراث ملكوت السموات | (14, 5) ثم نظرت الي موضع لم انظره قط وان تلك النفس قالت للملاك اعلم ايها الملاك انني شديدة الفرح من الوقوف بين يدي سيدي اجاب الملاك وقال لها أعمالك التي عملت هي التي ترفع عنك الحزن

(as for) the sinners and the righteous, is their death the same?" He told me: "The road to the appointed destination is the same, but (as for) the souls of the righteous, with them are the good angels, and they are the ones who protect them against the enemies until they hold them up before God who put them in charge of them."

(13, 1) I entreated the angel, saying to him: "Let me also look at the souls of the righteous | and the soul(s) of the sinners and how they depart from the world." At that moment, the angel said to me: "Look down to the earth!" I looked, and the whole world below me was as nothing. I was amazed at that (sight), and I said to the angel: "Is the sky above the people that high?" He told me: "It is, and the people on earth become smaller the further up we go." (13, 2) I looked, and there was a great cloud full of fire cast over the world. And I asked the angel, saying to him: "What is this cloud?" He said: "This is what shall come down in the presence of the Lord on the day that he grants resurrection, when he comes to judge the living and the dead."

p. 10

(14, 2) Then I looked, and there was a man, struggling and about to surrender his soul to his Master. I asked, saying: "Who is this?" The angel told me: "Look at this man, and know that he was righteous and that his angel, who was in charge of him since his youth, revealed all his deeds and the course of life that he had followed in the world, and that that angel who was in charge of him took his spirit with the power of God." | (14, 3) When the soul of that righteous one came forth, unclean spirits surrounded it, for the soul was a chosen one. And when the good angels noticed it, they rebuked them, saying to them: "Get away from it, O you unclean, because you do not have authority over this soul, for it has acted in accordance with the commandments of its Lord, its Creator and its Master." At that moment, its angel shook it three times and said to it: "O soul, know this body from which you came forth, because you will return to it on the day of resurrection in order to receive your reward together with all the saints, while they advance with great joy." (14, 4) Its angel who was in charge of it said to it at that moment: "Be strengthened, O good soul, because during your life you were an excellent companion indeed, for you have done your Master's will while you were still living on earth. Go now with me, so that I may hold you up before your Master, as he is the one by whose mouth the judgment will be pronounced over you that will entitle you to the inheritance of the kingdom of the heavens." | (14, 5) Then I looked at a place that I had never seen. That soul said to the angel: "Know, O angel, that I am too terrified to stand before my Master." The angel answered, saying to it: "It is your deeds that you have done that take sadness

p. 11

p. 12

والشدائد وان ذلك الملاك صعد بها الى السموات لملاقاة الرب. (6, 14) وان الشيطان قال لتلك النفس ماذا تريدن ايها النفس التجسرين ان تدخلن الى السماء قفى قليلاً حتى ننظر لئلا يكون لنا فيك نصيب فناخذك الى البحيرة المتقدمة وان ملاك تلك النفس صاح عند ذلك بأعلا صوته وقال ابتعدن عنها ايها الارواح النجسة فان هذه النفس قد خالفت قولكم واطاعت قول سيدها فلما سمعت الشياطين قول الملاك بكوا بكاءً شديداً ثم قالوا للنفس قد قبلت بعملك الحسن وهوذا ملاكك قد جاز مستبشراً بعملك. | (7, 14) فعند ذلك جاء صوت من فوق السماء يقول اصعدوا النفس التي عملت رضاي فستعرف اني اله الحق فلما اصعدوا الملاك الى السماء سمعت عند ذلك اصوات ربوات ملائكة ورؤساء ملائكة متعجبين وهم يقولون لتلك النفس استجدي لالهك حتى تأخذي مكافأتك بقدر عملك واني سمعت عند ذلك ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة وهو يقول للرب يا رب هذه هي التي خلقت على صورتك ومثالك ثم ان ملاكها قال يا ربي والهي لقد كانت هذه النفس المسكينه حريصة على طلب رضاك ووصاياك وهي على الارض ساكنة فكافأها الآن على قدر عملها (8, 14) فجاء عند ذلك صوت الرب المتعالى وهو يقول كما انها لم تحزننى فانا الآن لا احزنها وكما رحمت كذلك تُرحم. فالآن تدفع هذه النفس الى ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة وضابط الفردوس لتكون هناك الى آخر الدهور والى يوم | قيامتى فاعطيها مكافأتها مع جميع القديسين وان تلك النفس سمعت عند ذلك الملائكة والساووفيم يسجدون لله ويقولون عادل انت يا رب وقضوك مستقيم وليس عندك اخذ بالوجه ولكن تعطى كل واحد بقدر عمله. فاجاب الرب وقال هو كذلك ايها الملائكة.

(1, 15) ثم قال لى الملاك ايضاً انظر الى الارض حتى ترى هذه النفس الخاطئة كيف تخرج من جسدها بشدة شديدة لانها اغضبت الله في ليلها ونهارها وكانت تقول لنفسها ليس منفعة الا في المأكل والمشرب وبهذا افتخرت في العالم لانها تنزل الى الجحيم وقال لى هناك الدينونه الشديدة (3-2, 15) وان النفس التي كان عملها الفسق والفجور فى | كل وقت قد حضرت ساعتها الشديدة وان الملائكة الصالحين والطالحين قد احتاطوا بالمريض ثم انه فتح عينيه ونظر اليهم حوله وان الملائكة

and afflictions away from you." That angel led it up to the heavens for meeting the Lord. (14, 6) The devil said to that soul: "What do you want, O soul? Do you have the courage to enter heaven? Wait a little until we see if we don't own a share in you, and then take you to the burning lake." The angel of that soul cried out at the top of his voice, saying: "Stay away from it, O you unclean spirits, because this soul has opposed your teaching and obeyed its Master's teaching." When the demons heard the angel's speech, they wept strongly. Then they said to the soul, "You have been accepted because of your good work, and your angel has happily approved of your work." | (14, 7) At that moment, a voice came from above heaven, saying: "Lead up the soul that has done my pleasure, so it shall come to acknowledge that I am the true God." When the angel was leading it up to heaven, at that moment, I heard the voices of myriads of admiring angels and archangels saying to that soul: "Praise your God, that you receive your rewards according to your work." At that moment, I heard Michael the archangel saying to the Lord: "O Lord, this is the one that was created in your image and your likeness." Then its angel said: "O my Lord and my God, this poor soul has been desirous to seek your approval and your instructions when living on the earth, so reward it according to its work." (14, 8) At that moment, the voice of the Lord the Most High came, saying: "Just as it did not grieve me, I shall not grieve it now, and just as it had mercy, so it shall receive mercy. So let now this soul be handed over to Michael, the archangel and governor of Paradise, that it may be there until the end of times and until the day | when I shall grant the resurrection. Then I shall give it its reward together with all the saints." At that moment, that soul heard the angels and seraphs worship God, saying: "Just you are, O Lord, and your judgment is righteous, and there is no partiality with you, but you give each one according to his work." And the Lord answered, saying: "It is like that, O angels!"

(15, 1) Then the angel also said to me: "Look towards the earth, so that you may see this sinful soul, how it comes forth from its body with strong violence because it angered God night and day, while it used to say to itself, 'There is no gain except in food and drink.' Of this, it boasted in the world, because it will go down to hell." And he said to me: "Over there will be severe judgment." ¹ (15, 2–3) (As for) the soul whose work was sinfulness and immorality | at all times, its difficult hour had arrived, and the good and

1 Text apparently corrupt; cf. the Latin (Paris), Silverstein and Hilhorst, *Apocalypse*, 96, 1. 1–7.

الصالحين لم يجدوا لهم فيه مسكناً وإن الملائكة الطالحين اخرجوا النفس من جسدها ثم انهم التفوا حولها وكان كل واحد منهم يعمد اليها ويقول الويل لك يا شقية لانك قبلت منا نفذى الآن اعمالك والآن قد جاءك الموت ولست تنتفعين بشئ فاعرفى الآن ايها النفس هذا الجسد الذي خرجت منه فانك ستعودين اليه في يوم قيامتك حتى تأخذى مكافأتك بقدر عملك

- 5 (16, 1) وان ملاكها الذي كان موكلاً بها دنا منها وهو حزين وقال لها انا ملاكك ايها النفس الشقية انا الذي كنت موكلاً بك منذ صباك وقد كنت حريصاً على ان اردك الى طاعة الهك فلم تطيعني وقد كنت معك في شدة عظيمة الليل والنهار من سوء فعلك ولو كان لي سلطان لم اخدمك ساعة واحدة والآن ماذا افعل اعلي ان الله عادل مستقيم وانت قد ضيعت وقت التوبه وقد انقطعت حيلتي فيك وقد صرت | مثل غريب فالحقيني الآن الي ديان الحق حتي تخرج عليك
- 10 القضية (3-2, 16) فلما صعد بها الملاك ودنا بها الى السماء احاطت بها الارواح النجسة ثم قالوا لها ماذا تريدن ايها النفس وانت شقية مسكينه قفى حتى ننظر هل لك عمل او ليس معك احداً يعينك (4, 16) فعند ذلك جاء صوت الرب من السماء وهو يقول اصعدوا الي هذه الشقيه حتي تعرف الهها الذي احتقرت قوله فلما دخلت تلك النفس الى السماء سمعت اصوات ملائكة وهم يصيحون بصوت واحد ويقولون الويل لك ايها النفس الشريرة أأعجبك الشر في زمانك كله ماذا يخجيك امام الله وانت صاعدة تسجدن بين يديه. فلما سمعت النفس ذلك الصوت بكى ملاكها ثم قال ابكوا معي يا ملائكة العلي فاني ملاك هذه النفس واعلموا اني لم استرح ساعة واحدة من كثرة شرها فصاحت عند ذلك الملائكة وقالوا لتقطع هذه النفس من وسطها فانها منذ دخلت بيننا قد | خرج منها رياح (5, 16) ومن بعد هذا الذي نطقت به الملائكة قال لها ملاكها اسجدي يا نجسه بين يدي الهك الذي خلقك علي صورته ومثاله ولم تقبلي ذلك ثم ان الملاك قال ايضاً يا ربي انا ملاك هذه النفس الذي كنت موكلاً بها منذ صباها وقد كنت اريد ان اصنع معها حسب ارادتك وان الروح القدس الذي كان فيها صاح ايضاً وقال انا الروح القدس الذي اسكنتني في هذه النفس وقد حضرت اليها ولم تحفظ لي وصية قط فالآن اعمل بها حسب ارادتك (6, 16)

bad angels had surrounded the deceased. Then he opened his eyes and he looked at them around him: the good angels did not find an abode for them in him, and the bad angels removed the soul from its body. Then they gathered around him, and every one of them was approaching it and said: "Woe to you, O wretch, because you have submitted to us. Take a look now at your actions. Now death has come to you and you are not benefiting from anything. Know now, O soul, this body from which you have come forth, for you shall return to it on the day of your resurrection in order to receive your rewards according to your work."

(16, 1) Its angel who was in charge of it approached it, and he was sad, and he said to it: "I am your angel, O wretched soul, I am the one who has been in charge of you since your youth, and I have been bent on bringing you back to obedience to your God. But you did not obey me, while I was with you night and day in great distress because of your misdeeds. If I had authority, I would not have served you for one hour. And now, what can I do? Know that God is just and righteous. You have wasted the time of repentance, my term with you has come to an end, and you have become | like a stranger. Follow me now to the true judge in order to be judged." (16, 2–3) When the angel led it up and brought it close to heaven, the unclean spirits surrounded it. Then they said to it: "O soul, what do you want? You are such a poor wretch. Wait, so that we may see if you have a course of action or if there is no one with you to help you." (16, 4) At that moment, the Lord's voice came from heaven, saying: "Bring this wretch up to me, so that it may know its God, whose teaching it has despised." When that soul entered heaven, I heard the voices of angels, crying out with one voice saying: "Woe to you, O wicked soul. Did evil appeal to you during your whole time? What will save you in the presence of God when you are moving up to prostrate yourself before him?" When the soul heard that voice, its angel wept. Then he said, "Weep with me, O angels of the Most High, for I am this soul's angel. Know that I did not rest for one hour from the abundance of its evil." At that moment, the angels cried out, saying: "Let this soul be removed from <our> midst. For since it came among us | smells have emanated from it." (16, 5) And after these words of the angels, its angel said to it: "Prostrate yourself, O unclean one, before your God who created you according to his image and his likeness, and you did not accept that." Then the angel also said: "O my Lord, I am the angel of this soul, of which I have been in charge since its youth, and I wanted to do with it according to your will." And suddenly the Holy Spirit that was in it also cried out, saying: "I am the Holy Spirit that settled itself in this soul. I showed up in it, but it never kept a commandment for my sake.

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p. 17

فحينئذ جاء صوت الرب وهو يقول ايها النفس النجسه اين ثمرتك الصالحه الم تقدرين ان تعملي الخير ولا يوماً واحداً لم تشرق عليك الشمس فلما سمعت النفس ذلك لم يكن لها جواب (7, 16) ثم ان جماعة من الملائكة صاحت وقالت قضاؤك يا رب عدل وليس عندك اخذ بالوجوه وكل من يرحم على الارض يُرحم في السماء ومن لا يرحم فلا يُرحم فلتندفع الآن هذه النفس النجسه الي موضع النوح والهلاك الذي هو رأس كل عذاب وان يمضى بها الي الظلمة القصوي وتكون هناك الي يوم القيامة لانها لم تطع الله الذي خلقها ومن بعد هذا قالت الملائكة ورؤساء الملائكة صديق انت يا رب وقضاؤك مستقيم:

(17, 1) واخبركم يا اخوة اني نظرت بفرح شديد واذا بنفس قد اتى بها ملاكان وهي تصيح وتقول ارحمني يا رب يا ديان الحق فان لي اليوم سبعة ايام اتيت ثم دفعت الي هذين الملاكين ولقد مضيا بي الي مواضع لم اعرفها قط فقال الرب عند ذلك بحسب عملك قلت رحمتك ودفعت الي هذين الملاكين الشريرين اللذين ليس لهما رحمة وكما انك لم تعملي بوصاياي فانا ايضا لا التفت اليك في هذا الوقت الشرير فاقري الآن بخطاياك التي عملت وانت في العالم فاجابت النفس وقالت اني لم اخطيء قط يا رب | (2, 17) فغضب الرب عند ذلك لانها قالت لم اخطيء وكذبت قدام الله فقال لها الرب اتظنين انك في العالم كمثل ما تفعل الخطاة الذين يخطئون ولا يقرون ثم يكتمون عن بعضهم بعضا ولكن بين يدي ليس كذلك فاذا خرجت النفس من العالم وصعدت الي لتسجد بين يدي الكرسي المفزع فان اعمالها وخطاياها تظهر امامي. فلما سمعت النفس هذا لم يكن لها جواب (3, 17) ثم انه جاء صوت يقول ليات ملاك هذه النفس فجاء عند ذلك ملاكها وهو يطير ويده سفر مكتوب فيه يا رب هذه كلها خطايا تلك النفس منذ صارت ابنة سنتين والي اليوم وقد كنت في خدمتها في شدة عظيمة (4, 17) فجاء صوت الرب يقول للملاك ايها الملاك لست اسألك عن خطاياها التي افعلتها منذ سنين مضت ولكن قل لي ما الذي قدمته في سنة واحدة 20 فانا اقسم بنفسي ورؤساء ملائكتي وبقوتي العظيمة انها لو تابت قبل موتها بسنة واحدة فلم اسألك عن اعمالها التي عملتها من الشرور وكنت اعطيها المغفرة قبل مفارقتها العالم

So now do with it according to your will." (16, 6) At that moment, the voice of the Lord came, saying: "O unclean soul, where is your good fruit? Were you not able to do good even for a single day? Did the sun not shine over you?" When the soul heard that, it did not have an answer. (16, 7) Then a group of angels cried out and said: "Your judgment |, O Lord, is fair, and there is no partiality with you. Everyone who has mercy on earth receives mercy in heaven. He who has no mercy receives no mercy. Let now this unclean soul be handed over to the place of wailing and eternal damnation, which is the greatest of all punishment, and be taken away to the outer darkness. There it shall be until the day of the resurrection, because it did not obey God who created it." After this, the angels and the archangels said: "Righteous you are, O Lord, and your judgment is just."

p. 18

(17, 1) I inform you, O brethren, that I looked with great awe, and there was a soul that two angels had brought forward, crying out and saying: "Have pity on me, O Lord, O true judge. Because today it is seven days since I arrived. And I was handed over to these two angels, and they have taken me to places that I never knew." At that moment, the Lord said: "According to your work, your mercy was little, and you were handed to these two evil angels who have no mercy. Just as you did not carry out my commandments, I also will take no care of you in this evil time. So now confess your sins that you committed when you were in the world." And the soul answered, saying: "I have never sinned, O Lord." | (17, 2) At that moment, the Lord became angry because it said "I did not sin" and lied before God. And the Lord said to it: "Do you think that you are (still) in the world, (behaving) similar to what sinners (there) do, who sin and do not confess and then hide from one another? In my presence, however, it is not like that. If the soul leaves the world and it ascends to me in order to prostrate itself in front of the dreadful throne, both its (good) deeds and its sins become manifest before me." When the soul heard this, it did not have an answer. (17, 3) Then a voice came, saying: "Let the angel of this soul come forward." At that moment, its angel came flying with in its hand a book that contained writing. (He said:) "O Lord, all these are the sins of that soul since it was two years old until today while I was at its service, in great distress." (17, 4) The voice of the Lord came, saying to the angel: "O angel, I do not ask you for its sins that | it did since years past, but tell me what it arrived at in one year. For I swear by myself, my archangels and my great host, that if it had repented one year before its death, I would not have asked it about the evil deeds that it did, and I would have granted it forgiveness before it left the world."

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(18, 1) فلما سمعت تلك النفس ذلك ارتعدت رعدة شديدة (2, 18) ثم اني سمعت اصوات الملائكة وصوت الديان يقول لتطرح هذه النفس في الجحيم السفلى وتصير مغموسة فيه الي يوم القيامة العظيمة فتأخذ بقدر ما عملت وبعد ذلك سمعت اصوات ربوات ملائكة ورؤساء ملائكة وهم يجدون ويسبحون ويقولون صديق انت يا رب وقضاؤك عدل

- 5 (19, 1) وان الملاك الذي كان معي قال لي ألسنت قد نظرت هذا | كله فقلت نعم فقال لي ايضا
 اتبعني حتى اريك الموضع الذى فيه الصديقين فلما سمعت ذلك لحقته فادخلني الى السماء الثالثة
 ثم اقامني على باب عظيم فنظرت واذا بين قائمتي الباب عمودان عظيمان من نور وفوق كل منهما
 لوح عظيم من النور الابيض فالتفت الى الملاك وسألته وقلت له ما هذا الباب فاجاب الملاك
 وقال طوبى لمن يدخل من هذا الباب فانه لا يدخله الا كل من يستحق الدخول ولا يدخله ايضا
 الا الذين قلوبهم نقية وليس فيها شيء من الغش والزغل (2, 19) واني سألت الملاك وقلت له يا
 سيدى ما هذان اللوحان فقال لي هذان اللوحان يكتب فيهما اسماء القديسين الذين يخدمون الرب
 بقلوب نقية.

- (20, 1) فلما دخلت داخل الباب وجدت رجلا وجهه مضيء بنور ابيه من الشمس فعاتبني
 فلما نظرت اليه اندهشت وبكيت وقلت الويل لي من هذا المنظر فلما نظر اليّ بكى | هو ايضا وقال
 لي لماذا قد كثر الظلم من الناس على الارض ولم يحفظوا وصايا الله وحرّموا انفسهم هذا الموضع
 الذي اعده الله لمحبيه. ثم انى سألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا الرجل فقال لي هذا اخنوخ (2, 20)
 ولكن ادخل ايضا الى داخل حتي تنظر ايليا النبي فدخلت قليلا فوجدته فقال طوبى لمن يحفظ
 وصايا الله حتي يأتي الى هذا الموضع لان الله قد أعد فيه افراحا كبيرا لمن يحفظ وصاياه.

- (21, 1) ثم ان الملاك قال لي ايضا تأمل الان الى كل هذه الاشياء التي اريتها لك حتي تخبر بها
 كل من لا يؤمن بالثالوث الاقدس الاب والابن والروح القدس لانه عند مجيء المسيح في يوم
 قيامته نفتح هذا الباب وتدخل جميع المؤمنين الذين آمنوا به وعرفوه وحفظوا وصاياه فينتعمون في
 هذا الموضع (2, 21) واخبركم يا اخوتي انه صعد بي الى موضع آخر في السماء واراني كل اتساعات

(وعانقني) 4. l. 148a, f. 5072, ms. Paris, BnF Ar. 5072, after the *Apocalypse of Paul*, read: فعانقني 13

(18, 1) When that soul heard that, it trembled strongly. (18, 2) Then I heard the voices of the angels and the voice of the Judge, saying: "Let this soul be thrown into the lower hell and become immersed in it until the day of the great resurrection, so that it receives as much as it has done." After that, I heard the voices of myriads of angels and archangels glorifying and singing hymns, saying: "Righteous you are, O Lord, and just is your judgment."

(19, 1) The angel that was with me said to me: "Have you not seen | all this?" p. 21
I said: "Yes." He also told me: "Follow me, so that I may show you the place where the righteous are." When I heard that, I followed him, and he took me to the third heaven. Then he placed me near a great gateway. And I looked, and there were two great pillars of light between the gate posts, and upon each of them was a splendid tablet of white light. I turned to the angel, and I asked him, saying to him: "What is this gate?" The angel answered, saying: "Blessed is he who enters through this gate, for no one enters it except for those who deserve entrance. Only those whose hearts are pure and free of deceit and deception enter it." (19, 2) I asked the angel, saying to him: "O my Master, what are these two tablets?" He told me: "On these two tablets are written the names of the saints who serve the Lord with pure hearts."

(20, 1) When I entered inside the gate, I found a man whose face shone with a light brighter than the sun. He <embraced> me, and when I looked at him, I was astonished and I wept, saying: "Woe to me because of this sight." When he looked at me, he too wept |, saying to me: "Why has injustice increased p. 22
among the people on the earth and did they not keep God's commandments, depriving themselves of this place that God has prepared for the ones who love him?" Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who is this man?" He told me: "This is Enoch. (20, 2) But also enter inside to see Elijah the prophet!" So I went in a little, and then I found him. He said: "Blessed is he who keeps God's commandments until he comes to this place, because God has prepared great celebrations in it for the one who keeps his commandments."

(21, 1) Then the angel also said to me: "Now meditate on all these things that I have shown you, so that you may tell them to everyone who does not believe in the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, because at Christ's coming, on the day that he grants resurrection, we shall open this gate, and all the believers who believed in him, knew him, and kept his commandments will enter, and then they shall lead a life of ease and comfort in this place." (21, 2) I inform you, O my brethren, that he led me up to another

السماء وهي مفروشة على نهر عظيم وذلك النهر محيط بكل الارض واني سألت الملاك وقلت له ما هذا النهر فقال لي انه يقال له القوانوس (3, 21) واني رأيت تلك الارض | انها بهجة جداً فقلت له ايضا وما هذه الارض فاجابني الملاك وقال لي هذه الارض هي ارض البشرى ألم تسمع الكتاب يقول طوبى للمتواضعين فانهم يرثون الارض فاعلم الآن يا ابن الانسان ان انفس الصديقين اذا فارقت العالم فانها الى هذا الموضع تصير 5

(4, 22) فلما سمعت ذلك قلت في نفسي يا ليت العالم يعاين هذه البشرى وهذه الخيرات التي اعدّها الله لحبيبه ويجتهدوا في فعل الخير مبكتين انفسهم قائلين يا ليتنا لم نغضب الله ساعة واحدة وبعد ذلك قلت للملاك هل هذا الموضع الذي اعدّه الله للصديقين تدخله ايضا للمساكين فاجابني الملاك وقال لي هذا الموضع الذي تراه هو للذين تعبدوا وحفظوا انفسهم من الخطية وعملوا بما قد اخذوه من المواهب وللعداري اللواتي يعجن ويعطشن من اجل البر ويصبرن على الشدائد من اجل اسمه القدوس فانه يعطيهم سكني هذا الموضع | (5, 22) وان الملاك اخرجني من هذا كله الى ان وقفت بموضع آخر ثم اراني نهر ماء عظيم وذلك النهر أشد بياضا من الثلج فلما ابصرته عجبت من بياض هذا النهر فقلت للملاك ما اسم هذا النهر فقال لي هذا النهر مبارك جداً واعلم ان كل من كان مؤمناً وخالف ناموس الله ثم قدم توبة قبل الخروج من العالم فاذا اخذت نفسه ووقفت بين يدي الله فتدفع الى ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة فيغسلها في هذا النهر ثم تدخل وهي حرة الى النعيم فانا عند ما نظرت الى هذا كله بكيت بكاء شديداً ثم سجدت لله على كل ما رأيت 10

(23) ونظرت واذا بالوف من الملائكة يسجدون لله ولا يملون: ثم نظرت واذا بمدينة عظيمة وسكان تلك المدينة | فارحون جداً بعضهم ببعض وهم في صورة حسنة فقلت للملاك يا سيدي اخبرني كم سعة هذه المدينة فقال لي انها سعة الارض ولها اثني عشر باباً وعلى كل باب من ابوابها نهر ماء يجري فلما نظرت ذلك سألت الملاك وقلت له اخبرني ما هذه الانهار المحيطة بهذه المدينة 20

فقال لي الملاك اعلم ان القديسين تنزل في هذه الانهار ويفرحون بها.

place in heaven, and he showed me all the expanses of heaven spread out over a great river and that river surrounded the entire world. I asked the angel, saying to him: "What is this river?" He told me: "It is called Ocean." (21, 3) I found that land | to be very beautiful. I also said to him: "What is this land?" The angel answered me, saying to me: "This land is the land of good news. Have you not heard the book say, 'Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth' (Matt. 5:5)? So know now, O son of man, that the souls of the righteous, whenever they leave the world, arrive here."

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(22, 4) When I heard that, I said to myself, "If only the world saw this good news and these good things that God has prepared for the ones who love him. They work hard to do good, blaming themselves, saying, 'If only we had not angered God (even) for one hour.'" After that, I said to the angel: "(As for) this place that God has prepared for the righteous, shall it also be given to the humble?" The angel answered me, saying to me: "This place that you see is for those who engaged in worship, kept their souls from sin, and acted on the strength of the gifts they had received, as well as for the virgins who starve and thirst for the sake of righteousness, and endure hardships for the sake of his holy name. And he shall allow them to dwell in this place." | (22, 5) The angel took me out of all this until I came to a stop in another place. Then he showed me a great river of water, and that river was whiter than snow. When I saw it, I was amazed at the whiteness of this river, so I said to the angel: "What is the name of this river?" And he told me: "This river is very blessed. Know that everyone who is a believer and breaks God's law, then offers repentance before leaving the world, if its soul is taken and it stands before God, it will be handed over to Michael the archangel. Then he will submerge it in this river, after which it will enter freely into bliss." And I, as I looked at all this, I wept strongly. Then I worshipped God for all that I had seen.

p. 24

(23) I looked, and there were thousands of angels worshipping God without tiring. And I looked, and there was a great city, and the inhabitants of that city | were very joyful with one another and in beautiful form. I said to the angel: "O my Master, tell me how much the size of this city is." He said to me: "It is the size of the earth, and it has twelve gates, and at each of its gates there is a river of water that flows." When I noticed that, I asked the angel, saying to him: "Tell me what these rivers surrounding this city are." The angel told me: "Know that the saints descend in these rivers and rejoice in them."

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(25) فلما دخلت الى داخل المدينة مضى بي الملاك الى موضع عظيم متسع جدا واذا في ذلك
الموضع جماعة من الشيوخ فلما نظرت اليهم سألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فقال لي هؤلاء هم
جماعة الآباء الذين كانوا يحزنون انفسهم في هذا العالم ولم يعملوا شيئا حسب مشتهاتهم ولكنهم
كانوا يطلبون مجد الله فكل الذين عملوا بارادة الله وفارقوا العالم فحينما أتوا ليسجدوا للرب فيدفعون
الى ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة ويمضى بهم الى هذا الموضع فيفرحون فرحا عظيما لانهم ارضوا الله |
5 p. 26

(26) واخبركم يا اخوتي ان الملاك اخرجني من ذلك الموضع واتى بي الى موضع آخر وكان ممتلئا
اطفالاً وهم الذين قتلهم هيروودس الملك من اجل اسم ربنا يسوع المسيح واعلم ان كل طفل
يفارق الحياة وهو مؤمن بالمسيح فاذا جاء ليسجد لاله فانه يدفع الى ميخائيل ويجعله في هذا
الموضع ليفرحوا ويتنعموا مع بعضهم:

(27) وانه مضى بي ايضا الى موضع آخر واذا فيه قديسون فلما نظرت اليهم سألت الملاك وقلت له
من هؤلاء فقال لي هؤلاء هم آباء الشعوب ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب فكل من كان
له رحمة وكل من كان محباً للغرباء وخرج | من العالم واتى ليسجد للرب فانه يدفع الى ميخائيل
ليوجده في هذا الموضع والقديسون يفرحون بهم فرحاً عظيماً والرب يقول لهم تعالوا لتراثوا هذه
المدينة السماوية كما كان لكم رحمة وحياة للغرباء:

(28) وانه مضى بي الى مواضع اخرى واذا بموضع فيه اقوام يفرحون يتهللون فسألت الملاك وقلت
له من هؤلاء فقال لي هؤلاء هم الذين كانوا متيقظين لانفسهم ولم يكن لهم في العالم فرح ولا
افتخار واعلم ان كل من كان في العالم يفرح بالله ويسبحه بقلب نقي فانه اذا خرج من العالم واتى
ليسجد لاله فانه يدفع الى ميخائيل ويصير الى هذا الموضع

(1, 29) واخبركم يا اخوة انه مضى بي الى موضع آخر ارفع من هذا الموضع فلما نظرت الى مجد
ذلك الموضع قال لي الملاك | ألم تعلم لمن هذا فقلت لا فقال لي هذا معد لمن يحفظ جسده طاهراً
بلا خطية في حياته: (2, 29) وانه مضى بي ايضاً الى موضع آخر ارفع من جميع هذه المواضع فلما
20 p. 28

(25) When I entered the city's interior, the angel took me away to an imposing and very large place. And in that place there was a group of old men. When I noticed them, I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He told me: "These are the group of fathers who were saddening themselves in this world and did nothing according to their desires, but they were seeking the glory of God. All those who do God's will and depart from the world, as they come to worship the Lord, will be entrusted to Michael the archangel, and he shall take them away to this place. And they shall rejoice with great joy because they pleased God." |

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(26) And I inform you, O my brethren, that the angel took me out of that place and led me to another place, full of infants, who were the ones whom Herod the king had killed because of the name of our Lord Jesus. Know that every infant departs from life as a believer in Christ. When he comes to worship his God, he will be entrusted to Michael and he will bring him to this place so that they may be happy and lead a life of ease and comfort with each other.

(27) And he took me away to yet another place, and there were saints. When I noticed them, I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He told me: "These whom you see they are the fathers of the nations, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Everyone with compassion, everyone who is a friend to strangers, departs | from the world, and comes to worship the Lord, will be entrusted to Michael so that he will be in this place, and the saints will rejoice in them with great joy, and the Lord shall say to them: 'Come and inherit this heavenly city, just as you also had compassion and life for strangers.'" |

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(28) He took me away to other places, and there was a place where people cheered and jubilated. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He told me: "These are the ones who were vigilant for the sake of their souls and did not have joy or pride in the world. Know that everyone in the world who used to rejoice in God and glorify him with a pure heart, if he departs from the world and comes to worship his God, he shall be entrusted to Michael and arrive in this place."

(29, 1) I inform you, O brethren, that he took me away to another place, more exalted than this place. When I looked at the glory of that place, the angel said to me: | "Have you not known for whom this is?" And I said: "No." Then he said to me: "This is for the one who keeps his body pure and without sin in his youth." (29, 2) He also took me away to another place that was more

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نظرت الى بهاء ذلك الموضع وانا داخل تلك المدينة واذا بكراسى كبيرة موضوعة فسألت الملاك وقلت له اخبرني لماذا وضعت تلك الكراسى فقال لى هذه وضعت للذين قلوبهم نقية وليس فيها شئ من الغش والمكر وقد اسلموا نفوسهم لله وهم لا يحسنون قراءة الكتب ولكنهم اذا قرئت عليهم التعاليم فكانوا يعملوا بها ويثرون ثمراً عظيماً واخرجوا من قلوبهم كل حقد وكل رياء فاذا نظر اليهم القديسون عجبوا منهم فقولون بعضهم لبعض انظروا الى هؤلاء الذين لم تكن لهم معرفة

5

p. 29

بالكتب كيف صاروا الى هذه | الكرامة والنياح العظيم لنقاوة قلوبهم (29, 3) وكان فى ذلك الموضع مذبح عظيم وكان بالقرب منه رجل بهج المنظر جدا وهو يقرأ ويقول هلوليا. وكان صوت هذا الرجل يملأ المدينة كلها فسألت الملاك وقلت له اخبرني من هذا الرجل العظيم فاجاب الملاك وقال لى هذا هو داود النبي وهذه المدينة هي اورشليم العليا السماوية واعلم انه عند مجيئ الرب فى آخر الدهور بالتسايح فى ملكه ليدن الاحياء والاموات حينئذ يبدأ داود يقرأ كما سمعت واعلم ان القديسين ايضا عند سماعهم قراءته يقرأون معه (29, 4) وأنى سألت الملاك وقلت له اخبرني كيف يقرأ داود قبل جميع القديسين فاجاب الملاك وقال لان السيد المسيح من نسل داود تجسد فكما انه فى هذا الموضع | وفى هذه الدرجة كذلك ايضاً على الارض لا تبدأ الصلاة الا بقوله:

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(30, 1) ثم بعد ذلك سألت الملاك وقلت له ما تفسير هلوليا بالعبرانية فاجابنى قائلاً تفسيرها الله وملائكته وايضا افسرها لك بمعنى السبح لله الخالق الكل (30, 2) واعلم ان كل من يقرأ هذه الكلمة فهو يبارك الله ويسجده وان كل من يسمع هذه الكلمة ولا يقرأها مع قائلها فان عليه خطية عظيمة لانه استهان بقول الله ولا تسكنه قوته:

15

(31, 1) فلما انقطع هذا الكلام بيني وبين الملاك اخذتني حينئذ رعدة شديدة ثم انه أقامني على نهر عظيم فى السماء العليا وعليه ملائكة مفزعون (31, 2) ثم قال لى أتعرف الآن الى اين امضي بك

exalted than all these places. When I looked at the splendor of that place while I was inside that city, there were big thrones set up. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Tell me why these thrones were set up?" He told me: "These were set up for the ones whose hearts are pure and free of deceit and deception, and who have surrendered their souls to God, but who are not good at reading the Scriptures. When, however, the teachings are read to them, they are working by them and bearing great fruit, and they remove all hatred and all hypocrisy from their hearts. And when the saints look at them, they marvel at them and then say to one to another, 'Look at these who did not have knowledge of the Scriptures, how did they come to receive this | honor and great weeping for the purity of their hearts?'" (29, 3) And there was a huge altar in that place, and next to it was a man who was very splendid in appearance as he read aloud and said, "Alleluia." And the voice of this man was filling the whole city. Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Tell me, who is this mighty man?" The angel answered, saying to me: "This is David the prophet, and this city is the upper, celestial Jerusalem. Know that when at the end of times the Lord arrives amid hymns in his kingdom, in order to judge the living and the dead, at that time David shall begin to recite as you have (just) heard. And know that the saints too, as soon as they hear his recitation, shall recite with him." (29, 4) I asked the angel, saying to him: "Tell me how (does it happen that) David recites before all the saints?" The angel answered, saying: "Because the Lord Christ became incarnate from the seed of David. Just as it is in this place | and at this point, likewise also on earth prayer does not begin without his word." p. 29 p. 30

(30, 1) Then, after that, I asked the angel, saying to him: "What is the explanation of 'Alleluia' in Hebrew?" He answered me saying: "Its explanation is 'God and his angels,' but I can also explain it to you in the sense of 'Glorify God, the creator of all things.'² (30, 2) Know that everyone who reads this word aloud blesses God and glorifies him. But (as for) everyone who hears this word but does not recite it along with its speaker, great sin is upon him, for he despises the teaching of God, and his (sc. God's) power shall not dwell in him."

(31, 1) When this conversation between me and the angel came to an end, at that moment strong trembling took hold of me. Then he set me by a great river in the upper heaven, and there were terrifying angels. (31, 2) Then he

2 The first translation of Alleluia, i.e., "God and his angels," is near-identical to that found in the Slavonic version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*. See above, the commentary at 30, 1.

- فقلت له لا فقال لى ساريك مواضع الانفس الكافرة والخطائة فمضيت معه فاقامنى على ارتفاع السماء فنظرت واذا بظلمة شديدة فى ذلك الموضع ثم سمعت فيه عجيماً | وتنهداً يخرج من ذلك
- p. 31 الموضع (31, 4a) واراني نهراً من نار وفيه اقوام كثيرة مغموسون للركب والبعض الى الوسط والبعض للشفتين والبعض الآخر الى اطراف الشعر فلما نظرت الى ذلك سألت الملاك وقلت له
- 5 من هؤلاء فقال لى هؤلاء هم الذين لم يؤمنوا ولم يكونوا صالحين ولا طالحين ولكنهم كانوا في العالم مرة يعملون الخير ومرة يفعلون الشر فادر كهم الموت وهم على تلك الحالة الاخيرة فسألت
- الملاك وقلت من هؤلاء الذين الى الركب مغموسون فاجابني الملاك وقال لى هؤلاء هم الذين
- p. 32 كانوا اذا خرجوا من الكائس القوا بانفسهم الى العمل الباطل الذي يبعدهم من الله واما | هؤلاء الذين الى الوسط فهم الذين كانوا يتقربون الى جسد المسيح ودمه بلا استحقاق ولم ينقطعوا عن
- 10 الزنا البتة ولا عملوا قدام الله وصية واحدة فمن اجل ذلك هم فى العذاب الى آخر الدهور

Here the story of the sinners immersed in the river of fire (31, 4a) is suddenly interrupted by a section of text (35b–37, 1a) that should actually follow later but ended up here presumably due to the misplacement of a manuscript folio at some earlier stage in the transmission.³

- (35b) فنظرت بعد ذلك واذا بانسان قد أتت به ملائكة وهم مسرعون ممسكون بيده ليدخلوه فى
- 15 النار الملتهبة وكانوا ايضاً يأخذون بايديهم ناراً ويطرحونها بسرعة على وجهه ولم يدعوه يستغيث بالله
- فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا الرجل فقال لى هذا الذى تراه كان اسقفاً ولم يسلك باستقامة ولم
- يحفظ النعمة التى منحها الله له بحكمته المقدسة وكان فى كل حياته لم يقض قضية مستقيمة ولم
- p. 33 يرحم يتيماً ولا ارملة ولم يأو غريباً ولا مسكيناً ولذلك قد اعطى بقدر عمله: |

3 For further explanation, see the introduction to this appendix at pp. 413–414.

said to me: "Do you recognize now where I have taken you?" And I said to him: "No." He said to me: "I will show you the places of the godless and sinful souls." Then I went along with him, and he set me high in heaven. And I looked, and there was a strong darkness in that place. Then I heard a loud clamor in it | and sighing that came from that place. (31, 4a) He showed me a river of fire, and in it many people were immersed up to the knees, and others up to the middle, some up to the lips, and others up to the tips of the hair. When I looked at that, I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He said to me: "These are the ones who did not believe and were neither good nor bad, but they were once doing good and once doing evil in the world, and then death overtook them while they were in that latter state." Then I asked the angel, saying: "Who are those who are immersed up to the knees?" The angel answered me, saying to me: "These are the ones who, when they went out of the churches, threw themselves into vain work that removes them from God. As for | these who are up to the middle, they are the ones who took from the body of Christ and his blood undeservedly. By no means did they refrain from fornication, nor did they do one commandment before God. That is why they are undergoing torture until the end of times."

p. 31

p. 32

Here the story of the sinners immersed in the river of fire (31, 4a) is suddenly interrupted by a section of text (35b–37, 1a) that should actually follow later but ended up here presumably due to the misplacement of a manuscript folio at some earlier stage in the transmission.⁴

(35b) After that I looked, and there was a man being brought in a hurry by angels who grabbed his hand to haul him into the blazing fire. They were also taking fire with their hands and throwing it rapidly into his face, without letting him seek God's help. Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who is this man?" He told me: "This one whom you see was a bishop. He did not walk uprightly, nor did he live up to the favor that God had granted him in his holy wisdom. In all his life, he did not pronounce a righteous judgment, nor did he pity orphan or widow, nor did he shelter stranger or needy. Therefore he has been given in accordance with his work." |

p. 33

⁴ For further explanation, see the introduction to this appendix at pp. 413–414.

(36, 1) ونظرت ايضا بالقرب منه الى انسان آخر وهو مغموس في النار الى ركبتيه ويداه مبسوطتان ومملوءتان دماً وكان الدم يخرج من خياشيمه وكان يبكي ويقول ارحمني يا رب فاني في شدة اكثر ممن في العذاب واني سألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا فقال لي هذا الذي تراه كان شماساً وكان يتقرب الى جسد المسيح ودمه بلا استحقاق ولم يمتنع عن الزنا البته ولم يعمل قدام الله وصية واحدة فمن اجل ذلك هو في العذاب الى آخر الدهور (36, 2) ونظرت ايضاً فاذا بانسان آخر قد اتت به ملائكة وهم مسرعون ليطرحوه في النار وجاء عند ذلك ملاك العذاب وهو مسرع فقطع شفتيه ولسانه فلما نظرت الى ذلك بكيت ثم سألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا المسكين فاجابني الملاك قائلاً هذا الذي تراه كان اغنسطساً (وعظاً) وكان اذا قرأ الكتب على الناس لم يكن يعمل بما يقرأه:

(37, 1a) 10 ونظرت ايضاً واذا بموضع عميق جدا وفيه نهر ممتلىء انفساً ودود يعلو تلك الانفس وينهش قلوبهم فبكيت عندما نظرت ذلك الدود ثم سألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء المساكين فاجاب الملاك وقال هؤلاء

At this point, the text briefly resumes the story of the sinners submerged in the river of fire (31, 4a), thus continuing the overall storyline from where it was abruptly interrupted before.⁵ 15

(31, 4b) كانوا منغمسين في الزنا ولم يتوبوا حتى ادركهم الموت واما هؤلاء الذين الى الشعر مغموسين فهم الذين كانوا يخدعون الناس ويتمنون لاصحابهم الشر: واما هؤلاء الذين الى الشفتين غارقون فهم الذين اذا جاؤا الى الكنيسة كانوا يوقعون البعض في البعض |

(32, 1) 20 وانه ايضاً اقامني على شط نهر واسع جدا ولم يكن في ذلك النهر نار ولكن نهراً آخر من نار كان متصلاً به وكان ذلك نهر عميقاً جدا وكان فيه انفس كثيرة مطروح بعضها فوق بعض وهم

5 See the commentary in the text at the first break in continuity immediately after 31, 4a, as well as the introduction to this appendix at pp. 413–414.

(36, 1) I also saw near him another man, immersed in the fire up to his knees. His hands were open and full of blood, blood was coming out from his nostrils, and he was weeping, saying: "Have pity on me, O Lord, for I suffer more than those (others) who are being punished." And I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who is this?" He told me: "This one whom you see was a deacon. He took from the body of Christ and his blood undeservedly. By no means did he abstain from fornication, nor did he do one commandment before God. That is why he is undergoing torture until the end of times." (36, 2) I looked again, and there was another man being brought by angels, in a hurry to throw him into the fire. At that moment, the angel of punishment came hurrying, and he cut his lips and his tongue. When I noticed that, I wept. Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who is this poor one?" The angel answered me, saying: "This one whom you see was a reader. | Even though he read the Scriptures aloud to the people, he did not act in accordance with what he read." p. 34

(37, 1a) I looked again, and there was a very deep place, and in it a river full of souls and a worm that overpowered those souls and tore their hearts to pieces. And I wept as soon as I noticed that worm. Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these poor ones?" The angel answered, saying: "These

*At this point, the text briefly resumes the story of the sinners submerged in the river of fire (31, 4a), thus continuing the overall storyline from where it was abruptly interrupted before.*⁶

(31, 4b) abandoned themselves to fornication and did not repent until death overtook them. As for those who are immersed up to the hair, they are the ones who deceived people and wished their friends ill. As for those who are submersed up to the lips, they are the ones who, when they came to church, slandered each another." | p. 35

(32, 1) He also set me at the shore of a very wide river, and there was no fire in that river, but another river of fire was connected to it, and that was a very deep river. There were many souls in it, some piled on top of the other, crying

⁶ See the commentary in the text at the first break in continuity immediately after 31, 4a, as well as the introduction to the appendix at pp. 413–414.

يصيحون ويقولون ارحمنا يا الله ولم يكن هناك من يرحمهم وني سألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فقال لي هؤلاء هم الذين لم يكن لهم رجاء في الله بان يعينهم

(33) فلما سمعت ذلك من الملاك بكيت وتنهدت على ما يصيب الناس الاشرار فقال لي الملاك لأي شيء تبكي هل لك من الحكمة اكثر مما الله اعلم ان الله صالح ولما علم شدة العذاب وعظيم الدينونة اطال روحه على الناس في العالم حتى يعمل كل واحد حسب مرضاة خالقه |

p. 36

5

(34) ونظرت ايضا الى ذلك النهر واذا في وسطه شيخ كبير وهو مغموس في النار لي ركبتيه وان الملاك الذي اسمه بالكراخ جاء ويده حديده ذو اربعة افهام فضربه بها ضربة فانخرج امعاه من فيه واني سألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا الشيخ المسكين الذي قد عمل به هذا العمل فقال لي هذا الذي تراه كان قسيسا ولم يتم قداسه مستقيما وكان اذا امتلأ جوفه من الطعام والشراب كان يقدس ويعمد

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(35a) ونظرت بالقرب منه شيخا آخر ومعه اربعة ملائكة محيطون به وكان كثير الزنا

After the episode of the priest (34), the text should continue here with chapters about a bishop, a deacon, and a reader respectively, but most of these (35b-36, 2) got displaced and are now found above, after 31, 4a.⁷

(37, 1b) وكان يفتخر بغناه ونسي الله وظن ان ماله يخلصه (37, 2) ونظرت ايضا واذا بموضع مرتفع جدا وحوله حائط من نار محيط به وفيه رجال بمضغون السنتم فسألت الملاك وقلت له

15

⁷ See the commentary in the text at the first break in continuity immediately after 31, 4a, as well as the introduction to this appendix.

out and weeping, saying, “Have pity on us, O God,” yet there was no one there who had pity on them. I asked the angel, saying to him: “Who are these?” He told me: “These are the ones who had no hope in God that he would help them.”

(33) When I heard that from the angel, I wept and sighed about what happens to the wicked. Then the angel said to me: “Why do you weep? Do you have more wisdom than God has? Know that God is good, and since he knew the severity of the punishment and the greatness of the judgment, he extended his spirit to the people in the world so that each one can act according to the pleasure of his Creator.” |

p. 36

(34) I looked again upon that river, and in its center there was a big old man, immersed in the fire up to his knees. The angel whose name is Al(a)k(a)rāḥ came with a four-pronged iron tool in his hand.⁸ Then he struck him a blow with it, and he brought his intestines out through his mouth. I asked the angel, saying to him: “Who is this poor old man to whom this thing has just been done?” He told me: “This one whom you see was a priest. He did not perform his Mass properly, and when his stomach was filled with food and drink he would say Mass and baptize.”

(35a) I looked near him at another old man, and with him were four angels surrounding him. He was a great fornicator,

After the episode of the priest (34), the text should continue here with chapters about a bishop, a deacon, and a reader respectively, but most of these (35b-36, 2) got displaced and are now found earlier, after 31, 4a.⁹

(37, 1b) boastful of his wealth, and oblivious of God, and he thought that his money would save him. (37, 2) I looked again, and there was a very high place, and around it there was a wall of fire surrounding it, and in it there were men chewing their tongues. I asked the angel, saying to him: “Who are

8 Al(a)k(a)rāḥ seems to be a corruption of the name of the angel Ταρταροῦχος or perhaps Τεμελοῦχος; cf. the Sahidic Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* of ms. BL, which, in chapter 34, has ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲙⲉⲗⲟⲭⲟⲥ. In the Arabic version, the name of the chief angel of punishment is *mālūḥ* (< Τεμελοῦχος), on which see Bausi, “First Evaluation,” 145–147. For a more detailed discussion, see above, the commentary at the *Apocalypse of Paul*, 16, 7.

9 See the commentary in the text at the first break in continuity immediately after 31, 4a, as well as the introduction to the appendix at pp. 413–414.

p. 37 من هؤلاء فاجاب الملاك | وقال هؤلاء هم الذين كونوا يقرأون الكتب ولكن السنتهم كانت تنطق بالغش والباطل ولم يحفظوا عقولهم لعبادة الله ولذلك هم في العذاب الى آخر الدهور

(38, 1-2) ونظرت ايضاً واذا باقوام مطروحين في لهيب النار المتقدة ومنغمسين في الدم فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فقال لي هؤلاء هم السحرة الذين كانوا يسحرون للناس حتى يجنوهم ويضلوهم لتوال اغراضهم (38, 3) ونظرت واذا برجال ونساء مطروحين على وجوههم في النار الشديدة وهم يستغيثون ولا مغيث لهم فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فقال لي هؤلاء هم الزناة والفساق الذين كونوا يتركون نساءهم ويفسدون نساء غريبات وكذلك ايضاً هؤلاء النساء p. 38 كن يتركن ازواجهن ويزنين مع غيرهم فذلك قد استحقوا ما هم فيه

(39, 1) نظرت ايضاً بالقرب من ذلك الموضع عذارى لباسهن اسود كما عرفني الملاك وكان حول كل واحدة منهن اربعة ملائكة مفزعين وفي ايديهم سلاسل من نار فطرحوها في اعناقهن وكانوا يضربونهن ويجرونهن الى الظلمة القصوى فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فاجاب الملاك وقال لي هؤلاء العذارى اللواتي كن يفسدن انفسهن قبل ان يتزوجن وكان ابائهن لا يعلمون فن اجل ذلك سلط الله عليهم هؤلاء الملائكة الذين تراهم بلا رحمة ليطرحوهن في هذه الظلمة القصوى التي كل من طرح فيها يقيم اربعين سنة حتى يصل الي قرارها (39, 2) ثم ان الملاك قال لي انظر الآن الى هذا | الموضع الآخر فنظرت عند ذلك برعدة واذا برجال ونساء مربوطين الايدي والارجل p. 39 فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فاجاب الملاك وقال لي هؤلاء الذين كانوا يظلمون اليتامي والارامل والمساكين ولم يظنوا انهم سيقفون بين يدي الديان (39, 3) ونظرت ايضاً بالقرت منهم واذا برجال ونساء حولهم نار تلتهم والسننتهم خارجه من افواههم من شدة العطش من عظم لهيب النار فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فاجاب وقال لي هؤلاء هم الذين من شدة شراهة بطونهم كانوا يفطرون من قبل مجيء الافطار والآن قد اعطوا بقدر عملهم (39, 4) ونظرت ايضاً رجالا ونساء معلقين من شعورهم وبكاؤهم شديد فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء الذين اراهم

these?" The angel answered, | saying: "These are the ones who were reading the Scriptures but whose tongues spoke deceit and falsehood, and they did not keep their minds on the worship of God. That is why they will be suffering punishment until the end of times." p. 37

(38, 1–2) I looked again, and there were people thrown in the flames of the burning fire and immersed in blood. Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He told me: "These are the sorcerers who bewitched people to drive them insane and mislead them for the benefit of their (own) interests." (38, 3) I looked, and there were men and women thrown upon their faces in the intense fire, appealing for help but having no helper. Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He told me: "These are the fornicators and adulterers who left their wives and defiled strange women, and likewise also | these women left their husbands and fornicated with others. So that is why they have deserved what they are experiencing." p. 38

(39, 1) I also noticed near that place virgins whose garments were black, as the angel told me. Around each of them, there were four terrifying angels with fiery chains in their hands. Then they threw them around their necks, and they were beating them and dragging them into the outer darkness. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" The angel answered, saying to me: "These are the virgins who defiled themselves before they were given in marriage and without knowledge of their parents. That is why God has inflicted upon them these angels without mercy, whom you see, that they will throw them into this outer darkness, where whoever is thrown in it will stay for forty years until she attains rest from it." (39, 2) Then the angel said to me: "Look now at this | other place." At that moment, I looked, shivering, and there were men and women with hands and feet bound. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" The angel answered, saying to me: "These are the ones who oppressed the orphans, the widows, and the poor, and did not consider that they would once stand before the Judge." (39, 3) I also looked <near> them, and there were men and women surrounded by a blazing fire and with their tongues coming out of their mouths because of the excessive thirst, owing to the intensity of the flames of fire. Then I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He answered, saying to me: "These are the ones who, because of the excessive gluttony of their bellies, used to break the fast before the time had come, and now they have been given in accordance with their work." (39, 4) I also noticed men and women suspended by their hair, whose weeping was strong. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these whom I see in this distress?" The angel answered, saying to me: "These are p. 39

p. 40 في هذه الشدة فاجاب الملاك وقال لى هؤلاء الذين كانوا يزينون انفسهم ليعشقوا للباطل وكذلك ايضا النساء قد اعطوا بقدر عملهم

- (40, 1) ونظرت ايضا رجالا ونساء لباسهم ابيض وهم مطروحون عميا في عمق النار الملتهبة فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فقال لى هؤلاء هم الذين كانوا يسفهبون ويكذبون ويمزحون بالكلام الباطل ولذلك اخذوا جزاءهم (40, 2) ونظرت ايضا الى موضع فيه رجال ونساء بغير رحمة وملائكة يضربونهم ولم يدعوهم يقولون يا رب ارحنا وكانت الملائكة تقول لهم ابعدوا عن الله يا ملاعين لانه قد ارسل اليكم ولم تقبلوا وقرئت عليكم الكتب المقدسة ولم تسمعوا فن اجل ذلك ليس لكم رحمة ولكن اعمالكم هي التي اتت لكم الى هذا الموضع (40, 3) فلما نظرت الى هذا كله تنهدت وبكيت ثم قلت للملاك من هؤلاء البائسون فاجاب الملاك وقال لى هؤلاء هن النساء اللواتي كن يفسدن خلقته فاذا جبلن من غير ازواجهن يحتلن حتي يطرحن ما في بطونهن والرجال الذين تراهم هم الذين كانوا يزنون معهن واما الاطفال الذين خرجوا منهن فكانوا يصيحون الى الرب والى ملائكة العذاب ويقولون انتقم لنا يا سيدنا من هؤلاء الذين ولدونا بالفجور وافسدوا خلقتك يا الله وقد كانوا يعرفون اسمك ولم يحفظوا وصاياك وقد جعلونا طعاما لوحوش الارض ومأكلا لسمك الانهار والبحار فأولئك الاطفال قد دفعوا الي ملاك صالح ليضئ بهم الى موضع واسع الرحمة واما آباؤهم فسيقوا للعذاب الى آخر الدهور (40, 4) ونظرت ايضا الى رجال ونساء مطروحين في النار العظيمة وحولهم ملائكة مفزعون وكانوا يقولون لهم لماذا لم تعرفوا الوقت الذي منحه لكم الرب للتوبة فيه وخدمة اسمه القدوس فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء فاجاب الملاك وقال لى هؤلاء الذين كانوا يحبون العالم وكانوا يظنون انهم لا يخرجون منه ابدا ولم تكن فيهم محبة ولا قبلوا غربيا ولا رحموا يتيما ولا ارملة ولا قربوا الله قربانا ولا يوما واحدا ولا صلوا بنية قط فن اجل ذلك أصابهم هذا العذاب الذي تراه: (40, 6) فلما سمعت ذلك بكيت بكاء شديدا وقلت الويل لجنس البشر والويل للناس الخطاة الذين لم يتوبوا فلما رأي الملاك ابكي اجابني قائلا لماذا تبكي هل انت اكثر رحمة من الله. اعلم ان الله صالح ورحوم ويجب ان يعمل كل انسان بوصايا
- p. 43

(the men) who | made themselves attractive in order to dote on vanity, and likewise also the women have been given in accordance with their work." p. 40

(40, 1) I also saw men and women whose garments were white, lying blind in the depths of the blazing fire. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He told me: "These are the ones who were insolent, lied, and jested with vain talk, and therefore have received their penalty." (40, 2) I also saw a place where there were men and women without pity. Angels were beating them, and they did not allow them to say, "O Lord, have pity on us." And the angels were saying to them: "Keep away from God, O damned, because he was sent out to you and you did not accept; the Holy Scriptures were read out aloud to you and you did not hear. That is why you shall not receive pity, but it is your own doings that | have brought you to this place." (40, 3) When I looked at all this, I sighed and wept. Then I said to the angel: "Who are these miserable ones?" The angel answered, saying to me: "These are the women who destroyed his (sc. God's) creature, because when they became pregnant without their husbands (involved), they employed artful tricks in order to expel what was in their bellies. The men whom you see are the ones who committed adultery with them." As for the children who came forth from them, they cried out to the Lord and to the angels of punishment, saying: "Avenge us, O our Master, of those who gave birth to us in fornication and destroyed your creature, O God. They may have acknowledged your name, yet they have not observed your commandments. Instead, they have made us a meal for the beasts of the earth and food for the fish of the rivers and the seas." These infants were entrusted to a good angel so that he could take them to a place abounding in mercy. As for their parents, they were dispatched | to punishment until the end of times. (40, 4) I also saw men and women thrown into the great fire, and around them were terrifying angels, who were saying to them: "Why did you not recognize the time that the Lord granted you for repentance towards him and serving his holy name?" I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" The angel answered, saying to me: "These are the ones who loved the world and thought that they would never depart from it, but there was no love in them. They did not receive the foreigner nor did they pity the orphan or the widow. They did not present an offering to God for a single day nor did they ever pray with intention. That is why this punishment that you see falls upon them." (40, 6) When I heard that, I wept strongly, and I said: "Woe to the race of men. Woe to the sinful people who did not repent." When the angel saw me weeping, he answered me, saying: "Why do you weep? Are you more merciful than | God? Know that God is good and merciful, and that he likes every person to act in the p. 41 p. 42 p. 43

في العالم فازددت ايضا في البكاء فقال لي الملاك لماذا تبكي أتريد ان تشاهد العذاب العظيم فالآن الحقيقي حتى اريك اعظم مما رأيت سبعة اضعاف

- (41, 1) فحملني من ذلك الموضع حتى اقامني على جب محتوم باربعة ختوم وملاك من نار جالس عليه فقال الملاك الذي كان معي لذلك الملاك الموكل بالجب افتح هذه الجب حتي ينظر اسناثيوس حبيب الله لانه قد اعطى من الله حتى يشاهد كل العذابات المريعة فقال لي الملاك قم انظر ان قدرت ان تبصر الى هول ذلك الموضع (41, 2) فلما فُتح ذلك الجب خرجت منه رائحة قدرة نجسة جدا وهي أشد من كل العذابات واصعب فنظرت الي الجب فاذا فيه نار تلهب وضيق جدا فقال لي الملاك عند ذلك اعلم يا اسناثيوس ان من طرح في هذا الجب فلا يذكر بين يدي الآب والابن والروح القدس ولا اقدام الملائكة (41, 3) فقلت له عند ذلك مَنْ يا ملاك الله الذي يُطرح في هذا الجب فاجاب الملاك وقال لي كل من لا يؤمن ان المسيح قد تجسد من مريم العذراء الطاهرة وكل من الذين يقولون ان القرايين التي تقربها كهنة الرب على مذابحه المقدسة ليست هي جسد المسيح ودمه الحقيقي فلذلك قد صاروا الى هذا الموضع
- p. 44 5 10

- (42, 1) ورأيت ايضا فيه دود لا يهدى وهو الموضع الذي تقعق فيه الاسنان وكان طول كل دودة فيه زراعا ولكل منها سبعة رؤوس ورأيت رجلاً ونساء يطرحون فيه فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هؤلاء الذين في هذا الموضع | فاجاب الملاك وقال لي هؤلاء الذين كانوا يقولون لن تقوم الموتى واني سألت الملاك وقلت له اخبرني كيف لا يكون في هذا الموضع نار ولا سخونة فاجاب الملاك وقال لي هذا الموضع فيه الثلج والجليد والبرد الشديد الذي لا يزول ابدا ولا يتغير (42, 2) فلما سمعت هذا بكيت بكاء شديداً ثم بسطت يدي وقلت الويل لنا من هذا الخوف نحن الخطاة
- p. 45 15

- (43, 1) فلما نظر اليّ أولئك الذين في العذاب بكوا هم ايضاً بكاء شديداً ومن بعد هذا نظرت باب السما العليا قد انفتح ورايت ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة نازلاً من السماء ومعه كل جنده فلما نزل جاء الى الذين في العذاب فلما رأوه صاحوا وبكوا وقالوا ارحمنا يا ميخائيل يا ملاك العهد فاننا
- 20

:الخوف 18 ذراعاً read: زراعاً 14 اثناسيوس read: اسناثيوس 8 اثناسيوس read: اسناثيوس 4
:الخوف read

world according to his commandments.” Then I wept even more, and so the angel said to me: “Why do you weep? Do you want to witness the great punishment? Follow me now so that I can show you things seven times worse than what you have seen.”

(41, 1) He carried me away from that place until he set me near a well that was sealed with four seals and with an angel of fire sitting at it. The angel who was with me said to that angel in charge of the well: “Open up this well so that <Athanasius>, the beloved of God, may look, for he has been granted by God to witness all the dreadful torments.” And the angel said to me: “Stand up. Look if you can make out the horror of that place.” (41, 2) When that well was opened up, a dirty and very rotten stench came out of it, stronger than all the (other) punishments, and worse. I looked at the well, and there was a blazing fire in it, and it was very narrow. At that moment, the angel said to me: “Know, O <Athanasius>, that whoever has been thrown into this well shall not be remembered in the presence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, nor | before the angels.” (41, 3) At that moment, I said to him: “Who, O angel of God, are they who are thrown down into this well?” And the angel answered, saying to me: “Everyone who does not believe that Christ came in the flesh from Mary, the immaculate virgin, and all those who say that the offerings that the priests of the Lord present at his holy altars are not the true body of Christ and his blood. That is why they have arrived at this place.”

p. 44

(42, 1) I also saw in it worms that do not rest, and it is the place where there is gnashing of teeth. The length of each worm was a <cubit>, and each of them had seven heads. I saw men and women being thrown down in it (sc. the well), and so I asked the angel, saying to him: “Who are these who are in this place?” | The angel answered, saying to me: “These are the ones who said that the dead shall not rise.” I asked the angel, saying to him: “Tell me, how come there is no fire or heat in this place?” The angel answered, saying to me: “This place has (only) snow and ice in it, and a strong cold that never goes away or changes.” (42, 2) When I heard this, I wept strongly. Then I stretched out my hand, and I said: “Woe to us because of this fear<ful> (sight), we sinners.”

p. 45

(43, 1) When those who were suffering punishment noticed me, they, too, wept strongly. After this, I noticed that the door of the highest heaven had opened, and I saw Michael the archangel coming down from heaven with his entire host. When he came down, he went to those suffering punishment, and when they saw him, they cried out and wept, saying: “Have pity on us, O Michael, O angel of the covenant, for we are severely punished. We know

- p. 46 في عذاب عظيم ونحن نعلم انك انت القائم بين يدي الديان والارض بصلاتك تنبت وقد رأينا دينونة الله وعرفنا ان المسيح من قبل كل الدهور فتشفع لنا مما نحن فيه لاننا في شدة عظيمة وقد كنا نسمع بهذا في العالم ولم نؤمن (2, 43) فاجاب ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة وقال اسمعوا مني ايها الذين في العذاب انا ميخائيل الملاك القائم بين يدي الديان حي هو الرب الذي انا اخدمه اني اطلب منه الليل والنهار من اجل جميع الناس كي يبتلعوا عمل الشر في كل وقت ولكن يفنون زمانهم في عمل الباطل (3, 43) وانا اقول لكم انه ليس أحد يعمل خيراً ولو قليلاً الا وانا اطلب من السيد في الحال حتى يعطيه التوبة من قبل مفارقه هذا العالم وانتم ليس في وقت التوبة تتوبون الان التوبة انما هي في العالم والعذاب هاهنا وان عويلكم شديد ولا اتشفع فيكم (4, 43) فلما سمعوا هذا الذين في العذاب اشتد عجيجهم وعظم صراخهم ثم بكوا وقالوا ارحمنا يا ابن الله المتعالى واني يا اخوة حينما سمعت صياحهم صحت انا معهم من حزني عليهم ثم قلت ايها السيد المتجسد ارحم خليقتك ثم ان ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة خر على وجهه ساجداً وكل من كان معه من الملائكة ثم صاحوا بصوت واحد وقالوا ايها الاله ارحم خليقتك وتحن على صورتك
- 10
- (1, 44) فعند ذلك ارتعدت كما يرعد الريح الشجرة عندما يسجدوا وصاحوا قدام كرسى الله ثم نظرت بعد طلبتهم باب السماء العليا قد انشقت واثنى عشر ملاكا كان ضوءهم مثل الشمس ساجدين قدام الرب. ثم نظرت الي مذبذب الله والى اجنحة الملائكة ترفرف حوله وعليه وكان بخور ورائحة زكية تخرج من ذلك الموضع. ثم سمعت صوتا يقول في الحال من تطلبون يا ملائكتي فصاحوا من اسفل وقالوا نطلب لما نعلم من كثرة رحمتك | لجنس البشر (2, 44) ومن بعد هذا نظرت السماء قد انفتحت وابن الله نازلاً وبين يديه ربوات من الملائكة وهم ببهجة لا يقدر احد ان يصفها فلما سمع الذين في العذاب تسبيحاً ومجداً عظيماً من كثرة الملائكة وابن الله المتجسد نازلاً معهم عند ذلك صاحوا كلهم بصوت عظيم وقالوا ارحمنا يا ابن الله المتعالى لاننا تعلم انك انت الذي تُعطي النياح لكل من في السماء ولن على الارض وقد سمعنا صوت نزولك فاسترحنا من العذاب
- 20

that you are the one standing in the presence of the Judge and that thanks to your prayers the earth sprouts vegetation. We have | seen God's judgment. We have acknowledged that Christ, since before eternity, has been interceding for us regarding what we are experiencing, for we are in great distress. We already heard about this in the world, but we did not believe (it)." (43, 2) Then Michael the archangel answered, saying: "Listen to me, O you who are in punishment. I am Michael, the angel standing before the Judge. As the Lord lives, whom I serve, I am entreating him night and day for all the people, that they suppress the work of evil all the time. However, they squander their time with work of vanity. (43, 3) I say to you that no one does good, if only a little, but I entreat the Lord at once that he grants him repentance before he leaves this world. Yet, rather than at the time of repentance, you repent (only) now. Repentance, however, is in the world, whereas punishment is here. And although your lamenting is strong, I shall not intercede for you." (43, 4) When those who suffered punishment heard this | their clamor became stronger and their cries louder. Then they wept and said: "Have pity on us, O Son of God the Most High!" And I, O brethren, when I heard their crying, I cried out with them due to my sorrow for them. Then I said: "O Lord Incarnate, have pity on your creatures!" Then Michael the archangel fell on his face in prostration, together with all the angels who were with him. Then they cried out with one voice, saying: "O God, have pity on your creatures, and have compassion on your image!"

(44, 1) At that very moment I trembled, just as the wind makes the tree tremble, when they prostrated themselves and cried out before the throne of God. Then I noticed after their supplication that the door of the highest heaven had burst open and that twelve angels, whose brightness was like the sun, were prostrating themselves before the Lord. Then I saw the altar of God and the wings of the angels fluttering around it and above it, and there was a sweet incense and aroma coming out of that place. Immediately, I heard a voice say: "Whom do you beseech, O my angels?" They cried out from below, saying: "We beseech for what we know of the abundance of your compassion | on the race of mankind." (44, 2) After this, I noticed that the heaven had opened and the Son of God coming down, while in his presence were thousands of angels in indescribable joy. When those undergoing punishment heard great praise and glory from the multitude of angels, and the Son of God Incarnate was coming down with them, at that very moment all of them cried out with a loud voice, saying: "Have pity on us, O Son of God the Most High, because we know that you are the one who gives rest to everyone in heaven as well as to those upon earth. We heard the sound of your descent,

- (3, 44) فجاء عند ذلك صوت من ابن الله الى الذين في العذاب وهو يقول لهم اي شئ صنعتم حتى تستحقوا النياح أليس دمي من أجلكم | اهرقت على الارض ولم تؤمنوا ومن اجلكم صبرت على الضرب ولم تتوبوا ومن اجلكم لبست اكليل الشوك ولم ترجعوا وطلبت وانا على الصليب جرعة ماء فسقيتموني بدل الماء خلاً ومراً ونخستم جنبي بالحربة وكل هذا احتملته لاجل خلاصكم ولم تندموا وفوق كل ذلك اعطيتمكم زمان التوبة فلم تتوبوا (4, 44) والآن من اجل طلبة ميخائيل رئيس ملائكتي ومن اجل طلبة اخوتكم الذين في العالم لانهم يقربون عنكم قرايين ومن اجل طلبة اولادكم الذين في العالم العاملين حسب | وصاياي قد اعطيتمكم يا جميع من في العذاب النياح ليلة الاحد ويوم الاحد (5, 44) فلما سمعوا ذلك صاحوا كلهم بصوت واحد وقالوا فنجذك يا ابن الله المتعالى الذى وهبت لنا النياح في يوم وليلة هذا اليوم فهو افضل من كل حياة العالم وقد اتخذنا بكثرة حب المال وقد لاقينا من القليل ما لا يوصف من العذاب ويحرق الروح (6, 44) فلما اكثرنا من القول قالت لهم الملائكة الموكلة بالعذاب حتي متى تتكلمون وليس لكم عندنا رحمة ترحمون بها لانكم لم تتوكلوا على الله ان يعطيكم وانتم على الارض وليس لكم سوي عطية يوم الاحد وليلة الاحد

- (1, 45) ومن بعد هذا قال لي الملاك أليس قد نظرت هذا كله فقلت له نعم يا سيدى فقال لي الحقني حتى اريك مواضع القديسين في الفردوس فلحقته مسرعاً بقوة الروح القدس ثم ادخلني الى الفردوس وقال لي هذا هو الذي خلقه الله في المشارق وهذا هو الفردوس الذي خرج | منه آدم (2, 45) واراني الملاك الاربعة الانهار التي تخرج من الفردوس الى كل العالم فقلت للملاك ماذا تسمى هذه الانهار فقال لي هذا النهر يسمى سيحون وهو المحيط بارض الحويله والثاني جيحون وهو المحيط بارض مصر والحبشة والثالث يقال له الفرات وهو الذي يسقي الجزيرة والرابع يقال له الدجله وهو المحيط بارض العراق. (3-4, 45) واخبركم يا اخوتي انه عند دخولي الفردوس رأيت

and then we felt relief from the punishment.” (44, 3) At that moment, a voice from the Son of God went forth to those undergoing punishment, saying to them: “What kind of thing have you done that you deserve rest? Was my blood not for your sakes | spilled on the ground and you did not believe? For your sakes, I endured the beating and you did not repent. For your sakes, I wore a crown of thorns and you did not return (to God). While I was on the cross, I begged for a sip of water and instead of water you gave me vinegar and gall, piercing my side with a lance. All this I endured for the sake of your salvation and you did not show remorse. Above all, I granted you time for repentance, but you did not repent. (44, 4) Now, for the sake of the prayer of Michael, the head of my angels, for the sake of the prayer of your brethren who are in the world, because they offer oblations for you, and for the sake of the prayer of your children who are acting according to | my commandments in the world, I now give you, O all who are suffering punishment, rest on Saturday night and Sunday.” (44, 5) When they heard that, they all cried out with one voice, saying: “We glorify you, O Son of God the Most High, who has bestowed us with rest on the day and the night of this day, for it is better than the whole life(time) of the world. We let ourselves be deceived by the abundance of love for money, and from so little we have been experiencing indescribable punishment and crushing of the spirit.” (44, 6) As they were always talking, the angels in charge of the punishment said to them: “How long will you speak? We have no mercy to spare for you, for you did not trust in God to give you (any) while you were on earth, and you are only entitled to the gift of the Sunday and of the Saturday night.”

(45, 1) After this, the angel said to me: “Have you not seen all this?” I told him: “Yes, my Master.” He said to me: “Follow me so that I may show you the places of the saints in Paradise.” And I followed him in a hurry through the power of the Holy Spirit. Then he took me into Paradise, and he said to me: “This is what God created in the East, and this is the Paradise from which Adam was | expelled.” (45, 2) The angel showed me the four rivers that issue out of Paradise to the entire world. I said to the angel: “What are these rivers called?” Then he said to me: “This river is called Sihon, and it is the one surrounding the land of Havilah; the second is Gihon, and it is the one surrounding the land of Egypt and Ethiopia; the third is called the Euphrates, and it is the one that waters al-Ğazīra (sc. Upper Mesopotamia); the fourth is called the Tigris, and it is the one surrounding the land of Iraq (sc. Lower Mesopotamia).” (45, 3–4) I inform you, O my brethren, that when I entered

افراحاً عظيمة فدنوت من شجرة المعرفة التي بها عُرف الخير من الشر وقلت للملاك هل هذه هي الشجرة التي اوجدها الرب في وسط الفردوس ومنها اخذت حواء واطعمت آدم فقال نعم هي.

- (46) وبينما هويكمني واذا بعذراء تمشي في الفردوس ومعها اربع ملائكة وهم يسبحون ويمجدون فقلت للملاك من هذه الفتاة فقال لي هذه هي مريم | العذراء ولدة الاله فدنوت منها حتى شاهدها
 5 تماماً فقالت لي طوبى لك يا اثناسيوس وطوبى لكل من يؤمن بما رايته وقال لي واحد من الملائكة الذين كانوا معها لمن تنظر هذه هي مريم العذراء التي ولدت اخلاص لكل من آمن به ثم قال لي الملك اصبر قليلا حتى تفارق العالم وتكون هاهنا الى آخر الدهور

- (47, 1) وبينما الملك يكلمني فنظرت واذا ثلاثة شيوخ يمشون في الفردوس واربعة ملائكة يمشون معهم فسألت الملك وقلت له من هؤلاء المقبلين فقال لي الملك هؤلاء آباء الشعوب ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب فقالوا لي بقم واحد السلام لك (2, 47) ثم قالوا طوبى لك وطوبى الذين يحفظون وسايا
 10 الله ويؤمنون بكلمته فانهم يرثون ملكوت السموات وهؤلاء نحن نقول لك | بين يدي المسيح الذي انت تركز باسمه في كل وقت اننا نخدم المؤمنين كما تخدم الآباء البنين: (3, 47) فبينما هم يتكلمون بهذا وقد نظرت اثني عشر رجلاً وقوفاً في موضع عظيم فسألت الملك وقلت له من هؤلاء فقال لي هؤلاء هم الاسباط الاثني عشر راؤبين واخوته ويوصف الذي بيع (4, 47) فقال لي يوسف انا اقول لك اني صرت الي هذا الموضع لان اخوتي فعلوا بي ما فعلوا ولم ارد بهم شراً قط فلهذا
 15 اقول لك طوبى لك يا اثناسيوس وطوبى للرجل الذي يصبر على الظلم والاضطهاد من اجل الله فان الرب يجازيه هاهنا سبعة اضعاف

- (48, 1) وبينما هويكمني بهذا وقد نظرت الى اخر وملائكة بين يديه يسبحون ويمجدون فسألت الملك وقلت له من هذا الحسن المنظر فقال لي هذا موسى النبي الذي اعطاه الله الناموس | فلما
 p. 54 نظر الى بكي (2, 48) ثم قال لي ابكي معي يا اثناسيوس لاني زرعت شجرة وتعبت فيها تعباً شديداً
 20 وهي بني اسرائيل لانهم اذا فارقوا العالم واتوا هاهنا فلم توجد فيهم ثمرة صالحة وقد صاروا مثل

Paradise I saw great celebrations. Then I approached the tree of knowledge by which good is known from evil, and I said to the angel: "Is this the tree that the Lord created in the middle of Paradise and from which Eve took and fed Adam?" He said: "Yes, it is."

(46, 1) While he was speaking to me, then there was a virgin walking in Paradise, and with her were four angels singing hymns and glorifying. I said to the angel: "Who is this girl?" He told me: "This is Mary | the Virgin, the mother of God." (46, 2) Then I approached her so that I could fully see her. She said to me: "Blessed are you, O Athanasius, and blessed is everyone who believes in what you have seen." One of the angels who were with her said to me: "Whom you are looking at is Mary the Virgin, who gave birth to salvation for everyone who believes in him." Then the angel said to me: "Be patient for a little while, until you depart from the world and be here until the end of times."

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(47, 1) While the angel was speaking with me, I looked, and then there were three old men walking in Paradise, and four angels were walking along with them. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these (who are) approaching?" The angel told me: "These are the fathers of the nations, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." And they said to me with one mouth: "Peace to you." (47, 2) Then they said: "Blessed are you and blessed are those who observe the commandments of God and believe in his teaching, for they shall inherit the kingdom of the heavens. Behold, we say to you | in the presence of Christ, in whose name you preach all the time, that we minister to the faithful just as parents minister to children." (47, 3) While they were speaking like this, I suddenly noticed twelve men standing in a large place. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who are these?" He told me: "These are the twelve tribes (read: patriarchs), Ruben and his brothers, and Joseph, who was sold." (47, 4) Joseph said to me: "I say to you that I have ended up in this place because my brothers did to me what they did and I never responded to them with malice. Therefore, I say to you: 'Blessed are you, O Athanasius, and blessed is the man who endures injustice and persecution for God, for the Lord will recompense him here seven times over.'"

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(48, 1) While he was speaking with me like this, I suddenly noticed another one with angels in his presence, singing hymns and glorifying. I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who is this one, so beautiful in appearance?" He told me: "This is Moses the prophet to whom God gave the law." | And when he noticed me, he wept. (48, 2) Then he said to me: "Weep with me, O Athanasius, because I planted a tree and I took great trouble with it, I mean the

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غنى ليس لها راع وكل التعب الذى تعبته صار كمثل لا شيء وبدون منفعة وانا متعجب لان الامم الغريبة التي لم يكن لها معرفة قد دخلت ملكوت السموات واما اسرائيل فلم يعرف ان يدخل ملكوت السموات (3, 48) وهذا كله من اجل ذلك اليوم الذى صلبوا فيه المسيح ابن الله الذى خلق الكل واعطانى الناموس وصار من اجلنا | مصلوبا. وكان اجناد الملائكة وابراهيم 55 p. 5 واستحق ويعقوب وجميع القديسين لما رأوا ابن الله وهو معلق على عود الصليب كانوا ينظرون الى الناموس ويقولون لى انظريا موسى كيف عمل شعبك بابن الله وكذلك اقول لك يا اثناسيوس طوبى لك وطوبى للجيل الذي يقبل قولك ويؤمن به

(1, 49) وبينما هو يكلمني وقد جازوا اثني عشر رجلا فلما نظروا اليّ قولوا لى أنت اثناسيوس فقلت نعم فسألتهم وقلت لهم من انتم فقال واحد منهم انا اشعيا النبي الذى نشرني بنو اسرائيل بمشار الخشب وقال لى آثر انا ارميا النبي الذى ذبحني بنو اسرائيل ومنهم من قال انا حزقيال النبي الذى جري بنو اسرائيل على الحجارة فوق الجبال حتي فصلت رأسي من جسدي وكل هذه الالوجاع التي اصابتني منهم <احتملتها> كنت اشتي ان يخلصوا من خطاياهم ومع هذا العامل الذى عملوه معي فقد | طرحت نفسى امام الله وصرت اصلي لله الليل والنهار من اجلهم لكي يرثوا الحياة الابدية 56 p. 5 ولم يريدوا ذلك وبعد هذا جاء ميخائيل رئيس الملائكة واقامني من على الارض ومن اجل ذلك اقول لك طوبى لك وطوبى للامم الذين يؤمنون بما رأيتهم (2, 49) فلما مضى هؤلاء عني نظرت واذا شخص حسن المنظر جداً ووجه منير كالشمس فوقفت متحيرة من منظره وسألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا فقال لى هذا هولوط الصديق الذى كان ساكناً في مدينة سدوم وعاموره ثم نظر الي وقال لى انا لوط الذى قبلت ملائكة الله فى منزلى عند ما اراد اهل المدينة ان يفعلوا بهم شراً واخرجت لهم بناتي اللواتي | لم يعرفن رجلا قط ودفعتهن اليهم وقلت لهم ما اردتموه من الشر فافعلوه ببناي 57 p. 5 ولا تفعلوا شيئاً بهذين الملاكين الذين دخلا عندي ولذا قد صرت الى هذا الموضع وانا اقول لك يا اثناسيوس ان كل من يعمل الخير في العالم يكافئه الله هاهنا سبعة اضعاف. وطوبى لمن يؤمن

sons of Israel. Because when they leave the world and come here, there is no good fruit in them, they have become like sheep without a shepherd, and all the trouble that I took has become like nothing and of no use. I am amazed because foreign nations that did not have the knowledge have entered the kingdom of the heavens. As for Israel, it was not allowed to enter the kingdom of the heavens. (48, 3) And all this on account of that day when they crucified Christ, the Son of God, who created all things, gave me the law, and became | crucified for our sakes. The angelic hosts, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the saints, when they saw the Son of God hanging from the wood of the cross, were looking at me, the law (read: lawgiver), and saying to me: 'Look, O Moses, how your people treated the Son of God.' Likewise I say to you, O Athanasius, blessed are you and blessed is the generation of men that welcomes your preaching and believes in it." p. 55

(49, 1) While he was speaking with me, suddenly twelve (more) men passed by. When they noticed me, they said to me: "You must be Athanasius." I said: "Yes." And I asked them, saying to them: "Who are you?" Then one of them said: "I am Isaiah the prophet, whom the children of Israel sawed asunder with a wooden saw." Another said to me: "I am Jeremiah, the prophet, whom the children of Israel slaughtered." Yet another among them said: "I am Ezekiel the prophet, whom the children of Israel dragged over stones atop the mountains, until my head was severed from my body. All these sufferings that befell me from them <I endured>, wishing that they be saved from their sins. And at the same time as this <thing> that they did to me, | I threw myself down before God and began to pray to God night and day for their sakes, that they would inherit eternal life, but they did not want that. After this, Michael the archangel came and raised me from the earth, and for that reason I say to you: 'Blessed are you, and blessed are the nations who believe in what you have seen.'" (49, 2) When these (men) departed from me, I looked, and there was someone else, very beautiful in appearance and with a face bright like the sun. I stood still, perplexed at his appearance, and I asked the angel, saying to him: "Who is this?" He told me: "This is Lot the righteous who lived in the town (read: towns) of Sodom and Gomorrah." Then he noticed me, and he said to me: "I am Lot, who received God's angels in my house when the people of the city wanted to do them harm. I took out for them my daughters, who | had never known a man, and I gave them to them, saying to them: 'Whatever harm you coveted, do it to my daughters, but do not do anything to these two angels who have entered my home.' Owing to this, I have arrived at this place, and I say to you, O Athanasius, that everyone who does good in the world, God shall recompense him here seven p. 56

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بهذه الاقوال (3, 49) ثم نظرت الى آخر بهج الوجه ومعه ملائكة يسبحون فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا فقال لي هذا هو أيوب البار وقد دنا مني وقال لي السلام لك يا اثناسيوس انا أيوب الذي احتملت التجارب العظيمة وكنت في شدة من الشيطان وظهر لي ثلاث مرات وقال لي اجد الله ولو بكلمة واحدة | فتموت وتستريح من هذا العذاب فاجبته قائلاً اني متكل على الله فان شاء ان يتركني في هذه الشدة فلتكن ارادته واما انا فلا أترك تحييد الرب وفي لا يمل من تسبحته 5

p. 58 الى ان اجد الراحة ثم قال لي طوبى لمن يؤمن بقولك

(50) وبينما هو يكلمني واذا بأخر وقف امامي وهو يسبح مع ملائكة فسألت الملاك وقلت له من هذا فقال لي هذا نوح الذي كان على زمان الطوفان وانه اقترب مني وقال لي السلام لك يا اثناسيوس انا نوح وحقا اقول لك انه دواما كنت اطلب واتضرع الى الله ليؤمن العالم به ولكن الشيطان قد اعمى قلوب الجميع ولم يعرفوا اسرار الله فلما عصوه وعصوا قولي اتاهم بالطوفان على حين غفلة واهلكهم جميعاً ولم يبق سوي انا والذين كانوا معي في الفلك واقول لك ان الله يحب | صديقاً واحداً افضل من خطاة العالم فن اجل ذلك اقول لك طوبى لك وطوبى للامه التي تؤمن وتعمل:

10

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(51) وبينما هو يكلمني وقد نظرت الى اثنين آخرين فقلت للهلاك من هذان فقال لي هذان هما ايليا وتلميذه اليسع اللذان بغضا العالم واحبا الله وقال لي ايليا انا الذي طلبت من الرب فلم تمطر السماء نقطة من الماء ثلاثة سنين وستة اشهر من كثرة شرور الناس وظلمهم والآن طوبى لك يا اثناسيوس لان الله عادل ويستجيب دعاء الصديقين

15

ومن بعد هذا كله قال لي الملاك الذي كان معي اعلم يا اثناسيوس ان الله امرني ان اقيم معك في هذا الموضع سبعة ايام وقد تم اليوم السابع فامسكني من ناصية رأسي فاظلم بصري وذهب عقلي وصرت مثل الميت وكما اصعدني من الارض الى السماء رجعت | كما كنت على الارض 20

p. 60

times over. Blessed is he who believes in these words.” (49, 3) Then I noticed another one whose face beamed and in whose company angels were singing hymns. I asked the angel, saying to him: “Who is this?” He said me: “This is Job the pious.” And having come near me, he said to me, “Peace to you, O Athanasius. I am Job who endured great trials. I was in distress due to the devil, who appeared to me three times and said to me: ‘Deny God, if only with one word, | and then you will die and rest from this agony.’ I answered him, saying: ‘I trust in God, so if he wishes to leave me in this distress, let it be his will. I, then, shall not abstain from glorifying the Lord and my mouth shall not tire of praising him, until I find rest.’” Then he said to me: “Blessed is the one who believes in your teaching.” p. 58

(50) While he was speaking to me, then there was <another> one stopping before me, singing hymns together with angels. I asked the angel, saying to him: “Who is this?” He told me: “This is Noah, who lived at the time of the flood.” He approached me, and he said to me: “Peace to you, O Athanasius. I am Noah. Truly, I say to you that I beseeched and implored God incessantly in order for the world to believe in him, but the devil had blinded all people’s hearts, and they did not know God’s secrets. Then when they disobeyed him and disobeyed my teaching, he unexpectedly gave them the flood, destroying them all. Only I and those who were with me in the ark were left, and I say to you that God loves | one single righteous one more than (all) the sinners of the world. Therefore, I say to you: ‘Blessed are you, and blessed is the nation that believes and acts.’” p. 59

(51) While he was speaking to me, I suddenly noticed two others. I said to the angel: “Who are these?” He told me: “These are Elijah and his disciple Elisha, who loathed the world and loved God.” Elijah said to me: “I am the one who beseeched the Lord, and so the sky did not rain down a drop of water for three years and six months due to the abundance of men’s vices and their iniquity. Now, blessed are you, O Athanasius, because God is just and he hears the supplications of the righteous.”

After all this, the angel who was with me said to me: “Know, O Athanasius, that God has ordered me to stay with you in this place for seven days, and the seventh day has now come to pass.” He grabbed me by a lock of my head, and then my eyesight was darkened, my mind slipped, and I became like the dead. Just as he had lifted me up from earth to heaven, so I returned | on earth p. 60

ولم اعرف يا اخوه ان كان صعودى بالجسد أو بالروح والان فقد سمعتم عجائب الله ربي وخالقى
الذى له المجد والسلطان الى ابد الدهور امين تمت رؤيا القديس العظيم اثنا سيوس الرسول البطريك
العشرين من عدد بطاركة الكرسي الاسكندري

as I was. And I did not know, O brethren, whether my ascent was in body or in spirit. So now you have heard the miracles of God, my lord and my creator, to whom be glory and power forever and ever. Amen. Completed is the vision of the great Saint Athanasius the Apostolic, the twentieth patriarch among the number of patriarchs of the Alexandrian see.

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Index of the Coptic Texts

The Index of the Coptic Texts contains indices of names (proper names as well as topographical and ethnic names) and words occurring in the Sahidic texts of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Athanasius* (Appendix 1). The entries refer to the page and line number of the text. Thus ⲁⲃⲉⲗ 214.9, 15 in the index below means that Abel is mentioned on p. 214, lines 9 and 15 of the text. The word indices include lexical words and a selection of less frequently attested function words. The words are usually listed as they appear in the main dictionaries (ignoring superlinear signs); aberrant or special forms are given in brackets behind the attestation; light verb constructions are usually found under the nominal object. As a service to the reader, Coptic words of Egyptian origin and loan words from Greek (or Aramaic) have been listed separately. All entries, including the Egyptian words, are arranged in the order of the Greek alphabet, then ϣ, ϣ, ϣ, ϣ, ϣ and † (as in Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, Select Coptic Index), not according to consonantal roots. A list of selected points of grammatical or lexical interest, discussed in the pages of our commentary, has been appended (but see also chapter 1, section 4).

1 Proper Names

- Abel—ⲁⲃⲉⲗ 214.9, 15
Abraham—ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲅⲁⲙ 184.18–19; 208.2, 4, 34
Adam—ⲁⲁⲁⲙ 202.12; 204.19; 206.2; 214.20
Atemelouchos—ⲁⲩⲧⲉⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ 172.27; 192.2; 196.16 (ⲁⲩⲧⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ)
Amos—ⲅⲁⲙⲱⲥ 184.2
Athanasios—ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲱⲥ 408.13, 16, 19
Benjamin—ⲃⲉⲛⲉⲁⲙⲉⲓⲛ 208.16–17
Cain—ⲕⲁⲉⲓⲛ 214.9, 15
David—ⲁⲁⲩⲉⲗⲁ 186.27, 29, 31, 32, 34; 220.16
Elijah—ⲅⲙⲓⲁⲥ 176.27; 212.23
Enoch—ⲉⲛⲱⲭ 176.26; 214.1
Ezekiel—ⲉⲅⲅⲉⲕⲓⲛⲗ 184.2; 210.9; 408.23
Gabriel—ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲛⲗ 208.34
Herod—ⲅⲣⲱⲁⲛⲥ 184.11
Isaac—ⲓⲕⲁⲁⲕ 184.19; 208.2, 5, 34; 208.5, 34
Isaiah—ⲙⲥⲁⲓⲁⲥ 184.2; 210.7; 408.21 (ⲉⲓⲕⲁⲓⲁⲥ)
Jacob—ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ 184.19; 208.2, 5, 35; 208.5, 35
Jeremiah—ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲙⲓⲁⲥ 184.2; 210.8; 408.22
Jesus Christ—ⲓⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ 180.13–14; 202.9; 206.8, 12; 220.32–33; 222.33
ⲓⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥ 198.35; 204.2
ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲓⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥ 184.17, 25
ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ 178.16 (twice), 32; 180.21–22, 25, 26; 182.24, 31; 184.11, 33; 186.10, 19; 186.28, 29, 32; 190.14; 192.25; 198.3; 200.2, 9; 206.19, 20 (twice); 216.29; 220.22; 222.7
Job—ⲓⲱⲃ 212.7
John (the Baptist)—ⲓⲱⲅⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ 214.8, 11
John (apostle)—ⲓⲱⲅⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ 222.10
Joseph (patriarch)—ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ 208.17 (twice)
Lot—ⲗⲱⲧ 210.18, 21, 22
Manasseh—ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲥⲥⲏ 210.7; 408.21
Mark—ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ 222.4
Michael—ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲛⲗ 180.17–18; 184.7, 15, 21; 200.19, 23, 26 (twice), 27, 31, 32; 202.7, 10, 31; 208.34; 210.14
Micah—ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲓⲁⲥ 184.2
Moses—ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ 208.25, 27; 210.1; 408.5, 7–8, 15
Noah—ⲛⲱⲅⲉ 212.20
Paul—ⲛⲁⲅⲗⲟⲥ 174.1; 176.3, 9, 20, 22, 28; 178.31; 180.3, 19, 21; 186.5, 21; 188.31,

17 (twice), 26; 190.3, 27, 28–29 (παγ-
λωC), 31, 32; 192.35–194.1; 194.3; 196.9;
198.16, 20, 24–25; 200.18; 202.5, 8, 31–
32; 204.12.13.18; 206.9 (twice), 10, 13, 18,
22, 28 (twice); 208.1, 3, 14, 18, 33; 210.2,
5, 15, 20–21, 30; 212.7, 19, 26; 214.6, 10,
22, 25, 27, 35; 216.2, 26, 27, 33; 218.30;
220.24, 29, 35; 222.5, 12 (twice), 13, 15,
19, 28
Peter—πετροC 222.9, 29
Reuben—ροϋβην 208.16

2 Topographical and Ethnic Names

Acherusian Lake—Αχερουσία λίμνη 180.12,
15 (both αρχηεροϋσα ληννη),
18 (αρχιε<ροϋσα> ληννη), 22
(αρχνε<ροϋσα> ληννη); 188.14–15
(α<ρ>ιε<ροϋσα> ληννη)
Assyrian—αCσυριοC 204.23
Cushite—CουCϥε 204.22
Euphrates—εϥφρατηC 182.5–6;
204.23
Evila—εϥειλατ 204.22
Gihon—Γεων 182.6; 204.22
Gomorra—Γομορρα 210.18
Hebrew—εβραιοC 188.5 (ηντεβρα-
ιοC)
Hell—αμντε 174.34; 206.24; 218.34;
222.21
Israel—ιCραηλ 208.30, 33; 210.8, 10, 12, 12–
13; 408.10–11, 22, 23

3 Coptic Words of Egyptian Origin

αλωλε 190.29
αμαϥτε 172.2; 204.32; 210.10; 220.33 (αμα-
ϥτε εCην); 408.23

Satan—CαταναC 198.10
Suriel—Cουριηλ 174.22; 216.26
Tartarouchos—ταρταροϋχοC 174.34
Timothy—†ηοθεοC 222.4
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